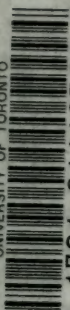


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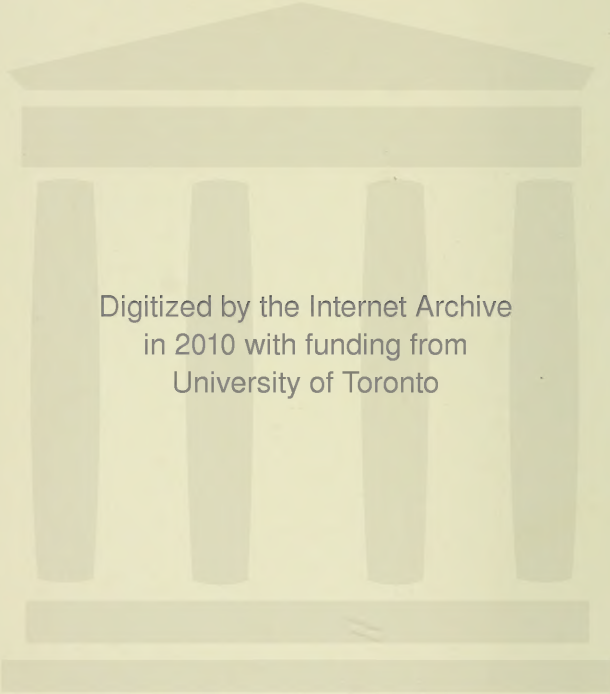
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OXONII

EXCUDEBAT HORATIUS HART

TYPOGRAPHUS ACADEMICUS

A

VENERABILIS BAEDAE  
OPERA HISTORICA

*PLUMMER*

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK



B. 3

# VENERABILIS BAEDAE

HISTORIAM ECCLESIASTICAM

GENTIS ANGLORUM

HISTORIAM ABBATUM

EPISTOLAM AD ECGBERCTUM

UNA CUM

HISTORIA ABBATUM AUCTORE ANONYMO

AD FIDEM CODICUM MANUSCRIPTORUM

DENUO RECOGNOVIT

COMMENTARIO TAM CRITICO QUAM HISTORICO

INSTRUXIT

CAROLUS PLUMMER, A.M.

COLLEGII CORPORIS CHRISTI  
SOCIUS ET CAPELLANUS

63790  
28/2/06

TOMUS PRIOR

PROLEGOMENA ET TEXTUM CONTINENS

OXONII

E TYPOGRAPHEO CLARENDONIANO

M DCCC XCVI

Funes • mibi • ceciderunt • in • praeclaris.

---

Quid • retribuam • Domino • pro • omnibus • quae  
retribuit • mibi ?

---

Minor • sum • cunctis • miserationibus • tuis.

COLLEGII · CORPORIS · CHRISTI

APUD · OXONIENSES

ALUMNIS

INTER · QUOS · PER · QUARTAM · IAM · SAECULI · PARTEM

DISCIPULOS · FIDELISSIMOS

IUCUNDISSIMOS · SOCIOS ·

AMICOS · CONIUNCTISSIMOS

DEDIT · MIHI

D. O. M.

HOS · MEOS · QUALESCUNQUE · LABORES

D. D. D.





## EDITOR'S PREFACE

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THE Edition of Bede now presented to the reader is the first critical edition since Smith's, 1722; it is the very first which exhibits in an apparatus criticus the various readings of the MSS. on which the text is based. The principles on which the text has been formed are explained in the Introduction, Part II. § 21, and need not be enumerated here. The examination of the MSS. has elicited, almost for the first time (see Introduction, p. xcvi, note), the interesting fact that two different recensions of the text of the Ecclesiastical History must have been issued by Bede himself; *ib.* §§ 27, 28.

Another point in which this edition differs from all its predecessors is in the use of italic type to indicate those parts of Bede's works which are derived from previously existing materials, so far as these have come down to us. Thus the reader can see at a glance what is primary and what is secondary in Bede, and the historian may be prevented from attributing to Bede himself, statements which he merely borrowed from others. Conversely, in estimating the value of statements in later writers which seem to supplement Bede, we have to consider how far they rest on independent authority, how far they are merely due to an exuberant imagination too impatient to

acquiesce in inevitable ignorance, and how far they are merely inferences ultimately derived from Bede himself. In the first case they deserve careful consideration, in the second they may be summarily set aside, in the third case we must judge of their validity as we would of any modern historical theory. In some instances these mediaeval writers may have been better placed than we are for forming a correct opinion, but as a rule 'they would have no real advantage over us moderns, while they were without many of our methods and appliances' (Sanday, Bampton Lectures, p. 240). Yet statements, obviously of this inferential kind, are constantly quoted as if they had the value of independent authorities. To some of these cases attention is drawn in the notes.

In the notes I have brought together what I could from other sources to illustrate the historical, social, and ecclesiastical bearings of Bede's text. Most of these sources are, of course, obvious enough. My special studies have enabled me to add some less obvious illustrations from Celtic and Scandinavian sources. One important source of illustration has been almost wholly neglected by previous editors. I mean the other writings of Bede himself. Yet apart from the numerous direct illustrations of the text which they supply, the whole texture of Bede's thought, the whole tone and temper of his mind, is so consistent, that we can hardly judge even his historical works aright, without some knowledge of his other writings, especially of his theological works. To attempt to judge of Bede merely as an historian is inevitably to misjudge him. In history and in science, as well as in theology, he is before all things the Christian thinker and student.

To bring out this, the predominant note of Bede's life and work, is the object of the first part of the Introduction, which, as the notes to it will show, is based almost entirely on Bede's own writings. This part, though always written with a view to its ultimate appearance here, was first read as an Essay before two College Societies, to which, by the kindness of undergraduate friends, I belong: the C. C. C. Church Society, and the Pelican Essay Club. Since then it has been carefully revised, and in part rewritten. But I have not cared to obliterate every trace of the circumstances under which it first acquired a limited publicity. A somewhat prolonged study of Bede's works has produced in my mind such a personal feeling towards their author, that I am well content that some trace of my own personal feelings and circumstances should remain in what I have written about him.

Of the second part of the Introduction, which deals with the MSS., enough has been said above.

In regard to the scope and execution of my work, I may be allowed perhaps to repeat what I wrote just ten years ago in the preface to my edition of Fortescue:

‘I trust that this work may prove useful both to teachers and students of history in Oxford and elsewhere. But my main object has been to illustrate my author, and that is the point of view from which I would desire to be judged.

‘In a body of notes ranging over so many subjects, some of them lying far outside the sphere of my ordinary studies, it is hardly possible that there should not be slips and blunders. For the correction of these, whether publicly or privately, I shall always

be grateful, and I should wish to adopt as my own the words of one of the most unselfish labourers in the field of learning, Hermann Ebel: "*opprobret nobis qui uolet modo corrigat.*"

It remains to acknowledge a few of the many obligations which I have incurred during the progress of the work. The help which I have received in regard to special points is acknowledged in the book itself. I may perhaps mention here the assistance given by Professor Rhys, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, in matters of Celtic, and by Mr. Mayhew in matters of English philology. To Professor York Powell I am indebted for constant encouragement and advice.

Of books, the two to which I owe the most are Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, and Dr. W. Bright's delightful *Chapters of Early English Church History*. I have also learned much, especially in regard to the sources of Bede's scientific works, from Dr. Karl Werner's excellent monograph, *Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit*.

In regard to MSS. I have to acknowledge the unvarying courtesy of their custodians. In Oxford I have to thank the Librarians of Balliol, Merton, New, Magdalen, and St. John's Colleges; the officials of the Bodleian generally, and in particular the Rev. W. D. Macray, who is always ready to place his great palaeographical knowledge at the service of every student.

At Cambridge I have to thank Mr. F. Jenkinson, the University Librarian, and his assistant, Mr. Alfred Rogers, for the special kindness which they showed me when I was collating the famous Moore MS. of Bede. Mr. Jenkinson was further good enough to verify some doubtful points for me, not only in that



MS., but also in the MS. belonging to Pembroke College, Cambridge. It is one of the many pleasures connected with this work that it has brought me the privilege of his friendship. In relation to the last-named MS. I have to acknowledge the courtesy of the College Librarian, Mr. Neil.

At the British Museum my special thanks are due to Mr. F. Bickley, not only for constant help in my researches, but for sending me written information on various points when I was prevented by illness from going up to London myself. The Dean and Chapter of Durham kindly allowed their MS. of Bede to be deposited in the Bodleian for my use; to them and to their learned Librarian, Dr W. Greenwell, my best thanks are due. I am also indebted to my brother, Dr. A. Plummer, for verifying for me some points which I had overlooked. A like service was done me at Winchester by the Librarian, the Rev. F. T. Madge. My original examination of the Winchester MS. was made under the hospitable roof of my dear friend, Dr. Kitchin, now transferred to a sphere of wider usefulness at Durham. At Namur special facilities were given me by the director and librarian of the municipal library and museum, M. Becket and M. Mahieu.

To the Delegates of the Clarendon Press I am indebted for entrusting me with the execution of this edition, which has occupied my chief energies for some four years. It is no light privilege to have been for so long a time in constant communion with one of the saintliest characters ever produced by the Church of Christ in this island. I can but adapt the words of St. Ignatius, and say: *εὐχομαι μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτὸ κτήσωμαι* (Philad. c. 6).

In the Dedication I have tried to express, imperfectly enough, obligations of a more general kind to those College friends to whom I have owed so much happiness during more than a quarter of a century of College life. Will they allow me to close this preface with the words with which Ceolfrid parted from his monks (p. 397): ‘Domine . . . protege illam cohortem! Scio autem certissime quia nullos umquam meliores illis . . . noui’?

THE RECTORY,  
ST. GILES', SALISBURY,  
*December 19, 1895.*

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# INTRODUCTION.

## PART I.

### BEDE'S LIFE AND WORKS.

*'Quomodo dilex. legem tuam, Domine: tota die meditatio mea est.'*

§ I. ALMOST all that we know of the life of Bede is contained in the little notice of himself and his works which he has appended to the Ecclesiastical History<sup>1</sup>: 'Thus much concerning the ecclesiastical history of Britain, and especially of the race of the English, I, Baeda, a servant of Christ and priest of the monastery of the blessed apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, which is at Wearmouth and at Jarrow, have with the Lord's help composed, so far as I could gather it, either from ancient documents, or from the tradition of the elders, or from my own knowledge. I was born in the territory<sup>2</sup> of the said monastery, and at the age of seven<sup>3</sup> I was, by the care

Bede's  
notice of  
himself.

<sup>1</sup> 'Omnem uitam suam quodam epilogo comprehendens.' W. M. i. 60.

<sup>2</sup> 'In territorio eiusdem monasterii,' 'on sundurlonde pæs ylcan mynstres,' A.S. vers. Does this imply that Bede was born at the place still called Sunderland? The same suggestion was made by Gehle, *Disputatio* . . . de Bedae . . . uita et scriptis, Lugd. Batau. 1838. The common tradition is that Bede was born at Monkton, where a well called Bede's Well still exists. Cf. Murray's *Durham and Northumberland* (1873), p. 134. With this would agree fairly the state-

ment in the Vita I: 'territorii Girwensis haud grandi oriundus uiculo, quem . . . amnis Tina praeterfluit,' Opp. I. cxlvii, though Monkton is not actually on the Tyne. The expression used by Bede must mean that he was born on land which afterwards belonged to the monastery, as at the time of his birth even Wearmouth had not been founded, much less Jarrow. *v. infra*, p. xi.

<sup>3</sup> On such 'pueri oblati,' 'pueri nutriti' in monasteries, *v. D.C.A.* ii. 1406, 1418; Bright, pp. 175, 176. Cf. Opp. viii. 371. The prototype of them all is 'the child Samuel.'

of my relations, given to the most reverend Abbot Benedict, and afterwards to Ceolfrid, to be educated. From that time I have spent the whole of my life within that monastery, devoting all my pains to the study of the Scriptures; and amid the observance of monastic discipline and the daily charge of singing in the Church, it has been ever my delight to learn, or teach, or write<sup>1</sup>. In my nineteenth year<sup>2</sup> I was admitted to the diaconate, in my thirtieth to the priesthood, both by the hands of the most reverend Bishop John<sup>3</sup>, and at the bidding of Abbot Ceolfrid. From the time of my admission to the priesthood to my [present] fifty-ninth year, I have endeavoured, for my own use and that of my brethren, to make brief notes upon the holy Scripture, either out of the works of the venerable fathers, or in conformity with their meaning and interpretation.'

Then after giving a list of his works, so far as, at that date (731), they had been written, he concludes: 'And I pray thee, loving Jesus, that as Thou hast graciously given me to drink in with delight the words of Thy knowledge, so Thou wouldst mercifully grant me to attain one day to Thee the fountain of all wisdom, and to appear for ever before Thy face<sup>4</sup>.'

It is a picture of the scholar's uneventful life, spent in a round of religious service and of quiet study<sup>5</sup>. It shows us from the first that it is in his works that we shall have to learn to know Bede<sup>6</sup>, and they entirely

<sup>1</sup> Bede notes that there will be no need of books, of teaching, or of learning in heaven. Opp. vii. 320; ix. 275.

<sup>2</sup> This was below the canonical age.

<sup>3</sup> Of Hexham. Wearmouth and Jarrow would be in the diocese of Hexham. See the boundaries given, 'ut quidam ferunt,' Raine's Hexham, i. 20.

<sup>4</sup> H. E. v. 24, pp. 356-358. Alcuin's lines, De Sanctis Ebor.

vv. 1287 ff., are little more than a versification of this paragraph.

<sup>5</sup> 'Uita nullis temporum uicissitudinibus turbata, sed riuii instar placide et tranquille decurrens.' Gehle, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> 'There is scarcely one of the fathers of whose personal history so little is known, and whose personal character comes out in his writings so clearly.' Stubbs in D. C. B. i. 302.

confirm the picture which he gives of himself here. There are points in the description to which I shall recur later. For the present we may note that as the Ecclesiastical History was written in 731, Bede's birth must be placed in 672 or 673, his entrance into the monastery in 679 or 680, his ordination as deacon in 691 or 692, and his ordination as priest in 702 or 703<sup>1</sup>.

§ 2. The monastery of Wearmouth had been founded by Benedict Biscop in 674. In 681 or 682 he founded that of Jarrow<sup>2</sup>. Though locally divided, they were intended to form but a single monastery under Benedict himself as abbot. But as Benedict was frequently absent, either on the king's business, or on some of the many journeys which he made to Rome<sup>3</sup>, he appointed Eosterwine to represent him at Wearmouth, and Ceolfrid at Jarrow. Eosterwine, of whose humility and gentleness Bede draws a beautiful picture, was carried off by the plague in 686<sup>4</sup>. It was during this visitation of the

The Monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow.

<sup>1</sup> On these dates cf. Werner, *Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit* (1875), pp. 81, 82. The *Ann. Lindisf.* (Pertz, xix. 504). *S. D. i.* 29, 227, and *Vita I. Opp. I.* cxlvii, place Bede's birth in 677. This arose probably from the fact that *S. D. i.* 41, and *Vita u. s. p.* clix, placing Bede's death (rightly, as I believe, *v. inf.* pp. lxxi, lxxii) in 735, say (wrongly) that he died in his fifty-ninth year (so *W. M. i.* 59); evidently confusing his age at the time of his death with his age at the time when he completed the *H. E.* in 731. Stevenson places his birth in 674, but on very precarious grounds. *Church Historians*, I. ii. p. iv. Cf. *Fl. Wig. i.* 35, 37, 44, 46, 53, whose dates, birth 678, entry into the monastery 681, diaconate 693, presbyterate 704,

cannot be reconciled with Bede's statements. For the spirit in which Bede took orders, cf. his homily, No. 23: 'humiliter ergo eius subeunda et seruanda mysteria eis, qui nectum in his sunt initiati, suadeamus, et quotquot per gradum sacerdotalem ad dispensanda illorum sumus sacramenta promoti, humiliter iniunctum nobis impleamus officium.' *Opp. v.* 168, 169.

<sup>2</sup> *S. D.* calls Jarrow 'portus Ecgfridi regis,' i. 51; and the *Chron.* calls the monastery 'Ecgerðes mynster.' 794 D. E. On the importance of Northumbria and the Northumbrian monasteries, see *H. Y. I.* xxix f. On the dates in this and the following section, see notes to *Hist. Abb.* and *Hist. Anon.*

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Anon.* § 12, p. 392.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Abb.* §§ 8, 10, pp. 371-374.



plague that the pathetic incident took place which is narrated in the anonymous History of the Abbots<sup>1</sup>.

Anecdote  
of the  
plague at  
Jarrow.

‘In the monastery over which Ceolfrid presided, all who could read or preach or recite the antiphons and responses were swept away<sup>2</sup>, except the abbot himself and one little lad nourished and taught by him, who is now a priest of the same monastery, and both by word of mouth and by writing commends to all who wish to know them, the abbot’s worthy deeds. And the abbot, sad at heart because of this visitation, ordained that, contrary to their former rite, they should, except at vespers and matins, recite their psalms without antiphons<sup>3</sup>. And when this had been done with many tears and lamentations on his part, for the space of a week, he could not bear it any longer, but decreed that the psalms, with their antiphons, should be restored according to the order of the regular course; and, all assisting, by means of himself and the aforesaid boy, he carried out with no little labour that which he had decreed, until he could either train himself, or procure from elsewhere, men able to take part in the divine service.’

Bede’s  
devotion to  
the services  
of the  
Church.

The little boy here mentioned can hardly be any other than Bede himself<sup>4</sup>; especially as Bede, who takes so much from the anonymous history, omits this striking incident altogether. Another anecdote, belonging to a later period of Bede’s life, but illustrating the same pious devotion to the Church’s service, has been preserved for us by Alcuin in a letter to the monks of Wearmouth, where he says: ‘It is told that our master and your patron the blessed Bede said, “I know that angels visit the canonical hours, and the congregations of the brethren. What if they do not find me among them? Will they not say, Where is

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Anon. § 14, p. 393, *not* Bede’s Hist. Abb. as Mr. Green says; M. E. p. 398, though he gives the right reference in his notes.

<sup>2</sup> For the plague see on H. E. iii. 27; for its special ravages in monasteries see on Hist. Abb. § 10.

<sup>3</sup> See D. C. A., s. v. ‘antiphon.’

<sup>4</sup> See Bright, pp. 346, 347.



Bede? Why comes he not to the prescribed devotions with the brethren<sup>1</sup>?” And in the commentary on St. Luke, he says: ‘Whenever we enter the Church, and draw near to the heavenly mysteries, we ought to approach with all humility and fear, as well because of the presence of the angelic powers, as of the reverence due to the sacred oblation; for as the angels are narrated to have stood by the Lord’s body when it lay in the tomb, so we must believe that they are present in the celebration of the mysteries of His most sacred body at the time of consecration<sup>2</sup>.’ In the same spirit of devotion, commenting on St. Mark’s narrative, where our Lord, after the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, goes to the temple, he says: ‘So we when we come to any town or village in which there is a house of prayer dedicated to God, first turn aside to this, and, when we have commended ourselves to God in prayer, then go about the worldly business for which we came<sup>3</sup>.’ And perhaps some of us have known the refreshment of entering the silence of some great cathedral, or the quiet of some village church, after a weary journey, or a dusty walk, and there composing our thoughts a while in peace<sup>4</sup>.

§ 3. On the death of Eosterwine, Sigfrid was elected at Wearmouth in his place. He died Aug. 22, 688 or 689, passing, as Bede says, through the ‘fire and

Abbots  
of Wear-  
mouth and  
Jarrow.

<sup>1</sup> H. & S. iii. 471; Mon. Alc. p. 843. Cf. an anecdote in Lock’s Life of Keble, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. xi. 375, 376. To the same effect in the homilies, Opp. v. 410, 425, 427, 428.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. x. 173. cf. Cuthbert’s arrival at Melrose, Vit. Cudb. c. 6. Opp. Min. p. 59. Rs. Ad. p. 345. It was part of the monastic rule that strangers on arriving should be taken to the oratory or sacristy to pray. D. C. A. i. 789.

<sup>4</sup> See a beautiful passage on

the use of the *Magnificat* at Vespers: ‘et hoc opportune ad uesperas fieri complacuit, ut uidelicet fatigata per diem et distenta diuersis cogitationibus mens nostra, incumbente tempore quietis ad unionem se suae considerationis colligeret; iamque salubriter admonita quicquid superfluum uel nocuum diurna negotiatione contraxisset, totum hoc nocturnis precibus denuo ac lacrymis ex tempore mundaret.’ Opp. v. 306.

water' of earthly tribulation, to the 'wealthy place' of everlasting peace<sup>1</sup>. During his last illness, Benedict, worn out with travail and with travel, was lying paralysed on the bed from which he never rose up again; and there are few more touching scenes, even in Bede, than that in which he tells how the dying Sigfrid was carried into the cell of Benedict, and laid beside him with his head on the same pillow, that so the two friends might take their last farewell of one another in this world<sup>2</sup>. 'In their death they were not divided' long. Benedict followed his friend on Jan. 12, 689 or 690<sup>3</sup>, having already, with the consent of the brethren, appointed Ceolfrid abbot of both monasteries May 13, 688 or 689<sup>4</sup>. He held this post till 716, when, desiring to end his days at Rome, where he had been with Benedict on his fifth visit in 678, he resigned, after ruling his monasteries with great devotion and success for about eight and twenty years, and left Wearmouth on June 4, amid the universal grief of the six hundred monks who formed his flock<sup>5</sup>. Before he finally quitted Britain he was able to confirm the election of his successor Hwætbert, who, like Bede himself, had been an inmate of the monastery from his earliest boyhood<sup>6</sup>. Under his abbacy, Bede passed the rest of his life<sup>7</sup>; he survived Bede several years, as is shown by a letter of St. Boniface to him, which cannot be earlier than the year 744<sup>8</sup>. Ceolfrid never

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Anon. § 17; Hist. Abb. § 14, pp. 377, 394; Ps. lxxv. lxxvi. 12. Cf. Wisd. iv. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Abb. § 13, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Abb. § 14; Hist. Anon. § 17, pp. 378, 394.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. Anon. §§ 16, 17, pp. 393, 394.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. Abb. §§ 16, 17; Hist. Anon. §§ 21-27, pp. 380-382, 395-398.

<sup>6</sup> Hist. Abb. §§ 18, 19; Hist.

Anon. §§ 28-30, pp. 382-384, 398-400.

<sup>7</sup> To him, under his name of Eusebius, Bede dedicated his Commentary on the Apocalypse; Opp. xii. 337; which was written at his request, *ib.* 1; and also, after he was abbot, the *De Temporum Ratione*. Opp. vi. 140. On the identity of Hwætbert and Eusebius, *v. infra*, p. xv.

<sup>8</sup> Mon. Mog. pp. 180, 181.

reached his destination. He died at Langres on Sept. 24, 716. Some of the brethren who had accompanied him continued their journey to Rome, others remained at Langres in order to be near the body of their beloved master, others returned to tell the story of his death in their northern home. It was from these last that the anonymous author and Bede himself derived the story of Ceolfrid's last days<sup>1</sup>.

It is very rarely that external events leave any trace on the quiet course of Bede's literary labours; but the sorrow of this parting with Ceolfrid has left a deep impress on one of his works. Bede on  
Ceolfrid's  
departure.

The fourth book of the Commentary on Samuel opens thus:—‘Having completed the third book of the Commentary on Samuel, I thought that I would rest a while, and, after recovering in that way my delight in study and writing, proceed to take in hand the fourth. But that rest—if sudden anguish of mind can be called rest—has turned out much longer than I had intended owing to the sudden change of circumstances brought about by the departure of my most reverend Abbot; who, after long devotion to the care of his monastery, suddenly determined to go to Rome, and to breathe his last breath amid the localities sanctified by the bodies of the blessed Apostles and Martyrs of Christ, thus causing no little consternation to those committed to his charge, the greater because it was unexpected. But just as God, when He removed the aged Moses, appointed Joshua to the leadership, and ordained Eleazar to the priesthood in place of his father Aaron, so in the room of the aged Ceolfrid, who was hastening to the sacred threshold of the Apostles, He ordained the younger Hwætbert, who by his love and zeal for piety had long won for himself the name of Eusebius; and after election by the brethren, confirmed

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Abb. §§ 21, 22; Hist. Anon. §§ 31-40, pp. 385 387, 400-404; Opp. Min. pp. 203, 204.

that appointment by His blessing conferred by thy ministry, dearest bishop<sup>1</sup>. And now with the return of quieter times there returns to me the leisure and delight for searching out the wondrous things of Holy Scripture carefully and with my whole soul. Therefore, aided by thy prayers, most loving of prelates, I begin the fourth book of my allegorical Exposition on Samuel, and will endeavour to communicate to my readers all that I can of its mysteries, if He will but unlock them, Who holds the key of David<sup>2</sup>.’ It would seem that at the time this passage was written, the news of Ceolfrid’s death had not yet arrived at Jarrow.

Bede’s life  
at Jarrow.

§ 4. It is, of course, with Jarrow that Bede is associated; but it would be unduly pressing his statement quoted above, to the effect that he had passed the whole of his life in Benedict’s monastery, to assume that he had never been anywhere except at Wearmouth and Jarrow<sup>3</sup>. The preface to the Life of Cuthbert (written prior to 721) shows that he had been in Lindisfarne<sup>4</sup>; while the letter to his pupil Egbert of York, written in Nov. 734, proves that in the previous year he had been with Egbert in his monastery at York<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, that he was ever at Rome, as has been often asserted, on the ground of a doubtful reading in a letter of Pope Sergius to Abbot

<sup>1</sup> Acca, bishop of Hexham, A.D. 709-732.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. viii. 162, 163. The original is given in the notes to Hist. Abb. § 16.

<sup>3</sup> Owing to the peculiar constitution of this double monastery it is often hard to say definitely whether Wearmouth or Jarrow is meant. At the end of the Vit. Cudb., however, he distinctly speaks of ‘presbyter huius monasterii Gyruensis,’ Opp. Min. p. 137. He was ap-

parently at Wearmouth from time to time. Cf. ib. c. 35 *ad fin.* Opp. Min. p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> It may have been on that occasion that he conversed with Felogeld, the anchorite of Farne. Vita Cudb. *ad fin.* Opp. Min. p. 137. H. E. v. 1 and notes.

<sup>5</sup> In his letter to Wiered ‘de Aequinoctio,’ he speaks of the ‘dulcedo qua, cum illo aduenirem, me suscepisti,’ Opp. i. 155; unfortunately we do not know where or when this was.

Ceolfrid<sup>1</sup>, is inconsistent, not only with Bede's words cited above, but with his total silence in all his works as to any such visit<sup>2</sup>; though in two of his works he tells us how in 701 certain of the brethren, of whom Hwatbert was one, were in Rome on a mission from Ceolfrid, and brought back a privilege for the monastery from Pope Sergius<sup>3</sup>.

§ 5. We can form from Bede's own writings a very fair idea of that monastic life to which he dedicated himself with such single-hearted devotion. On his entry into the monastery at the age of seven he would be placed no doubt in the monastic school<sup>4</sup>. Besides his own words as to the delight which he took in learning, and the evidence of his own works, we have the testimony of Alcuin to his diligence as a young student. In a letter written to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow in 793 he urges their younger members by the example of Bede to be diligent in study and devotion, and not to spend their time in digging out foxes or coursing hares<sup>5</sup>. Bede

Monasticism and learning in Northumbria.

<sup>1</sup> H. & S. iii. 248-250; W. M. i. 62, 63; Stevenson, preface to H. E. pp. x-xiii.

<sup>2</sup> S. D. i. 41, 227 expressly says that he never crossed the sea. All this of course does not prove that he was not invited. But even this is very doubtful. See Werner, pp. 85, 86. The conclusion of W. M. is: 'quod Romae fuerit solide non affirmo, sed eum illuc inuitatum haud dubie pronuntio,' i. 62. See Stubbs' note *ad loc.*, H. & S. iii. 248-250.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Abb. §§ 15, 18, pp. 380, 383; De Temp. Rat. c. 47; Opp. vi. 242.

<sup>4</sup> See Werner, pp. 28, 29, 82-84, for this, and for the ordinary subjects of study in such schools, cf. the various accounts that exist of the schools at York founded by Bede's friend, arch-

bishop Egbert, e. g. Vita Alcuini. Mon. Alc. pp. 9 ff. There is an interesting account of the schools opened by Alcuin at St. Martin's at Tours in a letter of his to Charles the Great, *ib.* 344-348. Sometimes monks might be sent to another monastery to be educated. Cf. a papal privilege granted to the monastery of St. Bertin, at St. Omer, in the thirteenth century: 'quod in monasterio nostro possimus habere clericum, qui pro monachis nostris scholas teneat, et eos doceat, et quod ad hoc possimus cum monachis nostris adicere certum numerum aliorum monachorum seu clericorum.' Pertz. xxv. 843. For the harsh discipline in such schools, cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 229. See an interesting article on Schools in D.C.A.

<sup>5</sup> Mon. Alc. p. 200.



only mentions by name one of his teachers, Trumbert, who had been a monk at Lastingham under St. Chad; but he mentions him as one among several<sup>1</sup>. The foundation of the learning of Wearmouth and Jarrow must have been laid by Benedict himself<sup>2</sup>, who besides his training at Lérins, and his frequent visits to Rome, had accompanied Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian to Britain in 669, and had remained two years at Canterbury as Abbot of St. Peter's monastery in that city<sup>3</sup>.

The Kentish School.

There Theodore and Hadrian gathered together a flourishing school of disciples, whom they instructed, not only in the Scriptures, but in the art of metre, astronomy, and ecclesiastical computation. Some of their disciples, who were alive when Bede wrote the Ecclesiastical History in 731, knew Latin and Greek no less well than their native language<sup>4</sup>. It is interesting to note, what we shall see afterwards more clearly, that these are just the subjects on which Bede wrote some of his more important works<sup>5</sup>. There would be further the traditions of the learning of the Irish monks of Iona, by whom Northumbria was reconverted after the apostasy which followed the death of Edwin in 633.

Libraries.

§ 6. Among the various treasures which Benedict brought back from the Continent to enrich and adorn his monasteries none were more important for the development of the future scholar than the library of books, which was added to by Abbot Ceolfrid<sup>6</sup>. Among the books given

<sup>1</sup> H. E. iv. 3, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> 'The debt which England owes to Benedict Biscop is a very great one, and has scarcely ever been fairly recognised; . . . the civilisation and learning of the eighth century rested on the monastery which he founded, which produced Bede, and through him the school of York, Alcuin and the Carolingian school, on which the culture of

the Middle Ages was based.' Stubbs in D. C. B. i. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Abb. §§ 3.4, pp. 366-368. Cf. H. E. iv. 1, and notes *a. l.*

<sup>4</sup> H. E. iv. 2, pp. 204, 205. Cf. v. 23, p. 358; v. 8 *ad fin.* (of Tobias of Rochester), v. 20 *ad init.* (of Albinus).

<sup>5</sup> Ceolfrid also had studied in Kent. Hist. Anon. § 3.

<sup>6</sup> Hist. Abb. §§ 4, 6, 11, 15, pp. 367, 369, 375, 379. Cf. S. D.

by the latter are expressly noted three copies of the new translation of the Bible (the Vulgate) and one of the old (the Itala). Bede, who in his commentaries is constantly comparing the two translations together<sup>1</sup>, may often have used these very copies. One of the three Vulgates was taken by Ceolfrid with him on his departure as a present to the Pope; and this has been identified beyond a doubt with the famous Codex Amiatinus of the Vulgate<sup>2</sup>. There is moreover abundant evidence of the existence of a system of lending MSS. from one monastery to another for the purpose of transcription and comparison<sup>3</sup>. The latter process has left its mark on many MSS. which have come down to us. Thus two of the oldest MSS. of Bede's Ecclesiastical History have evidently been compared together, and the readings of one transferred to the other<sup>4</sup>.

i. 227: 'habuerat prae oculis et copiam omnis generis librorum, quos abbas suus Benedictus inter alia diuersa ornamenta donatione apostolicorum Uitaliani et Agathonis, in monasterium suum contulerat.' Cf. Werner, p. 28. Opp. ix. 388, cited *infra*, p. xxiii. Dr. Sanday in his Bampton Lectures, p. 9, has thrown out a suggestive hint on the influence of great libraries on schools of learning. See an interesting article on Libraries in D. C. A.

<sup>1</sup> *v. infra*, pp. liv, lv.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Abb. § 15; Hist. Anon., §§ 20, 37, pp. 379, 395, 402, and notes *a. l.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Alcuin to Gisla, Abbess of Chelles: 'tractatus, quos rogastis, direximus; deprecantes, ut quantotius scribantur et remittantur, quia nobis ualde necessarii sunt; . . . quos dominus Baeda, magister noster, sermone simplici sed sensu subtili composuit.' Mon. Alc.

p. 599, cf. *ib.* 683. H. E. iv. 18, p. 241 and note. D. C. A. ii. 1009. The MSS. of St. Martin's monastery at Tournai were considered standard copies, and were frequently borrowed for comparison: 'libros . . . tam diligenter fecit [abbas Odo] describi, ut uix in aliqua uicinorum ecclesiarum similis inueniretur bibliotheca, omnesque pro corrigendis libris suis de nostra ecclesia peterent exemplaria.' Pertz, xiv. 313. Thefts of MSS. by members of the community were not unknown. Cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 362.

<sup>4</sup> MS. 'B' corrected by 'C,' *v. infra*, Part II, p. xci. Hence the need of Bede's caution in his *Retractatio* in *Actus*: 'in quo . . . quaedam quae in Graeco . . . aliter . . . posita uidimus, breuiter commemorare curauimus. . . . Unde lectorem admoneo ut haec . . . gratia eruditionis legat, non in suo tamen uolumine uelut emendaturus interserat.' Opp. xii. 96, 97.

Monastic  
Scribes.

But Jarrow had not, like some larger and later monasteries<sup>1</sup>, a great scriptorium with a staff of trained copyists<sup>2</sup>. In the Preface to his St. Luke, Bede expressly says that, in addition to the various ties of his monastic duties, he had to be his own amanuensis, shorthand writer, and copyist<sup>3</sup>. It illustrates the difficulties under which these tasks were carried on in those northern climes, that Cuthbert, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow in the second half of the eighth century, excuses himself to Lullus, the successor of St. Boniface as Archbishop of Mainz, for not having sent him

<sup>1</sup> The school of St. Martin's, Tours, under Alcuin was of great importance, for it was there that the special hand known as the Caroline minuscule received its development. Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, pp. 233, 234. Seligenstadt was also famous, D. A. C. ii. 1857. So was Orleans, an episcopal, not a monastic school. *ib.* Cf. the following description of the scriptorium of St. Martin's at Tournai: 'si claustrum ingredereris, uideres plerumque xii monachos iuuenes in cathedris sedentes, et super tabulas diligenter et artificiose compositas cum silentio scribentes.' Pertz, *u. s.* Then follows a list of books copied, including several works of Bede. Abbot Odo himself 'multociens integro mense de claustro non exibat, sed . . . scribendis libris totum studium dabat.' *ib.* Cf. at St. Hubert in the Ardennes: 'Gislebertum . . . in scribendis et renouandis libris studiosum.' Pertz, viii. 570-573. Cf. *ib.* xiv. 311.

In Britain the two chief centres of scribal activity were Lindisfarne and Canterbury. In the latter the influence was Italian; in the former it was Irish, derived

from Iona and giving rise to a national hand. For the Lindisfarne Gospels, the noblest production of this school, see on v. 12. It shows the high devotion of these scribes; on which cf. D. C. A. ii. 1013. For an interesting notice of an Irish scribe, Ultan, in a Northumbrian monastery, see Ethelwulf 'de Abbatibus,' in S. D. i. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Nuns as well as monks acted as copyists; D. C. A. ii. 1413. St. Boniface writes to Eadburg, abbess of Thanet: 'deprecor ut . . . mihi cum auro conscribas epistolas domini mei Sancti Petri.' Mon. Mog. p. 99. On the use of pumice for erasure. Cf. Opp. xii. 342.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ipse mihi dictator simul notarius et librarius.' Opp. x. 268. Cf. D. C. A. ii. 988, 1403. For 'notarius' = shorthand writer, v. Opp. Min. p. 178. The Durham MS. (B. ii. 30) of Cassiodorus on the Psalms and a fragment of St. Paul's Epistles in MS. Cotton. Vitell. C. viii. are traditionally said to be in Bede's handwriting. Pal. Soc. Plate 164. Cf. Cat. Vet. Libr. Ecel. Dun. (S. S. 1838), pp. 13, 88. Stevenson, *u. s.* p. xxi.



all the works of Bede which he had desired, because the intense cold of the late winter had stopped the hand of the scribe, though he and his youths had done their best<sup>1</sup>.

§ 7. It is pretty certain that one of Bede's industry and ability would pass at a comparatively early age from the ranks of the taught to those of the teachers<sup>2</sup>. Teaching was, he says, one of the things in which he 'ever took delight<sup>3</sup>.' He tells us how we ought to embrace both our teachers in Christ, and those whom by Christ's grace we have taught, in one common love in Him<sup>4</sup>. The joy of the teacher is in the progress of the pupil<sup>5</sup>. And the pupil may remember that those who are most famous for knowledge, were once little and unlearned like himself<sup>6</sup>. The man most deeply imbued in the mysteries of the faith should never be above teaching its elements to Christ's weaker ones<sup>7</sup>. Nothing is further from Bede's nature than to value men merely for their intellect or knowledge. He warns us earnestly against any pride of learning, and against despising the unlearned brethren<sup>8</sup>. Many a learned

Bede as a teacher.

<sup>1</sup> 'Cum pueris meis iuxta uires, quod potui, . . . praepraui.' Mon. Mog. p. 301. He had previously sent Lullus Bede's 'De Templo,' ib. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Werner, p. 84 and *supra*, p. xvii, note <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> H. E. v. 24, v. s. p. x.

<sup>4</sup> Opp. vii. 273.

<sup>5</sup> 'Qui te erudiuit a paruulo de tuis bonis gratuletur operibus.' Opp. ix. 142.

<sup>6</sup> 'Nihil magis ad spem percipiendae sapientiae mentem erigit, quam cum eos, quos in sapientia iam clarere miramur, aliquando paruulos et indoctos fuisse meminimus,' ib. 75.

<sup>7</sup> 'Cum is qui ad reuelanda perfectioribus altiora ueritatis arcana sufficit, nequaquam infirmos primis fidei rudimentis

instituere fastidit; recte talem animam Dominus sororem sibi ac sponsam esse testatur,' ib. 281.

<sup>8</sup> 'Cum ea, quae . . . iuuante Domino . . . didicimus, . . . simpliciores quosque fratres . . . intelligere non posse sentimus, statim extolli consuescimus; . . . et . . . indoctiores nobis despicere, imo etiam irridere gaudemus.' Opp. v. 121; 'nemo . . . scientia institutus . . . despiciat simplicitatem fratris; qui etsi minus doctus, . . . non . . . minus promptus est . . . ad implendum bona,' ix. 129; 'ille stultus uocandus, . . . qui . . . peccati suggestionibus consentit; . . . non autem ille, qui etsi hebes sensu, . . . Dei . . . imperiis . . . obtemperare disposuit,' ib. 144; 'simplices, quos ingenii penna non

man will be found at the last among the lost, and many a simple soul that has kept God's commandments, will shine among apostles and doctors<sup>1</sup>. To say nothing of the fact, which many an Oxford tutor has had occasion to remark, that the steady student often surpasses, even in this world, men of far greater ability than himself<sup>2</sup>.

Bede's great object, alike in teaching and in writing, was to benefit his countrymen<sup>3</sup>, of whose inertness and want of interest in intellectual matters he not unjustly complains<sup>4</sup>. And he concludes his exposition of the Book of Nehemiah with this beautiful prayer: 'And Thou, great Father of Lights, from Whom cometh down every good and perfect gift, Who hast given to me, the humblest of Thy servants, the desire and means to "see the wondrous things of Thy law," and the grace to "bring forth" out of the "treasure" of the prophetic volume "things new and old" for the use of my fellow-servants, "remember me, O my God, for good"<sup>5</sup>.' And, since his

adiuuat, . . . uirtus operationis leuat,' ib. 168; 'paruitas non nocet ingenii, cuius cor et lingua Domini laude repleta est,' xii. 423.

<sup>1</sup> 'Manifestato iudicio, . . . multi qui ad docendum uidebantur idonei, ob negligentiae suae noxam inter indoctos reputabuntur. At alii . . . elementorum penitus ignari, ob conuersationis . . . eximiae deuotionem inter apostolicos doctores praemiasumma percipient.' Opp. xi. 283.

<sup>2</sup> 'Nonnunquam lector ingeniosus negligendo se priuat sapientia, quam tardus ingenio, sed studiosus, elaborando degustat.' Opp. x. 64; to the same effect, xi. 69.

<sup>3</sup> And especially ecclesiastics. Opp. vii. 369. Cf. Ep. ad Egb. § 5. He notes it as one of the great features of the 'happy times'

of Theodore that 'quicumque lectionibus sacris cuperent erudiri, haberent in promptu magistros, qui docerent.' H. E. iv. 2, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> 'Nostrae, . . . id est Anglorum gentis inertiae consulendum ratus, quae et . . . semen accepit fidei, et idem, quantum ad lectionem, tepide satis excoluit.' Opp. xii. 341. So Folcard says of Bede: 'auitam Britannicae gentis hebitudinem purgauit.' H. Y. i. 245.

<sup>5</sup> Opp. ix. 52. Cf. 'Si . . . multorum, ut desidero, meus sudor utilitati . . . profuerit, multa me donandum mercede cum illis a Domino spero.' Opp. vii. 369. It was with the same object, the edification of his readers, that he wrote his historical works also. Cf. H. E. Pref. iv. 22; v. 14, 24, pp. 5,

one desire is to benefit others, he has little care to claim originality for himself. He takes freely from preceding writers whatever he thinks useful for his purpose<sup>1</sup>, though he has a much greater sense of literary property than is at all common among mediaeval writers, 'being anxious lest he should be said to steal the sayings of the elders, and give them out as his own<sup>2</sup>.' With this object he begs the copyists of his theological works to preserve the indications which he has placed in the margins, of the sources from which he borrowed; a request which they have totally ignored<sup>3</sup>. In the same way in his historical works he freely uses, and here with less acknowledge-

252. 315. 357. One reason which Bede gives for writing his commentaries is the great expense of the original works on which they were based: 'tam copiosa, ut uix, nisi a locupletioribus tot uolumina acquiri . . . ualeant.' Opp. vii. 1, 2. Bede knew what it was to suffer from want of books; speaking of Paterius' catena of passages from Gregory's works explanatory of Holy Scripture, he says: 'quod opus si haberem ad manus, facilius multo . . . studium meae uoluntatis implem; uerum . . . necdum illud merui uidere,' ix. 388. Hence he is anxious to popularise the knowledge which he has acquired: 'ut ad plurimos res ipsa perueniat,' vi. 140. Another reason is the distance of himself and his readers from the phenomena described, ix. 200; a passage cited by S. D. i. 228, and given in the notes to H. E. v. 15 *ad fin.* Cf. on all this Werner, pp. 35-37, 195.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. E. v. 24, p. 357, *sup.* p. x.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sollicitus per omnia ne maiorum dicta furari, et haec

quasi mea propria componere dicar.' Opp. x. 269.

<sup>3</sup> 'Multumque obsecro . . . ut si qui forte nostra . . . opuscula transscriptione digna duxerint, memorata quoque nominum signa, ut in nostro exemplari reperiant, adfigere meminerint,' *ib.*; to the same effect, *ib.* 2, 3. Cf. Werner, p. 195: 'Selbst in den ältesten Handschriften fehlen die Namenszeichen der benützten Erklärer.' A really critical edition of Bede which should show exactly how much he borrowed, and how much is original is a great desideratum; 'necdum illud merui uidere.' Failing such an edition we are always in danger of citing something as Bede's which he merely borrowed from a predecessor; and the extracts given in these notes must all be taken subject to that possibility. Still, even so, they may be treated as characteristic of Bede's mind, as he would not have embodied anything which did not coincide with his own thought and feeling.

ment<sup>1</sup>, whatever he finds in earlier writers conducive to his plan.

The influence of Bede as a teacher extended far beyond those countrymen, whom he primarily desired to benefit. His pupil, Archbishop Egbert, founded the famous school of York. In that school was trained Alcuin, who at the Court of Charles the Great largely founded the Frankish system of education<sup>2</sup>. St. Boniface in the letter to Hwætbert quoted above rightly speaks of Bede as 'shining like a candle of the Church, by his knowledge of the Scriptures'<sup>3</sup>:—

‘How far that little candle throws his beams,  
So shines a good deed in a naughty world’.

Organisa-  
tion of  
labour and  
devotion  
in the  
monastic  
life.

§ 8. But it would be comparatively few of the brethren who would be able to take part to any great extent in Bede's intellectual tasks<sup>5</sup>. There was, besides, the daily

<sup>1</sup> Beyond a general reference to 'priorum scripta,' H. E., Pref. p. 6, and a single reference to Eutropius, i. 8, and Gildas, i. 22, Bede makes no acknowledgement of the large amount which he borrows in the first book of the H. E. from Orosius (i. 2-6, 8-11), Gildas (i. 8, 12-16, 22), and Constantius' Life of Germanus (i. 17-21). The account of St. Alban is evidently taken from some 'Passion' which has not yet been discovered. Bede acknowledges his obligation to the Life of St. Fursa in iii. 19; and to that of St. Ethelberg, iv. 7-10. The latter is not known to exist. He makes no acknowledgement of his indebtedness to Eddius' Life of Wilfrid; v. notes to v. 19. Elsewhere Bede does cite Orosius, Opp. vii. 145, viii. 444; cf. also H. E. i. 1, notes.

<sup>2</sup> 'By promoting the founda-

tion of the school of York he kindled the flame of learning in the West, at the moment that it seemed both in Ireland and in France to be expiring.' Stubbs in D. C. B. i. 301. Ademar in his history attempts to trace the pedigree of Bede's intellectual descendants. Pertz, iv. 119. Cf. Monumenta Corbeiensia, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> H. & S. iii. 359; Mon. Mog. pp. 180, 181.

<sup>4</sup> Merch. Ven. V. i. 90, 91.

<sup>5</sup> For an interesting sketch of monastic organisation, see Rs. Ad. pp. 342-369; this however has special reference to Columbite monasteries, and more particularly to Iona. So an interesting, if rather ideal account in the life of St. Kentegern: 'trecentos . . . qui erant illiterati, agriculture et pecorum custodie . . . deputavit; . . . reli-

round of manual labour to be performed<sup>1</sup>. It is expressly noted as a mark of Eosterwine's humility, that even as abbot he continued to take part in the manual labours of his monks, the ploughing, threshing, winnowing, milking, baking, gardening, cooking, &c.<sup>2</sup> Ceolfrid, while with Abbot Botulf at Icanhoe, acted as baker to the monastery<sup>3</sup>. And in the Ecclesiastical History Bede gives a beautiful sketch of one of St. Chad's monks at Lichfield, who, being 'unable for the study of the Scriptures, applied himself the more diligently to the work of his hands<sup>4</sup>.'

Some of the brethren who had skill in medicine acted as physicians to the surrounding districts<sup>5</sup>, while those of the monks who were in orders would be sent, from time to time, on tours of preaching and teaching, like those undertaken by St. Cuthbert when a monk of Melrose<sup>6</sup>. There was further, for all the brethren, the daily round of ecclesiastical devotion in the church, consisting mainly of the so-called canonical hours<sup>7</sup>, Matins,

quos . . . qui litterati fuerant diuinis officiis . . . attitulauit.' N. & K. pp. 204, 205.

<sup>1</sup> For manual labour in monasteries, cf. H. E. ii. 2, p. 84; Rs. Ad. p. 355: so of anchorites, H. E. iii. 19, p. 168; iv. 28, p. 271 = Vit. Cudb. c. 19. Cf. the case of the reprobate monk in H. E. v. 14, p. 314, who was 'fabrili arte singularis,' and note *a. l.*

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Abb. § 8, pp. 371, 372.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Anon. § 4, p. 389.

<sup>4</sup> H. E. iv. 3, p. 208.

<sup>5</sup> 'Abbas . . . sciens in monasterio Lindisfarnensium medicos esse peritissimos.' Vit. Cudb. c. 45; Opp. Min. p. 133 = 'medicos edoctos coenobii nostri.' Vit. Anon. Cudb. § 46; ib. 283. Cf. 'homo . . . medicamenta petiturus . . . ad nos uenit.' Adam-

nan's Columba, i. 27. At a later time monks were forbidden to practise medicine. See Morison's St. Bernard, p. 161.

<sup>6</sup> Vit. Cudb. c. 9; Opp. Min. pp. 67, 68; H. E. iv. 27, pp. 269, 270.

<sup>7</sup> There are interesting allusions to the canonical hours, Opp. ix. 33; xi. 258; xii. 18, 53; none of them are very distinct, and the article 'Hours of Prayer' in the D. C. A. is not so clear as could be wished. Cf. Werner, p. 83. The monastic mode of reciting the hours differed from that of secular clerks; cf. S. D. i. 57, 58: 'unde tota . . . successio magis secundum instituta monachorum quam clericorum consuetudinem canendi horas . . . obseruauit.' The chief difference lies in the ar-



Tierce, &c.<sup>1</sup> After Matins the monks were allowed to return to rest<sup>2</sup>; and as Matins were said somewhere between midnight and three a.m.<sup>3</sup>, not to do so was regarded as a mark of special devotion<sup>4</sup>. A siesta was also allowed in the middle of the day. St. Cuthbert gently rebukes those who lost their tempers at being disturbed either in their nightly or their midday sleep<sup>5</sup>. The monks slept in their habits<sup>6</sup>; Cuthbert is said sometimes not to have taken off his shoes from one Maundy Thursday to another, when the solemn foot-washing took place<sup>7</sup>. In such cases the performance of this act must have been a real penance. There was a separate building for the novices<sup>8</sup>,

rangement of the Psalter. See D. C. A. ii. 1449 ff., 1749 ff. Special Psalms might be added on special occasions. Hist. Anon. § 28.

<sup>1</sup> Complines are mentioned, Eddius, Vita Wilf. c. 67: 'in crepusculo uespertino abbates cum omni familia ad completorium orationis exierunt.' H. Y. i. 103.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. v. 9, p. 297: 'cum expletis . . . hymnis matutinalibus in lectulo membra posuisssem.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Obiit . . . noctu. fratribus matutinae psalmodiae uacantibus.' Hist. Abb. § 8 *ad fin.*; 'instante hora communis synaxeos . . . appropinquante . . . diluculo.' Vit. Cudb. c. 10; Opp. Min. p. 69; cf. ib. c. 40, p. 125; Rs. Ad. p. 239; H. E. iv. 7, 24 *ad fin.*, and notes; Bright, pp. 278, 279, and see the next note.

<sup>4</sup> 'A tempore matutinae laudis saepius ad diem usque in orationibus perstetit.' H. E. iii. 12, p. 151 (of Oswald); 'ex tempore matutinae synaxeos, usque ad ortum diei, in ecclesia precibus intenta perstetit.' iv.

19, p. 244 (of Ethelthryth). So of a later Oswald, Archbp. of York; (+ 992) 'nunquam post terminationem . . . synaxeis . . . ad quietem dormitionis exibat.' H. Y. i. 415, 416.

<sup>5</sup> Vit. Cudb. c. 16; Opp. Min. p. 81; cf. ib. c. 35: 'de meridianae quiete surrexerunt,' p. 113. Dunstan allowed himself this indulgence only in summer: 'ex more aestiui temporis.' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 52, cf. ib. 123, 319.

<sup>6</sup> H. E. iii. 2 *ad fin.*; Rs. Ad. p. 357; M. & L. p. 366.

<sup>7</sup> Vit. Cudb. c. 18; Opp. Min. p. 86. Bartholomew, a twelfth century successor of Cuthbert's as anchorite of Farne, went yet further: 'caligis ex pellibus . . . utebatur, quas cum tibiis semel circumdedit, donec uetustate consumerentur, non amouit.' S. D. i. 302.

<sup>8</sup> H. E. iv. 23 *ad fin.* One object of this was that if they should resolve to return to the world, they might not be able to reveal the secrets of the community, v. D. C. A. s. v. 'Novice.'

and a separate infirmary to which the sick and dying were removed<sup>1</sup>. When any member of the community was known to be near his end, the brethren were assembled in the church to pray for the departing soul<sup>2</sup>, and the same was done after a death<sup>3</sup>. A roll of departed members and benefactors called *Liber Vitae*, or *Album Congregationis* was kept<sup>4</sup>, and their names were men-

<sup>1</sup> H. E. iii. 27, iv. 24 *ad fin.*, pp. 193, 261; Hist. Abb. § 8, p. 372, and note *a. l.*; D. C. A. i. 837; 'in cellam languidorum deportatur,' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 147; 'in domum infirmorum delatus,' ib. 235, 242 (Canterbury); 'séocra manna inn.' Chron. 1070 E (Peterborough).

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Abb. § 14, p. 378; Vit. Cudb. cc. 8, 40; Opp. Min. pp. 64, 125; Eddius, Vita Wilf. c. 64; H. Y. i. 97, 98: 'suadenti mihi ut se super cilicium ad terram deponi permetteret, quatenus exemplo beati Martini . . . duritiam . . . terre sentiret, . . . consensit. . . Quo facto, interrogaui eum si uellet tabulam pulsari, et conuentumpro suo exitu euocari. . . Protinus ego currens tabulam festinanter pulsaui,' &c. Pertz, xiv. 311, 312. Cf. a similar, and curiously interesting scene in Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 243, 244; and Morison, St. Bernard, pp. 225 ff.; M. & L. p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> H. E. iv. 23, p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> The *Liber Vitae* of the Church of Durham is still in existence, MS. Cotton, Domitian VII. It has been published by the S. S.; and also by Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, pp. 153-166. From the Pref. Vit. Cudb. it appears that it was the duty of the 'Mansionarius' to enter the names in the *Album Congrega-*

*tionis*. The community of Lindisfarne promised Bede that his name should be entered in this way, ib.; Opp. Min. pp. 47-48. So Alcuin to Ethelbald, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow: 'antecessores tui . . . in albo beatitudinis uestre meae paruitatis nomen conscribi iusserunt.' Mon. Alc. p. 839. Cf. H. E. iv. 14, notes. Bede uses these words with beautiful effect of the roll of the elect: 'admonemur quanta certitudine Dominus summam electorum in libro uitae conscribat, et uelut in albo coeli consignet.' Opp. viii. 376; 'summus rex . . . congregatos a mundi plagis omnibus electos suos aeternae beatitudinis albo conscribit,' x. 305. The earliest known instance of a formal agreement or confraternity between different monasteries for mutual prayer of this kind is perhaps somewhat later than Bede's time. H. & S. iii. 342, 343; cf. ib. 432, 434; Pertz, xiv. 295; Raine's Hexham, I. cxxxvii; and the interesting references collected by M. & L., pp. 246, 247. The custom of mentioning names on fixed anniversaries in the Mass is as old as the time of Tertullian and Cyprian; v. Lib. Vitae Dun. S. S. pp. viii f. Cf. D. C. A. i. 561, 562; ii. 1375-77, 1382, 1383.

tioned from time to time in the canon of the Mass, at the words: 'Remember also, Lord, thy servants and handmaids, N. and N., who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and sleep the sleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, grant, we beseech Thee, a place of refreshment, light, and peace, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen<sup>1</sup>.' And Bede himself tells us how we ought to embrace all, both living and dead, in one common charity<sup>2</sup>.

Mutual  
hospitality  
between  
monas-  
teries.

Mutual hospitality between all monasteries seems to have been regarded as a matter of course; and Bede sees in this one fulfilment of Christ's promise, that those who forsake earthly possessions and relations for His sake, shall receive an hundredfold even in this present world<sup>3</sup>. The guest-house or hospice was a separate building, and the head of this department, the 'Praepositus Hospitum,' was an important officer of the community<sup>4</sup>.

Discipline.

The discipline of the monastery was in the hands of the abbot, assisted by the prior, or, as he was then called, 'provost,' 'praepositus<sup>5</sup>.' Implicit obedience to the

<sup>1</sup> Canon Missae, Commemoratio pro Defunctis. Cf. the beautiful story in Vit. Anon. Cudb. § 39, which is greatly spoiled by Bede, Vit. Cudb. c. 34; Opp. Min. pp. 280, 281, 111-113; cf. Adamnan's Columba, iii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. vii. 273, 286.

<sup>3</sup> Homily for Benedict Bishop's day; Opp. v. 181-184; Hist. Abb. § 1, p. 365, and notes; Vit. Cudb. c. 39; Opp. Min. p. 124; cf. D. C. A. i. 789, 790.

<sup>4</sup> This was the office held by Cuthbert at Ripon. Vit. Cudb. c. 7; Opp. Min. p. 61, with Stevenson's note. It corresponded to the 'fer thigis,' literally 'man of hospitality' in the Irish monasteries. Cf. D. C. A. i. 789, 790, ii. 1406. A humbler

official of the guests' quarters at Lindisfarne is mentioned in H. E. iv. 31. There is a very interesting list of officers in the monastery of St. Hubert in the Ardennes: 'organista, . . . exterior scholasticus [i.e. the master who taught those who resorted to the monastery for instruction, not being monks], . . . Fulco praecentor in illuminationibus capitalium litterarum et incisionibus lignorum et lapidum peritus, . . . Herbertus pictor immatura morte praeuentus, . . . Helbertus in abaco et musica triumphans.' Pertz, viii. 572, 573.

<sup>5</sup> Or 'propositus' as it is often written in our texts, iii. 23, iv. 27, pp. 176, 269, 270. This though perhaps originally a miswriting,



abbot was part of the monastic rule<sup>1</sup>. And Bede gives a beautiful account of the gracious and saintly tact with which men like Cuthbert, Eosterwine, and Ceolfrid managed their sometimes troublesome flocks<sup>2</sup>. Interviews with the abbot or prior provoked, no doubt, the same sort of speculation and comment as interviews with the president or dean of a college do now. Only the penalties inflicted would be different. General admonitions were given by the prior or abbot in an assembly of all the monks<sup>3</sup>, and subjects of common interest were debated there<sup>4</sup>.

for the abbreviations for 'prae' and 'pro' are very easily confused, became a well-established form, as is shown by the fact that it has given us our word 'provost,' AS. *prófoſt*, *práfost*; Icel. *prófastr*; Germ. *probst*; while the French *prévôt* comes from 'praepositus.' This was the office held by Cuthbert at Lindisfarne. Vit. Cudb. c. 16; Opp. Min. p. 79. (Whether the 'prioratus' which Ceolfrid at Wearmouth was so nearly throwing up in disgust was the office of 'prior' in the technical sense of the word, may, I think, be doubted. Hist. Anon. § 8, p. 390. H. & S. think that the signature 'Torhthelm prior' to the Council of Clovesho in 825 is 'the first occurrence of this title in a contemporary English document,' iii. 600-601. It occurs in a non-monastic sense in Egbert's Dialogue, ib. 406.) S. D. i. 22, speaks of Cuthbert as 'secundus ab abbate praepositi iure,' ib. 129: 'successit in praepositi, id est, prioris officium'; cf. ib. 119 (of William of St. Carilef), 'primo . . . prior clauſtri, deinde secundus ab

abbate, maior scilicet prior constituitur.' The very titles of this officer in the Irish monasteries, 'secnab,' 'tanaise abbaid' (or 'tanaise' alone), imply that he was 'secundus ab abbate.' (The F. M. in 869 and 873 give 'prioir' for the 'secnab' and 'tanaise' of the Ann. Ult. In 887 they use 'tanaise abbaid.' Dr. Reeves (Ad. p. 364) translates this last phrase 'coadjutor - successor.' Cf. S. C. S. ii. 63.)

<sup>1</sup> "Iure" inquit [Cudbertus] "est coenobitarum uita miranda, qui abbatis per omnia subiiciuntur imperiis, ad eius arbitrium cuncta . . . tempora moderantur." Vit. Cudb. c. 22; Opp. Min. p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. c. 16, pp. 80, 81 (this was with reference to bringing the monks who remained at Lindisfarne after 664 to the Roman Easter). Hist. Abb. §§ 8, 15; Hist. Anon. §§ 4, 19, pp. 372, 379, 389, 394. Ceolfrid, *v. s.*, nearly threw up his work at Wearmouth in disgust, but Benedict persuaded him to return.

<sup>3</sup> Vit. Cudb. c. 16, u. s. Adamnan's Columba, iii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> H. E. iii. 5, iv. 7, pp. 137,

Asceticism  
of the  
Northum-  
brian  
Church.

§ 9. The life where the monastic rule was strictly observed must have been a very hard one. The influence of the Irish missionaries had impressed a strongly ascetic character on the Northumbrian Church. Bede tells of an Irish monk, named Adamnan, in the monastery of Coldingham, who only touched food twice a week, on Sundays and Thursdays<sup>1</sup>. Drythelm, the monk of Melrose, who had the famous vision, would stand up to his loins, or sometimes up to his neck, in the river Tweed, reciting prayers and psalms, even breaking the ice in winter to go in, and letting his cold wet garments dry upon his body<sup>2</sup>, and Cuthbert is said to have done the same<sup>3</sup>. There can indeed be little doubt that Cuthbert's mind was unhinged by the austerities that he practised<sup>4</sup>. Like some of the wild Covenanters, of whom Scott tells in *Old Mortality*, he fancied that he had visible conflicts with the powers of darkness<sup>5</sup>. A story in Bede's life of him brings out the hardness of this monastic life in a pathetic manner.

219. See D. C. A. s. v. 'Chapter-house,' and Ducange s. v. 'capitulum,' No. 4.

<sup>1</sup> H. E. iv. 25; cf. the abstinence of the disciples of Aidan, iii. 5; of Cedd, iii. 23; of Egbert, i. 27; of Hæmgils, v. 12, pp. 264, 136, 175, 194, 309. All these are under Irish influences. It is noteworthy that in the last passage but one the scribes of some later MSS., not considering the statement that Egbert 'non plus quam semel in die reficeret' sufficiently rigorous, have altered 'die' into 'septimana.' See additional critical notes. So Ethelthryth 'raro . . . plus quam semel per diem manducaverit,' iv. 19, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. v. 12 *ad fin.* and notes. Cf. the 'Ordo Monasticus' of Kilros cited by Werner, p. 68,

from Migne, Pat. Lat. lix. 564, 565: 'synaxi finita, aliqui frigidam petebant aquam, in qua diutius morando . . . omnem carnis ardorem domitabant.' This was also imposed as a penance: 'pro qualibet culpa etiam minima . . . exutis uestibus se aqua immergere usque ad collum debuit.' Ib.

<sup>3</sup> Vit. Cudb. c. 10; Vit. Anon. § 13; Opp. Min. pp. 69, 70, 266.

<sup>4</sup> He did however recognise the duty of not incapacitating himself for the work which he had to do: 'non autem tantam escarum ualebat subire continentiam, ne necessariis minus idoneus efficeretur operibus.' Vit. Cudb. c. 6 *ad fin.*

<sup>5</sup> Ib. c. 22, pp. 92, 93. Cuthbert however was then living the life of an anchorite on

Some of the Lindisfarne monks had come to spend Christmas Day with him in his retreat on Farne Island. But in spite of the joyous season Cuthbert's mind was heavy with that undefined presentiment of evil which comes at times to us all: 'We sat down,' he says, (for it is Cuthbert himself who tells the tale), 'at table. But it chanced that in the middle of our repast I said to them: "I beseech you, brethren, let us live cautiously and watchfully, lest perchance through carelessness or over-security we be led into temptation." And they replied: "Beseech thee, let us spend to-day in gladness, for it is the birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ." And I said, "Let us do so." And afterwards when we had spent a little time in feasting, mirth, and talk, I began once more to exhort that we should be instant in prayers and vigils, and prepared to resist all onsets of temptation. And they answered: "Thy counsel is good, nay, excellent; but still there are days enough and to spare of fastings, and prayers, and vigils. Let us this one day be joyful in the Lord. For the angel too, when the Lord was born, brought to the shepherds good tidings of great joy which should be to all people." And I said: "Good; let

Farne; almost that of an 'inclusus.' Ib. cc. 18, 46 *ad fin.* For his successors in the anchoritic life on Farne see notes to H. E. v. 1. We have instances of an English anchorite in Ireland, v. 12, p. 309; of an Irish anchorite, iii. 19 *ad fin.*; and a British anchorite, ii. 2, p. 82. Cf. Bright, p. 82 for other instances. (There is a curious comparison of anchorites to locusts in Opp. ix. 167.) The comparative excellency of the coenobitic and anchoritic or eremitic life was much debated among ascetic writers. D. C. A. i. 771. Cuthbert himself pro-

tests against the undue exaltation of the latter as compared with the former. Vit. Cudb. c. 22, p. 93. A still further advance in rigour was marked by the 'inclusus,' who was walled up alive in his cell. D. C. A. u. s. An Irish 'inclusus' at St. Gallen is mentioned, Pertz, ii. 73: 'Eusebius Scotigena, qui ibidem per xxx annos spontaneè clausus Domino seruiebat.' Cf. ib. 93, 188. Marianus Scotus in his chronicle tells how 'Paternus . . . monachus Scottus . . . in sua clausola combustus, per ignem pertransiuit in refrigerium.' Pertz, v. 558.

us do so." But when, as we were feasting and spending the day in gladness, I began a third time to repeat the same words of warning, then they understood that it was not for nought that I was so insistent on this theme, and in terror they said: "Let us do as thou advisest; for some great necessity is laid upon us of girding up our spiritual loins to watch against the wiles of the Devil and all temptations." And I, in saying this, knew no more than they, that any special trial was about to assail us: only I was admonished by some instinctive feeling that we must ever fortify our hearts against the sudden storms of temptation. But when the next morning they left me, and returned to their own monastery of Lindisfarne, behold, they found that one of their members had died of the plague; which increased and raged for days and months, until within the year almost the whole of that noble company of fathers and brethren had departed to the Lord<sup>1</sup>.

Monastic  
discords  
and friend-  
ships.

No doubt this monastic life had, like everything human, its seamy side. Already in Bede's time a great relaxation of discipline had set in in many monasteries<sup>2</sup>, and the infection spread after his death even to his own beloved Wearmouth and Jarrow<sup>3</sup>. From the frequent exhortations to peace and the avoidance of detraction<sup>4</sup> we can see that quarrels among the brethren were not unknown<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vit. Cudb. c. 27; Opp. Min. pp. 102, 103.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. iv. 25.

<sup>3</sup> See Alcuin's exhortations to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Mon. Alc. pp. 196-201, 839-847. W. M., citing Alcuin, remarks 'quam cito post obitum Bedae in eius etiam ecclesia studium librorum emarcuerit,' i. 72. For the later miseries of Wearmouth and Jarrow see S. D. ii. 189; i. 109, 112. Ultimately they became cells of

Durham. Cf. Werner, p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> Of detraction Bede says, too truly, 'hoc specialiter uitio totum paene genus periclitatur humanum.' Opp. ix. 146; cf. ib. 152; xii. 280; Ep. ad Egb. § 3, p. 406. Against hasty judgement, cf. Opp. v. 187, vii. 203.

<sup>5</sup> H. E. iv. 3, 23, pp. 209, 256; Hist. Abb. §§ 13, 17, pp. 377, 382; Adamnan's Columba, iii. 23. Cf. Mon. Mog. p. 67: 'domesticæ rei difficultas, et disputatio diuersarum discordiarum.'

But on the other hand we can see from the story already quoted of the last days of Benedict and Sigfrid, as well as from the affectionate terms in which Bede speaks of his own abbots Ceolfrid and Hwætbert, and of his 'dearest of all prelates upon earth,' bishop Acca<sup>1</sup>, what beautiful friendships there were, both between men of the same age<sup>2</sup>, and also between older and younger men<sup>3</sup>; friendships like those which I trust we all have known, and which ought to be among the things foremost in our thoughts when we thank God 'for all the blessings of this life.'

§ 10. The days in which Bede lived were troublous days alike for Church and State in Northumbria. The defeat and death of Egfrid in the fatal battle of Nechtansmere in 685—Bede's thirteenth year—marked the beginning of Northumbrian decline<sup>4</sup>. Egfrid was succeeded by his half-brother Aldfrid, a learned and pious prince, who ruled over a diminished territory with fair success<sup>5</sup>. But after his death in 705, usurpation, conspiracy, and murder make up the dismal tale of Northumbrian rule<sup>6</sup>.

In the commentary on St. Luke, written between 709

<sup>1</sup> See notes to H. E. v. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the story of Egbert and Ethelhun, H. E. iii. 27, pp. 192, 193.

<sup>3</sup> Here is a touching record of such a friendship enshrined in the prologue to a very dull mediæval chronicle, 'Sigfridi de Balnhusin Compendium Historiarum' (though the author was not a monk but a parish priest): 'oro te dulcissime et amantissime cordis mei Domine Ihesu Christe, per magnifica opera tua quae in hoc libro continentur, quatenus misertus mei, pie memoreris anime Iohannis fidelis adolescentis, quem cum mors impia ab oculis meis praeiperet, sagitta meroris et compassionis

cor meum crudelissime sauciavit. Cuius anima cum caris et recommendatis requiescat in luce eternitatis. Amen.' Pertz, xxv. 686. Cf. Alcuin's beautiful and passionate letter to the monks of York: 'O omnium dilectissimi patres et fratres, memores mei estote. Ego uester ero, siue in uita, siue in morte.' &c. Mon. Alc. pp. 249-251.

<sup>4</sup> H. E. iv. 26, p. 267.

<sup>5</sup> H. E. iv. 26, v. 12, pp. 268, 309; cf. 'de Alfrido qui nunc regnat pacifice.' Vit. Anon. Cudb. § 28; Opp. Min. p. 274.

<sup>6</sup> See S. C. H. i. 137, 138; Ep. ad Egb. § 13, p. 416. The reign of Eadbert, 737-758, is a partial exception; ib. § 1, notes.

Decline of  
Northumbria in  
Bede's  
time.



and 716, Bede expresses his fear lest the sins of the nation should bring upon them yet sorer punishment<sup>1</sup>. And it was perhaps some of these troubles which had for a while prevented him from attempting the St. Luke<sup>2</sup>.

In the very year in which Bede finished his Ecclesiastical History, Ceolwulf, King of Northumbria, to whom that history was dedicated, and of whom Bede speaks in the highest terms<sup>3</sup>, was seized, forcibly tonsured, and thrust into a monastery. Later in the year he was restored; but in 737 he voluntarily became a monk in Lindisfarne<sup>4</sup>. Bede alludes to these troubles towards the end of his history<sup>5</sup>. While in the letter to Egbert, written about four years later, he speaks of the danger from the barbarians<sup>6</sup>, meaning probably the Picts, who, ever since their defeat of Egfrid in 685, had been threatening Northumbria<sup>7</sup>.

Ecclesiastical evils,

This same letter to Egbert is one long lament over the ecclesiastical evils of the time; the greed and evil lives of some of the bishops, and their neglect of their duties<sup>8</sup>; the rise of false monasteries which took that name only to avoid the secular services for which lay lands were liable<sup>9</sup>; the relaxation of monastic discipline spoken of above<sup>10</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> 'Peiora iamiamque superuentura formidamus.' Opp. xi. 253.

<sup>2</sup> 'Quod [*i. e.* the projected commentary on St. Luke] facere needum potui . . . obstrepentium causarum, quas tu [Acca] melius nosti, necessitate praecepeditus.' Opp. xii. 1. Possibly these 'obstrepentes causae' were the troubles which followed Aldfrid's death in 705. See Eddius, Vit. Wilf. cc. 59, 60; H. E. v. 18, notes.

<sup>3</sup> H. E., Praef.; Ep. ad Egb. § 9, pp. 5, 412.

<sup>4</sup> See notes to H. E. v. 23.

<sup>5</sup> H. E. v. 23, p. 349; cf. the

Preface to the 'De Templo,' written about the same time (*v. inf.* p. cl): 'praesentes rerum temporalium angores.' Opp. viii. 263.

<sup>6</sup> § 11, p. 415.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bede, Epit. *sub ann.* 698, 711; Sax. Chron. 699, 710, notes.

<sup>8</sup> §§ 4, 6-8, pp. 407, 408, 409-412.

<sup>9</sup> Ib. §§ 10-13, pp. 413-417; cf. H. E. iii. 24, p. 178: 'ablato studio militiae terrestres'; (of the land given by Oswy to monasteries after the battle of the Winwæd).

<sup>10</sup> Ep. ad Egb. § 14, pp. 417, 418; cf. H. E. iv. 25.

which was due, in part, to the tendency to choose abbots rather on the ground of their birth, than for their ecclesiastical fitness<sup>1</sup>; the deficiency of clergy<sup>2</sup>, the ignorance and carelessness of those that existed; the general neglect of the Holy Communion.

Similar complaints as to the evils of what Bede calls 'our miserable time'<sup>3</sup> occur in many of his works<sup>4</sup>. The daily degeneracy of the Church is a matter worthy of tears<sup>5</sup>. Would that some Nehemiah would arise to rebuild the city of God<sup>6</sup>. And more than once in the course of his history he contrasts, either expressly or by implication, the evils of his own time with the zeal and purity of earlier days, before the love of many had grown cold<sup>7</sup>. And yet Bede knows that this is not the whole state of the case, and that even in his time there were many perfect in faith and truth<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Abb. § 11; cf. ib. § 8; Hist. Anon. § 8, pp. 375, 371, 390. We have an instance of a high-born abbot, though an excellent one, in Trumhere, H. E. iii. 24, pp. 179, 180. Benedict Biscop himself, and his relatives Ceolfred and Eosterwine, were of noble birth. Hist. Abb. §§ 1, 8, 11; Hist. Anon. § 4, pp. 364, 371, 375, 389.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. ad Egb. §§ 5, 15, pp. 408, 409, 418, 419.

<sup>3</sup> 'Miserabilis nostri temporis.' Opp. vii. 322.

<sup>4</sup> General complaints. Opp. viii. 73, 74, 217, 227, 330. Covetousness of clergy and teachers, v. 409; vii. 322: 'quidam prae-sulum . . . munera . . . exigere uolunt a populo, et nil pro iniquitatibus eius . . . curant laborare.' Ib. 341; cf. ib. 387; viii. 260, and the passages quoted on Ep. ad Egb. § 7. Sloth, vii. 329: 'magistri inertes, . . . sicut hodie

cernimus, longo saepe catechizandi labore defatigati.' viii. 61: 'negligentia nostri temporis.' Ib. 259: 'nostrorum sociordia temporum.' Ib. 400: 'nunc praepositorum ignavia torpet.' Ib. 448; ix. 82. Luxury, viii. 260, 460, 461. Evil monasteries, ib. 426; see notes on Ep. ad Egb. § 10. Promotion of unfit men, v. 408; ix. 125, 130, 153. Hypocrisy with a view to gain, ix. 195. Yet reverence should be paid even to evil prelates, viii. 76, 200.

<sup>5</sup> 'Nec sine lachrymis rem lachrymis dignam contempletur lector, quantum ecclesiae status ad peiora quotidie, uel, ut mitius dicam, ad infirmiora gerenda deuoluatur.' Opp. viii. 174.

<sup>6</sup> 'Nehemias, id est, consolator.' Opp. ix. 21.

<sup>7</sup> iii. 5, 26; iv. 3, 27, pp. 136, 190, 191, 208, 269, and notes.

<sup>8</sup> 'Neque haec ita prosecutus

Bede on  
the duty of  
Pastors and  
Masters.

Of the duty of a pastor and a prelate Bede has a high conception<sup>1</sup>. Those who are eminent in rank should be eminent in goodness also<sup>2</sup>. Again and again in his theological works does Bede insist that the teacher must first practise what he would have his pupils learn, that the life must not contradict the lore<sup>3</sup>. Again and again in his history does he see in this the secret of the success of the early apostles, prelates, and saints of the Church in Britain, Gregory, Augustine, Laurentius, Aidan, Tuda, Chad, Wilfrid, Boisil, Ethelthryth, Cuthbert, Eadbert, Egbert<sup>4</sup>. And the life of Alcuin, assuredly with truth, notes this as being characteristic of Bede himself, that 'whatever he taught by word, he confirmed by his example<sup>5</sup>.'

sum quasi non et hodie multos  
existere, multos semper extituros perfectos in fide et ueritate crediderim.' Opp. viii. 175.

<sup>1</sup> Opp. v. 189.

<sup>2</sup> 'Quantum gradu prae eminent caeteris, tantum et merito prae cellant bonae actionis.' Opp. viii. 308. Cf. ib. 400, 445, 446; ix. 157.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ne uoci uita contradicat.' Opp. ix. 69. Cf. 'ne de peccato incredulitatis arguamur, exerceamus operando quod credimus,' v. 14. Cf. ib. 68, 69, 74, 115, 122, 176, 177, 242, 266, 333: 'quod orando dicunt, uiuendo non contradicunt,' ib. 434; vii. 249, 250, 337, 414; viii. 23, 295: 'neque aliter fructuosus fit suus sermo doctori, nisi ipse prior faciat bona quae docet.' ix. 103; ib. 118, 119, 223, 266, 303: 'ne ea quae uerbis docent, factis impugnent.' x. 93, 209, 260, 379, 386; xi. 156; xii. 55, 174; i. 64, 65. Cp. Ep. ad Egb. §§ 2, 4, pp. 405-407. And performance opens the way to further knowledge: 'quisquis ergo uult

audita intelligere, festinet ea quae iam intelligere potuit, opere implere,' xi. 381. Cf. Ign. ad Eph. c. xv καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, εἰς τὸ λέγων ποιῆν.

<sup>4</sup> H. E. i. 26; ii. 1, 4; iii. 4, 5, 17, 26, 28, 25; iv. 13, 19, 27, 28, 29; v. 22; pp. 47, 79, 87, 133, 135, 136, 161, 190, 194, 183, 232, 244, 269, 273, 275, 346. Cf. Vit. Cudb. cc. 10, 16, 26; Opp. Min. pp. 69, 80, 100. Cf. Radbod to Willbrord, 'uideo... uerba tua esse sicut et opera.' Mon. Alc. p. 49. So of other teachers; of John Baptist: 'ut... quod uerbis praedicabat, exemplis astrueret,' Opp. v. 369; of Ezra: 'legem non lingua solum praedicabat, sed actu implebat,' viii. 438; of Christ Himself: 'omnia quae uerbis docuit, exemplis firmavit,' xi. 272. Cf. xii. 4, and the passages collected by M. & L. pp. 226, 227.

<sup>5</sup> 'Quicquid uerbo docuit, exemplo roborauit.' Mon. Alc. p. 10; Pertz, xv. 187. So, quaintly, his life: 'cum cantico uerborum



§ 11. The works of Bede may be divided into three main classes—scientific, historical, and theological.

Classification of  
Bede's  
works.  
1 Scientific  
works.

The scientific works comprise works on grammar, one on natural phenomena, and two on chronology<sup>1</sup>. The grammatical works were no doubt composed for the use of Bede's pupils in the school, and those of them that we can date are, as we should expect, among Bede's earliest works<sup>2</sup>.

From the *De Natura Rerum*<sup>3</sup> (which cannot be dated)

*iungens citharam operum bonorum.*' Opp. I. cxliv. This too is one great feature in the character of Chaucer's '*poure Person.*' Prologue, vv. 496, 497, 527, 528.

<sup>1</sup> To which may be added the *Epistola ad Wicredam de Aequinoctio*. Opp. i. 155 ff.; and the *Epistola ad Helmwaldum de Bissexto*. *Anecdota Bedae, Lanfranci, &c.*, ed. Giles, Caxton Society, 1851, pp. 1-6. This is incorporated almost in its entirety in the *De Temp. Rat.* cc. 38, 39; Opp. vi. 222-226, as Bede there points out. The prefatory address, which is not reproduced there, is as follows (it would seem from it that Helmwald was a person of some importance; but I do not know anything about him): '*Dilectissimo in Christo fratri Helmwaldo, Beda famulus Christi, Salutem.*'

'*Gauisus sum, fateor, multum, dilectissime in Christo frater, quod ubi desideratae diu peregrinationis, Deo uolente, compos esse coepistis, quieti et sanctimoniae studere, sed etiam lectioni operam dare cognoui. Et ideo, quae a me per literas quaeris, patenter tibi, ut sentio,*

*dilucidare non tardo, grata expectatione desiderans, ut te patriam reuersum inter egregias nostri aevi personas uidere merear, et scientiae spiritualis luce praeditum, et proximis quibusque et luciflua doctrinae uel uitae coelestis gaudia ministrantem. Quaeris igitur tibi quadrantis annui quem Bissex-tum uocant, rationem breuiter ac manifeste, quantum res patitur, explicari, quandamque, ut ita dicam, naturae occultioris abyssum apertarum clauibus literarum ad promptum liberae serenaque cognitionis educi, nec dignus es a mea paruitate rogicans sperni, quam tot terrarum marisque spatiis interiacentibus per epistolas alloquendam ac de necessariis consulendam decreuisti. Sicut ergo saltum lunae,' &c.*

<sup>2</sup> On these grammatical works of Bede and their sources, see Werner, pp. 97-101; and cf. Opp. viii. 114, 129, 139; ix. 414; x. 173, 213, 297; xli. 162, 245, 246, 339, 363, 397. On the dates of Bede's works generally see Appendix I to this Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> On Bede's *De Natura Rerum* and its sources, which

I will quote one sentence. Speaking of the creation, he says: 'From the seeds and primordial causes of this creation the course of the whole world is evolved by natural laws, wherein the Father worketh hitherto, and the Son worketh, wherein also He feeds the ravens and clothes the lilies<sup>1</sup>.' This thought, that the natural laws by which the world is governed, and the natural processes by which created things are sustained, are parts of the revelation whereby God makes His working known, is one which we hardly grasp sufficiently. We are too much inclined to set God and nature in opposition to one another, and to see the Divine only in the abnormal. As Browning says:—

'Thou, at the prompting of what I call God,  
And fools call nature<sup>2</sup>.'

Of the two chronological works<sup>3</sup>, which may form a fitting transition from the scientific to the historical class, the shorter, the *De Temporibus*, was written in 703, the longer,

are chiefly Isidore's work with the same title, and Pliny's *Natural History*, see Werner, pp. 107–121. On Isidore's *De Nat. Rer.* see D. C. B. iii. 310. The whole article is most interesting. The colophon of a MS. of this work of Bede in the Cambridge University Library, Gg. ii. 21, acknowledges the obligation to Pliny. See Catalogue of MSS. iii. 53. There is a dissertation by Karl Welzhofer on Bede's *Citate aus der Nat. Hist. des Plinius*. Munich, 1891. I have not read it.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ex eiusdem creaturae seminibus et primordialibus causis totius seculi tempus naturali cursu peragitur, ubi Pater usque nunc operatur, et Filius, ubi etiam cornus pascit, et lilia uestit Deus.' Opp. vi. 100; cf. a fine

passage from St. Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.* v. 23, cited by Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 262, 263.

<sup>2</sup> The Ring and the Book; The Pope, vv. 1073, 1074.

<sup>3</sup> On Bede's chronological works and their sources—here again largely Isidore—see Werner, pp. 121–149. In chronology Bede has the enormous merit of being the first chronicler who gave the date from Christ's birth, in addition to the year of the world; and thus introduced the use of the Dionysian Era into Western Europe. Werner, p. 145; Earle, *Land Charters*, &c., pp. xxxi ff. It was not used in papal documents till the eleventh century. On it see *De Temp. Rat.* c. 47; Opp. vi. 239–243.

the *De Temporum Ratione*, in 725, though the Chronicle which forms the conclusion of the latter is continued by subsequent additions to 729<sup>1</sup>. It was composed at the request of some of the brethren who found the former work too condensed, and is dedicated to Abbot Hwætberct<sup>2</sup>.

The motive which inspired these works was largely the interest in the Paschal controversy<sup>3</sup>—the question as to the right date for keeping Easter—so vehemently disputed in the seventh and eighth centuries between the Roman and the Celtic Churches. As regards the English Church the question was decided in favour of Rome at the synod of Whitby in 664, though the Celtic Churches in Britain continued their own special usages for some time longer<sup>4</sup>. The question was a purely ex-

The  
Paschal  
Question

<sup>1</sup> Opp. vi. 331, 332.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 139 f. These works are sometimes called respectively '*Chronicon Minus et Maius*,' e.g. by Ekkehard; Pertz, vi. 25 (these names are probably due to the fact that in the longer work a universal chronicle is embodied; cf. '*testante Beda in Chronica*,' Féll. p. cxxxiii, where the reference is to Opp. vi. 317), sometimes '*Computus Minor et Maior*.' Mariani Scoti Epitome. Pertz, xiii. 77; Fl. Wig. i. 50. Bede himself calls the longer work *De Temporibus Liber Maior*. H. E. v. 24, p. 359. These works were very highly considered. Marianus Scotus speaks of their author as '*Beda Computator*.' Pertz, v. 544, 546, so Fl. Wig: '*computator mirabilis*,' i. 53. Cf. the following curious entry in a Rouen MS. No. 1470, f. 38 v<sup>o</sup>.: '*Domnus Beda gentis Anglorum indigena fuit. Sunt enim Angli populi Scotiae (!) . . . Fuit . . . monasticae religionis, studiosis-*

*simus in scripturis, precipue in arte calcularia, de qua scripsit pulcherrimum et utilem librum, quem titulauit De Temporibus, siue De ratione Temporum.*' Catalogues des MSS. des Départements. 8vo. Rouen, i. 440.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. vi. 129-131, 153-156. 206. 207, 243, 246-249, 256-263; vii. 17-18; x. 2. On the Paschal Question generally, see the *Excursus*.

<sup>4</sup> The Southern Irish were the only Celts who had conformed to the Roman Easter before the Synod of Whitby; viz. 630 × 633. See notes to H. E. ii. 19; iii. 3. The dates at which the other Celts conformed are as follows: Northern Irish 704?; notes to H. E. iv. 4. Some of the Cornish Britons in 705; notes to H. E. v. 18. The Picts 710? notes to v. 21. Iona in 716, v. 22, and notes. The Welsh did not yield till the second half of the eighth century. Bright, p. 99.

ternal one, and turned on the cycles used and rules to be observed in calculating Easter, those in use by the Celtic Churches being old and incorrect. And yet the question was not unimportant; it affected very seriously the unity of Christian worship<sup>1</sup>. And when at the Court of Northumbria under Oswy, the king and his household were keeping Easter according to the Irish usage, while the queen, Eanfled, who, after the death of her father Edwin, had been brought up in Kent under the Roman system, was still fasting in Holy Week, the maximum of practical inconvenience was reached<sup>2</sup>. Moreover the real question which was decided at Whitby was not so much whether the English Church should use this or that Paschal cycle, but whether she should link her fortunes with those of the declining and loosely compacted Irish Church, or with the rising power and growing organisation of Rome<sup>3</sup>. And yet we cannot help feeling that the question occupies a place in Bede's mind out of all proportion to its real importance. It is sad that he should think it necessary to pause in the middle of his beautiful sketch of the sweet and saintly character of Aidan to say that he 'much detests' his mode of keeping Easter<sup>4</sup>; it is strange that he should apply to this question the words which St. Paul used with reference to such infinitely more important matters, expressing the fear lest he 'should run or had run in vain'<sup>5</sup>; stranger still that he should bring

<sup>1</sup> And so Oswy bases it; H. E. iii. 25, p. 183; cf. v. 22, pp. 347, 348.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. iii. 25, p. 182; cf. the letter attributed to Constantine after the Nicene Council: 'consider how grievous and indecorous it is, that on the same days some should be observant of fasts, while others are celebrating feasts.' Cited, D. C. A. i. 591. Sometimes the diver-

gence was as much as a month. See Excursus.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. E. iii. 29, p. 196; Werner, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> H. E. iii. 17, p. 161; cf. iii. 3, p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> H. E. iii. 25, p. 182; Gal. ii. 2: cf. 'diligentissime cauendum. ne . . . non solum ineuitabile nostrae calculationis dispendium, sed et grauissimum catholicae fidei incurramus peri-

into connexion with Egbert's conversion of the monks of Iona to the Roman system our Lord's words how Abraham 'rejoiced to see My day, and he saw it and was glad<sup>1</sup>.' But the holiest men have their limitations, and questions even less important have divided Christians ere now<sup>2</sup>.

It is in these two works<sup>3</sup> that Bede lays down formally the doctrine which he borrowed from St. Isidore<sup>4</sup>, of the six ages of the world<sup>5</sup>; a doctrine which became such a favourite with him that he introduced it into almost all his works<sup>6</sup>. The first age is from the Creation to the

The Six  
Ages of the  
World.

culum.' Opp. vi. 262; and the sarcastic references, so unlike Bede; 'mirus calculandi praeceptor,' &c. Ib. 247.

<sup>1</sup> H. E. v. 22 *ad fin.*; John viii. 56. Can we hope that it was a sense of this incongruity which caused the scribes of MSS. N and R<sub>2</sub> to omit the passage?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bright, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> In the *De Temporibus*, Opp. vi. 132-138. In the *De Temp. Rat.* ib. 167, 168, 270-273, 275, 278, 283, 288, 300, 332-334, 339-342. The publication of the former work was made the foundation of an absurd charge of heresy against Bede, which he indignantly refutes in an epistle to Plegwin. Opp. i. 144-154.

<sup>4</sup> In his *Chronicon*. Opp. (ed. 1617), pp. 260-274; cf. Werner, pp. 34, 143, 144; D. C. B. iii. 308, 310, 311. It is curious, considering Bede's obligations to Isidore, that he should mention his name so seldom. The only instances that I have noted are Opp. vi. 218; xii. 99, 155. A translation of extracts from Isidore was one of Bede's latest works, *inf.* p. lxxv. It is interesting to find that Dante places

Bede next to Isidore in Paradise:

'Vedi oltre fiammeggiar l'ardente spiro

D'Isidoro, di Beda.'

Parad. x. 130, 131. In his letter to the Italian Cardinals, Dante speaks of Bede as one of his subjects of study.

<sup>5</sup> Hippolytus had maintained that the world would last six thousand years, answering to the six days of creation. Ltft. App. Ff. I. ii. 387; but this form of the theory Bede expressly refutes in the letter to Plegwin, speaking of it as due to a 'Chronographus haeresiarches': 'iuxta nescio cuius haeretici librum, quem me puerum memini antiquo stylo descriptum uidisse.' Opp. i. 151, 152, cf. vi. 332, 333. Whether these expressions indicate Hippolytus himself, or not, I cannot be sure. The passage is an interesting testimony to the early age at which Bede began his chronological studies.

<sup>6</sup> It occurs in the *De Tropis*, one of his earliest works. Opp. vi. 96, 97. In *Genesim*, vii. 32-36, 80, 118, 121, 157, 182, 189, 219, 276. In *Samuelem*,



Flood ; the second from the Flood to Abraham ; the third from Abraham to David ; the fourth from David to the Captivity of Judah ; the fifth from the Captivity to the birth of Christ ; the sixth age lasts until the day of Judgement, and its duration is known to God alone<sup>1</sup>. These six ages, during which the faithful labour for God in this world, correspond with the six days of God's labour in the works of Creation. The seventh age, answering to His sabbath rest, is that in which the souls of the faithful, separated from their bodies, rest from their labours in the unseen world, and is therefore contemporary with all the other six, beginning when God's first martyr Abel was slain, and lasting till the general resurrection, when the souls of the faithful being united to their glorious bodies, the eighth age begins, which lasts for ever<sup>2</sup>.

2. Historical works.

§ 12. Of the historical works of Bede the most important is the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*<sup>3</sup>. It is

viii. 12, 82, 231 ; De Templo, ib. 323. In Ezram et Nehem., ib. 393, 394 ; ix. 24. In Marcum, x. 38, 39, 132. In Lucam, ib. 320 ; xi. 6, 102, 185. In Acta, xii. 49. In Epp. Cathol. xii. 255. [Cf. ib. 281, where there is a different arrangement into five periods corresponding to the hours at which the labourers in the vineyard were hired ; the starting-points being Creation, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ. This is practically Ethelwerd's system, who restores the number six by inserting Solomon between Moses and Christ. M. H. B. p. 500. Ricobaldus Ferrarensis makes seven ages according to this scheme, by inserting the rebuilding of the temple between Solomon and Christ. Muratori, SS. RR. II. ix. 193 ff.] In Apoc. xii. 378, 389, 441. Homilies, v. 24, 79,

125, 127-131, 323, 421. Hymns, i. 60, 66, 68, 78-81 (in this last hymn the correspondence of the six ages of the world with the six days of Creation is very beautifully worked out). Bede's system is found in Wulfstan, ed. Napier, pp. 311, 312.

<sup>1</sup> 'Soli Deo cognitum.' Opp. vi. 333. Cf. Isidore, Chron. *ad fin.* : 'Residuum saeculi tempus humanae inuestigationi incertum est ; . . . unusquisque ergo de suo cogitet transitu ; . . . quando enim unusquisque de saeculo migrat, tunc illi consummatio saeculi est.' Opp. Isid. p. 273. Bede draws the same practical conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *infr.* p. lxi.

<sup>3</sup> 'Illud . . . primarium Bedae opus.' Gehle, p. 79, 'a primary and original authority which stands alone.' Stubbs' Pref. to W. M. I. ix ; cf. Lappenberg,

indeed the best known of all his works ; that by which almost alone he keeps a place in the thoughts of any besides professed students of history or theology. There are scenes in it which live in the hearts of every one of us : the picture of the Anglian slave boys in the Roman Forum, whose fair angelic faces first stirred in the heart of Gregory the desire to save from the wrath of God the souls that dwelt within such heavenly forms<sup>1</sup> ; the story of the Northumbrian thane who gave his voice for the introduction of Christianity, in the hope that it would throw some light on the dark problems of existence, the whence and the whither of the human soul, which seemed to him like a sparrow which flits in winter through a lighted hall, passing from darkness into darkness<sup>2</sup> ; the descrip-

I. xliv. 204, 205, E. T. I. xxxiv. 209, 210. W. M. himself claims not unjustly to be the first continuer of Bede's work : 'quod continuam Anglorum historiam ordinaverim post Bedam uel solus, uel primus.' ii. 518, 567 ; cf. H. H. pp. xxiv, 117. (No one however will agree with one of the scribes of H. H. : 'ea quae Beda in sua Historia prolixè et confusius posuit, iste abbreviando et ordinando elucidauit.' Hardy, Cat. ii. 276.) Fl. Wig. i. 53 ; Elmham, p. 279 : 'Beda . . . legat et relegat studens lector, ponentium in coelum os suum scriptorum . . . pompatica dictamina paruipendens ;' cf. ib. 309, 313. Eadmer : 'Beda nobilissimus nostrae gentis historiae scriptor.' H. Y. i. 162. 'Beda historiam . . . usque in hunc annum [731] mirabili opere perduxit.' Pertz, ii. 281. Sigeb. Gembl. gives up noticing English affairs after Bede's death : 'quia historias quas sequar non habeo.' Pertz,

vi. 331. So the Chronicle of Melrose says : 'Postquam ueridicus hystoriographus et doctor eximius, decus et gloria nostrae gentis, Beda uenerabilis, scribere cessauit, non inuenti sunt aliqui . . . certi uel continui relatores, qui in . . . euentibus recitandis . . . operam impenderent,' p. 1. For interesting appeals to the historical authority of Bede, see S. D. i. 9, 108, 120, 170 ; G. P. p. 44 ; Sax. Chron. F. 995. For a catena of testimonies to Bede, see M. & L. pp. 176 ff. On the way in which later historical writing in England grows out of Bede, see some interesting remarks in Stubbs' Hoveden, I. ix, x.

<sup>1</sup> H. E. ii. 1, pp. 79, 80. The admiration of the swart Italians for fair complexions comes out in Dante also ; cf. Purg. iii. 107 (of Manfred) :—

'Biondo era e bello, e di gentile aspetto.'

So ib. viii. 34, the Angels have 'testa bionda.'

<sup>2</sup> H. E. ii. 13, p. 112.



tion of Oswald, the royal saint, acting as interpreter, while Aidan preached to his people<sup>1</sup>; the tale of the cow-herd of St. Hilda's monastery, who received his gift of song, 'not of men nor by man,' but through the grace of God, and who therefore ever regarded it as a sacred deposit, to be used only for the glory of God and the good of his fellow-men<sup>2</sup>;—these are things which will live as long as Englishmen have any care for their country and their Church, as long as the story of saintliness and self-sacrifice can awake an answering echo in human hearts<sup>3</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> H. E. iii. 3, p. 132: 'pulcherrimo spectaculo.'

<sup>2</sup> Ib. iv. 24, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Of the written sources of the H. E. something has been said above, p. xxiv, and details will be found in the notes, and in the marginal references to the text. But besides these written sources Bede constantly gives the authorities on which his statements rest; Albinus and Nothelm for Kent, and (in part) for Essex, Wessex, and East Anglia. Pref. pp. 3, 6. Bishop Daniel for Wessex. ib. p. 7; the Monks of Lastingham for Mercia and Essex, ib.; for East Anglia, Abbot Esi, ib.; and, perhaps through him, King Aldwulf, ii. 15, p. 116. For Lindsey, Bishop Cynibert and other faithful men; Pref. p. 7, one of the latter being Deda, abbot of Partenay, who had been baptized by Paulinus, ii. 16, p. 117. For Northumbria, besides his own knowledge, he had 'innumerable witnesses,' Pref. p. 7. For Cuthbert, besides the Vit. Anon. he had the 'certain testimony of faithful men,' ib. pp. 7, 8. The story of Bothelm probably comes directly or indirectly from him-

self, iii. 2, pp. 130, 131. A monk of Bardney, for a miracle wrought at Oswald's tomb, iii. 12, p. 151, who may also be the authority for c. 11. Wilbrord through Acca, iii. 13 *ad init.* Utta, to whom the incident occurred, through Cynimund 'nostrae ecclesiae presbyter,' iii. 15. 'Frater quidam senior monasterii nostri,' had met with one who had conversed with St. Fursa in East Anglia, iii. 19, p. 167. The story of Egbert and Edilhun in iii. 27, had been told Bede by 'quidam ueracissimus et uenerandae canitiei presbyter,' who had it from Egbert himself, p. 192. The reconversion of Essex by Jaruman was narrated to Bede by a priest who had accompanied him, iii. 20. Bede's knowledge of Ceadda's mode of life was derived by him from his master Trumbert, who had been a pupil of Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 210. The story in iv. 14 came from the monks of Selsey through Acca, p. 233. Wilfrid himself assured Bede of Ethelthryth's virgin life, iv. 19, p. 243. The miracle of iv. 22 Bede heard from some who had it from the man himself, p. 252;

Ecclesiastical History was written, as we saw, in 731. Besides this there are the Lives of the Abbots of Wear-

the divine judgement on Coldingham from Aedgils, a former priest of that monastery, iv. 25, p. 266. The miracles of iv. 32 and v. 1 came from the persons immediately concerned, pp. 280, 281. For the miracles of Bishop John of Hexham his deacon Berthun was the chief authority, v. 2, 3, 4, 5, pp. 283, 285, 286, 289. One came direct from the person healed, v. 6, p. 289. The vision of Drythelm was told to Bede by Hæmgils, a priest who heard it from Drythelm himself, v. 12, p. 309. Two other facts Bede owed to Bishop Pecthelm, v. 13, 18, pp. 313, 320. At the end of the H. E. Bede sums up his authorities under the three heads of previous writings, the tradition of the elders, and personal knowledge, v. 24, pp. 356, 357. For the last, cf. i. 1, p. 13: 'uidimus.' The 'traditio maiorum' is cited also, ii. 1, p. 79, cf. ib. p. 81. Where Bede gives a story on merely hearsay evidence he is careful to state the fact: thus 'fertur,' i. 1; ii. 5; iii. 6, 16, 24, 25; iv. 23, pp. 11, 91, 138, 159, 177, 182, 253; 'ferunt,' iii. 5, 10, 12, 16; iv. 16, 19, 23, pp. 136, 146, 151, 158, 237, 244, 246, 258; 'perhibent,' i. 1; iii. 4, 6; iv. 19, pp. 11, 133, 137, 246; 'perhibentur,' iv. 14, p. 232; 'sunt qui dicant,' iv. 19, p. 244. In the Hist. Abb. Bede cites no authorities. He was here writing mainly of matters which would be within his own personal knowledge. Neither does

he cite the anonymous Hist. Abb. which he certainly used. In the Prose life of Cuthbert Bede does not cite the Anonymous life, though he alludes to it, H. E. pref. p. 7. On the other hand he frequently cites his other authorities: cc. 3 *ad fin.*, 5 *ad fin.*, 6, 23, 25, 30, 35 *ad fin.*, 36 *ad fin.*, 37. Opp. Min. pp. 55, 59, 60, 94, 99, 107, 114, 116, 117. And in the Preface to the same work he gives his reasons for thus carefully citing his authorities, ib. pp. 45, 46 (see this passage in the notes to H. E. Pref.). When therefore Lappenberg talks of Bede's 'glaring lack of historical criticism,' 'greller Mangel an historischer Kritik' (i. 74, E. T. i. 76), he is applying to Bede a totally inapplicable standard. Professor Sanday has excellently said with reference to the book of the Acts that it is hardly reasonable 'to require the gifts of a German Professor in an early Christian.' Bampton Lectures, p. 321. Bede's transparent good faith must be plain to everyone who reads his narrative. W. M. calls him 'Beda adulari nescius,' i. 57. The only point which creates a doubt is his suppression of certain incidents in the life of Wilfrid, see notes to H. E. v. 19. Whether he did this out of regard to the memory of Wilfrid or of the kings who opposed him, I cannot say. Mommsen says of him: 'Einen uerax historicus nennt er sich selbst (H. E. iii. 17), und er hat ein Recht

mouth and Jarrow, and the lives in verse and prose of St. Cuthbert.

The lives of the abbots must have been written after 716. The prose Life of Cuthbert was written probably about 720. Both in it and in the Lives of the Abbots, Bede was making use of earlier lives, that of Cuthbert by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne, that of the abbots by a member of his own community of Wearmouth and Jarrow. In the case of Cuthbert's Life it cannot, I think, be said that Bede has bettered his original. He has improved the Latinity no doubt, and made the whole thing run more smoothly. In fact he seems to take delight in altering the language for the mere sake of alteration, while keeping closely to the sense. But he has obliterated many interesting details of time and place<sup>1</sup>, he shows a marked tendency to exaggerate the ascetic and miraculous element, he amplifies the narrative with rhetorical matter which can only be called padding<sup>2</sup>, inserts as facts explanations of his own<sup>3</sup>, and has greatly spoiled one beautiful anecdote<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, his account of Cuthbert's death, derived from an eye-witness, is of real and independent value<sup>5</sup>.

In the Lives of the Abbots he more often abbreviates than expands. Here too he has sacrificed some interesting

dazu; wer ihm nachgegangen ist wird ihm bezeugen, dass wenige Schriftsteller in tatsächlichen Berichten mit gleicher . . . Genauigkeit verfahren.' Neues Archiv, xvii. 389.

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* cc. 4, 5, 10, 13, 18, 45; compared with the corresponding sections of the Anonymous life, §§ 8, 9, 13, 14, 25, 46. One object of omitting proper names of persons and places was to make it more easy to read such works in church or refectory. It is for the same reason that

we so often find in MSS. the contractions expanded by a later hand, and, what many of us can sympathise with, the numerals written out in full. In the matter of proper names the life of Columba by Cuimíne shows a striking absence of them as compared with that by Adamnan, which is partly based upon it. See on iii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* cc. 4, 7 *ad fn.*

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* cc. II, 41.

<sup>4</sup> c. 34. See above, p. xxviii.

<sup>5</sup> cc. 37-40.

details; but he has inserted others of his own, such as the beautiful farewell scene between Benedict and Sigfrid<sup>1</sup>. He was of course much nearer to the facts here than in the case of Cuthbert; indeed of many things he must have been an eye-witness. And the Lives of the Abbots are not unworthy to take their place beside the Ecclesiastical History. But it would have been matter for regret had Bede's works supplanted wholly the works of his predecessors. The fewness of the MSS. in which these works exist shows that this contingency was very near occurring<sup>2</sup>. And this brings home to us the possibility, suggested many years ago by Lappenberg, that Bede's Ecclesiastical History may, by its very excellence, have caused the loss of a large amount of earlier historical materials<sup>3</sup>; a question which arises also in the case of our Synoptic Gospels.

§ 13. But the greater number of Bede's works and those to which he himself no doubt assigned the greatest value are theological in character. These consist principally of commentaries on books of the Old and New Testament<sup>4</sup>. There are also homilies and treatises which do not differ very much from the commentaries, except in the fact that they deal with detached, instead of with continuous, portions of Scripture<sup>5</sup>. Thus the homilies are expositions

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Hardy, Cat. i. 297, 298, 412-414.

<sup>3</sup> I. xlv. f., E. T. I. xxxv. So of the Saxon Chron. Dr. Stubbs says: 'it stopped the writing of new books, and ensured the destruction of the old.' Hoveden, I. xi.

<sup>4</sup> The Monk of St. Gallen in the *Gesta Caroli* calls him 'peritissimus post Sanctum Gregorium in scripturis tractator.' Pertz, ii. 731; Mon. Carolina, p. 632; cf. the exordium of Vita I; Opp. I. cxliii; Werner,

pp. 150-152, 182, 183.

<sup>5</sup> So Werner, pp. 199, 200. It illustrates this point that we find among the homilies of Bede in MSS. and editions what are simply extracts from his commentaries. Thus Nos. 11 and 15 in Giles, Opp. v. 85 ff., 103 ff. are extracts from Bede on Mark and Luke respectively. Opp. x. 114-120; xi. 194-199. Conversely in MS. Univ. Cantab. Dd. i. 29, Bede's Commentary on St. Luke is entitled 'Homelieae super Lucam.' Cf. Catalogue of MSS. i. 37. And in two MSS. of Bede's Commentary

<sup>3</sup>. Theological works.

of the gospels for the days on which they were delivered<sup>1</sup>. Of these homilies the three most interesting are one on the anniversary of the death of Benedict Biscop, though it does not add very much to what we learn of him from the lives by Bede and his anonymous predecessor<sup>2</sup>; the other two are for the festivals of the dedication of Jarrow or Wearmouth Church, probably the former<sup>3</sup>. In connexion with these homilies of Bede's may be mentioned a quaint and beautiful little legend as to the origin of his name of the venerable<sup>4</sup>. 'After Bede had devoted himself for a long time to the study of Holy Scripture, in his old age his eyes became dim, so that he could not see; to whom some mockers said: "Bede, behold the people are gathered together waiting to hear the word of God; arise, and preach to them." And he, thirsting for the salvation of souls, . . . went up and preached, thinking that there were people there; whereas there was no one but those mockers. And as he concluded his sermon, saying, "This may God deign to grant to us, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," the blessed angels in the air responded, saying, "Amen, very venerable Bede<sup>5</sup>."'

A slightly different version is found in other authorities on St. Luke, Monte Casino, Nos. 36, 37, several of the chapters are assigned as homilies for definite days. It illustrates the use made of Bede by later preachers, that we find a homily of Bede's fitted with a new exordium to conceal its identity. No. 7 in Giles is, except the first page and a quarter, identical with No. 56. Opp. v. 46 ff., 432 ff. Needless to say that Dr. Giles has seen nothing of all this.

<sup>1</sup> On the liturgical use of these homilies in monasteries see Werner, pp. 199, 200, citing Paulus Diaconus. Gebhardt, archbishop of Salzburg, writing in 1081 says

that Bede's homilies were read annually in the Church. *Libelli de lite Imp. et Pont.* i. 277 (M. H. G. 4to).

<sup>2</sup> Opp. v. 179-185, in part also in Opp. Min. pp. 335-338. Considerable extracts from it, collated with MS. Harl. 3020 (on which see below, p. cxxxii.), are given in the notes to Hist. Abb.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. v. 228 ff., 315 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The name dates from the ninth century. It was a common designation of priests. Gehle, p. 39; Werner, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Chron. Min. auct. Minorita Erphordiensi. Pertz, xxiv. 180.



ties, the incident taking place in a stone-strewn valley as Bede is on a journey, and it is the stones which cry out, 'Amen, uenerabilis Pater.' The ordinary account of the origin of the epithet may be given in Fuller's quaint words: 'He is generally surnamed venerable, but why authours differ therein—Some say, a dunce monk, being to make his epitaph, was non-plussed to make that dactyle, which is onely of the quorum in the hexameter, and therefore at night left the verse, gaping, "Hic sunt in fossa Bedae . . . ossa," till he had consulted with his pillow, to fill up the hiatus. But returning in the morning, an angel (we have often heard of their singing, see now of their poetry) had filled up the chasm with "uenerabilis<sup>1</sup>."'

Most of Bede's theological works are dedicated to Acca, bishop of Hexham<sup>2</sup>, for whom he evidently cherished a warm affection<sup>3</sup>; and as Acca did not become bishop till 709, these works cannot be earlier than that year. The latest of his purely theological works would seem to be the *Retractations* on the Acts, as it is not mentioned in the list of Bede's works at the end of the *Ecclesiastical History* written in 731<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Both these tales are found in a short life printed by Giles, *Opp.* I. clxi. f. Of the former an Icelandic version may be seen printed at the end of *Hákonar Saga*, R. S. pp. 433, 434. Yet a fourth legend in *Gehle*, pp. 36, 37.

<sup>2</sup> \*In Genesim, \*In Samuelem, De Templo, \*In Ezram et Neemiam, \*In Marcum, \*In Lucam, \*In Acta, \*De Mansionibus Filiorum Israel, \*De Eo quod ait Isaias, &c. Those marked with an asterisk were written at Acca's request, or in answer to questions addressed by him. So also was the hymn on the

Day of Judgement, *infr.* App. I. pp. cliii, cliv. In the Merton MS. No. 175, the dedicatory epistle prefixed to the *De Templo* is addressed to Nothelm, not, as in Giles, to Acca. So also in the *Phillipps MS.* No. 9428, for a sight of which I am indebted to the courtesy of Messrs. Maggs brothers, into whose possession it came; and in *MS. Reg. 5. D. x.*

<sup>3</sup> See notes to *H. E.* v. 20.

<sup>4</sup> This is not absolutely conclusive. The *De Locis Sanctis* is omitted from that list, though it is cited *H. E.* v. 17 *ad fin.*



Bede's  
reverence  
for patristic  
tradition.

In theology, least of all, was Bede likely to seek after originality. We have seen how in the passage cited at the beginning of this chapter, he tells us that he wrote his commentaries on the Scriptures 'out of the works of the venerable fathers, or in conformity with their meaning and interpretation.' And he speaks to the same effect in many other places<sup>1</sup>. Parts indeed of his works consist wholly of extracts<sup>2</sup>.

The patristic writers of whom Bede makes the greatest use are SS. Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, and Gregory the Great. But his theological learning is extensive, and the list of authors which he quotes is a stately one<sup>3</sup>. In

<sup>1</sup> 'Sequens magnorum uestigia tractatorum.' Opp. viii. 264. 'Ex patrum traditione.' Ib. 357; cf. ib. 233, 313, 417 (an interesting passage on the use made by Cassiodorus of previous expositors); ix. 200; x. 2: 'aggregatis . . . opusculis patrum, quid . . . Ambrosius, quid Augustinus, quid . . . Gregorius . . . quid Hieronymus . . . quid caeteri patres . . . senserint . . . diligentius inspicere satagi.' Ib. 268; 'maiorum monumenta,' xi. 230; 'non nostra uerum beati Cypriani uerba ponamus,' xii. 241; cf. v. 13. He does, however, sometimes assert his own opinion: 'de quo, saluo maiorum intellectu, dicam breuiter ipse quod sentio,' x. 322; cf. 'ut mea fert suspicio,' vii. 155.

<sup>2</sup> The Commentary on St. John's Epistle is taken mainly from St. Augustine. Opp. xii. 4. The seventh book of the *In Cantica* consists of extracts from St. Gregory, ix. 387-404. The *In Apostolum quaecunque in opusculis Sancti Augustini exposita inueni*, &c. (H. E. v. 24,

p. 358) has not been printed. See below, App. I. p. clv.

<sup>3</sup> The authors cited by name by Bede, as far as I have noted, are the following: Acinius (? Alcinus), Opp. vi. 4; Aesop, vii. 354; Africanus (Julius), vi. 166, 290, 291, 293, 307, 308; ix. 4, 307; x. 358 (cf. D. C. B. and Ltft. App. Ff. I. i. index, II. ii. index); Ambrose, vi. 3, 4, 17, 33, 61, 73-75, 77, 151, 158, 199, 207; vii. 57; ix. 381; x. 268; xi. 230; xii. 51, 54, 233, 303, 304, 313, 320; Anatolius, i. 155, 158, 159, 161; vi. 177, 206, 219, 229, 310; Apocryphal Gospels and Acts, x. 273; xi. 357; xii. 99, 133, 138; Apollonius, ix. 244, 310; Arator, vi. 42, 46, 60; xii. 2, 13, 28, 31, 58, 76, 77, 80, 441; Arnobius, vi. 276; Athanasius, xii. 157, 228; Audacius, vi. 57; Augustine, *passim*; Basil, vi. 151, 200, 208; vii. 1, 7; H. E. i. 1, p. 10; Canones Apostolorum, Opp. vi. 177; Cassiodorus, vii. 307; viii. 314, 315, 417; Cato, vi. 29, 220; Centimetrorum Libri, vi. 77; Chronica, viii. 422; xii. 33, 61, 138, 140; Chronographi, vii. 151,

Ecclesiastical history he cites most frequently Josephus and Eusebius. Of classical writers he draws largely from

423; viii. 431; cf. i. 145; Chrysostomus, xii. 226; Cicero, vi. 8, 19, 28, 29, 37, 135; Cincius, vi. 172; Clemens Alexandrinus, vi. 112, 306; x. 1; xii. 31, 57, 101, 122, 349; Clemens Romanus, vi. 151; vii. 11; Cosmographi, vi. 218 (cf. Hist. Abb. § 15, p. 380); Cyprian, iv. 71; vi. 309; vii. 280; xii. 211, 224, 241, 349; Cyril of Alexandria, i. 155, 158; vi. 232, 233; H. E. v. 21, p. 341; Didymus, Opp. xii. 94; Dionysius of Alexandria, vi. 308, 309; xii. 449; Dionysius Areopagita, x. 102; xii. 72; Dionysius Exiguus, i. 160; vi. 229, 240, 253, 255; H. E. v. 21, p. 341; Donatus, Opp. vi. 41, 45, 46, 68; Epicurus, xii. 195; Eusebius, i. 145, 160; vi. 140, 158, 166, 234, 280, 291, 301, 312; x. 92, 200, 201; xii. 120; H. E. v. 21, p. 341 (see also *Historia Ecclesiastica*); Eutropius, H. E. i. 8; Flaccus, *v.* Verrius; Festus, *v.* Pompeius; Fortunatus, H. E. i. 7 *ad init.* and note *ad loc.*; Fulgentius, Opp. xii. 108, 222; Gesta Marcelli Papae (? = *Liber Pontificalis*), iv. 159; Gesta Pontificalia (= *Liber Pontificalis*), iv. 105; x. 251; Gildas, H. E. i. 22, p. 42, see marginal notes to H. E. i. 12-16, 22; Gregory the Great, *passim*; Gregory Nazianzen, Opp. xii. 103; Gregory of Tours, xii. 156; Hegesippus (*v.* D. C. B. ii. 875-878), xi. 13; xii. 10; Heluidius, x. 54; Hermas (cited as *Liber Pastoris*), xii. 59; Hieronymus, *passim*; Hilarius, viii. 417; xii. 141, 146; Hipparchus (the astronomer), vi. 199; Hippocrates, vi. 204; xii. 155; Hippolytus, vi. 307 (see above, p. xli);

*Historia Ecclesiastica* (by this is probably meant in all cases Eusebius' H. E. translated and continued by Rufinus), i. 213; iv. 75; vii. 417; viii. 6, 31, 196; x. 160, 374; xi. 12, 359; xii. 10, 60, 122, 159, 258, 387; *Historia S. Sylvestri* (? = *Liber Pontificalis*), iv. 112; Horace (the Epistles, not the Odes), ix. 137; Horatius, vi. 34 (not the poet; apparently a theologian); Horus et Praetextatus, see Macrobius; Ignatius, xii. 422; Innocent I, xii. 201; John of Constantinople (I do not know whether Chrysostom, or one of the other Johns who held the see of Constantinople is meant), vi. 9, 25; viii. 258; x. 283; Iosephus, *passim*; Iovinianus, xii. 319; Isidore, vi. 218; xii. 99, 155; Iulianus of Eclana, ix. 186-197; x. 140; xii. 292; H. E. i. 10 notes; Iuuenius, Opp. vi. 47; xii. 130; Iulius, *v.* Africanus; Laberius, vi. 29; *Liber Pontificalis*, *v.* notes to H. E. i. 4; Livy, Opp. vi. 19, 37; Lucan, vi. 62; Lucilius, vi. 5, 29, 39; Lucretius, vi. 7, 71; Macer, vi. 25, 35; Macrobius, vi. 172, 175; Maiores Nostri, vii. 154; Mallius Theodorus, vi. 75; Marcellinus Comes, see H. E. i. 13 and notes; Martial, Opp. xii. 46; Martyrology, x. 95; xii. 99; Melito, xii. 127 (the *De Transitu Mariae*. Bede is aware of its spuriousness. Cf. D. C. B. iii. 899; *Moderni Versificatores*, vi. 46; cf. ib. 71; *Nostri Auctores*, vi. 27; cf. ib. 31 (where Gregory the Great is meant), 33; viii. 225; Onesieritus, vi. 208, 209; Origen, i. 147, 148; vi. 308; vii. 102, 103; condemned as

the younger Pliny in his scientific works, though with

heretical for his universalism, vii. 124; ix. 66, 87, 96; x. 552; xii. 113; Orosius, vii. 145; viii. 44 (see marginal notes to H. E. i. 1-6, 8-11); Ovid, *Opp.* vi. 4, 23, 39, 44; vii. 144; ix. 240; Pacuvius, vi. 36; Palaephatus (of Paros), *De Incredibilibus* (*περὶ ἀπίστων*), vi. 281; Papias, x. 1; xii. 322; Paschasinus, vi. 233, 317; Passio S. Anastasiae, iv. 103; Passio S. Xisti, iv. 141; Paterius, ix. 388 (see above, p. xxiii); Paulinus of Nola, iv. 174, 188; vi. 47, 65-69; xi. 12; Philip-  
pus on Job (see D. C. B. iv. 357, No. 15) vi. 148, 203; Philo, vi. 206; x. 2; Plato, vi. 135; x. 108; cf. H. E. v. 21, p. 333; Plautus, *Opp.* vi. 35; Plinius Secundus, vi. 106, 198, 204, 208, 209, 211, 214, 216, 219; vii. 45 (cf. ib. 302); ix. 310; xii. 142, 149, 184; Poetarum quidam, i. 150; vii. 24, 233; ix. 158, 165; xi. 145; Polycarp, xii. 324; Pompeius (Festus), vi. 41, 45; Pomponius, vi. 7; Porphyrius Poeta, vi. 77; Primasius, xii. 400; Propertius, vi. 7; Prosper, vi. 46, 48, 56, 60, 62-66, 75; H. E. i. 10, 13, and notes; Proterius of Alexandria, *Opp.* i. 155; vi. 219, 235; Prudentius, iv. 109, 174; vi. 67, 68, 74 ('nobilissimus Hispanorum Scholasticus'); Pythagoras, v. 196; xii. 224; Pythagorici, xii. 167; Pythias Massiliensis, vi. 126, 209; Sacramentorum Liber, x. 94; Sallust, vi. 16, 26, 136; xii. 91; Sedulius, vi. 45, 60, 61, 65, 67, 70, 75; viii. 258; xi. 362; H. E. v. 18, p. 321, and notes; Seniorum uerba, *Opp.* iv. 95; Sergius the Grammarian, vi. 41, 44; Seuerus, Cornelius, vi. 35; Solinus, vi. 209, and marginal notes to H. E. i. 1; Stoici, *Opp.* xii. 319; Suetonius, xii. 72; ?Talmudic Legends, vii. 122, 153; Terence, vi. 33, 36; Theodorus v. Mallius; Theodorus Pharanitanus (cf. D. C. B. iv. 948, 949), x. 102; Theophilus of Alexandria, vi. 258, 260, 306, 315; H. E. v. 21, p. 341; Theophilus of Caesarea, *Opp.* i. 165, 166; Tychonius, xii. 338, 340, 360, 375, 391, 403, 407, 414, 416, 427, 432; Varro, vi. 4, 7, 19, 23, 29, 135; Verrius Flaccus, vi. 7; Vetus Dictum, xii. 366; Vetus Historia, x. 89; Victor of Capua, i. 158, 159; vi. 248, 321; Victorinus (Afer), vi. 66; Victorius, vi. 229, 230, 233, 240, 246-249, 320, 321; Virgil, i. 158; vi. 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 18, 22, 26, 28, 29, 32, 39, 43, 45, 46, 49, 65-67, 70-72, 157, 159, 181, 202, 216; vii. 27; viii. 49, 90, 215, 216, 223, 240, 274; ix. 186, 230, 310, 345; xii. 252, 397. Authors quoted anonymously, vi. 13, 26, 28, 32, 44-47, 49, 51, 53, 56, 57, 59, 61-67, 72, 75-77, 85, 92, 180, 210. Of course it must not be assumed that Bede knew all the above writers at first hand. Many references he no doubt took from other authors. But even so the list shows the care and diligence with which he read. Authors referred to by Bede without being actually cited are: Archelaus of Mesopotamia, vi. 311; Aristotle, vi. 135; Auitus presbyter, vi. 316; Demosthenes, vi. 135; Diogenes, viii. 387; Herodotus, vi. 135; Lucianus presbyter, vi. 316; Panthenus Stoicus, vi. 306; Paul of Samosata, vi. 310; Pierius of Alexandria, vi. 311; Pontius Diaconus, vi. 309; Socrates, vi. 135; Theodoret, vi. 135.

a sort of apology for doing so<sup>1</sup>. He knows his Virgil well and quotes him frequently. Ovid he cites occasionally; Horace only once or twice. In these and similar cases it is open to us to suppose that the quotations may be taken at second hand from some of the authorities which he used. But on the whole Bede is not very favourable to the use of pagan literature by Christians. He would not forbid it absolutely, for Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and Daniel in the learning and tongue of the Chaldaeans, and St. Paul quotes from Greek poets both in the Epistles and the Acts<sup>2</sup>. But such literature must be used with caution. The ancient philosophers are in many cases the spiritual progenitors of the later heretics<sup>3</sup>. At best they are the physicians on whom the woman with the issue of blood (who typifies the gentile world) 'had spent all that she had, and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse<sup>4</sup>.' For Christians to make use of pagan writings, is like the Israelites going down to the Philistines to sharpen their agricultural implements<sup>5</sup>. Gentile poems are but the husks which the swine do eat<sup>6</sup> and Bede prefers, as a rule, not to cite them.

Bede's  
attitude  
towards  
pagan  
literature.

Bede's command of Latin is excellent, and his style is clear and limpid<sup>7</sup>, and it is very seldom that we have to pause to think of the meaning of a sentence. There is no

Bede's  
style.

<sup>1</sup> Opp. vi. 199, 208. See however note on H. E. i. 1, p. 9. On the attitude of the early Church towards pagan literature, see some interesting remarks, D. C. A. ii. 1846 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. viii. 58-60; cf. xii. 169.

<sup>3</sup> 'Unde pulchre quidam nostrorum ait: philosophi patriarchae haereticorum.' Opp. viii. 225; cf. ix. 52, 86.

<sup>4</sup> Opp. x. 77 = xi. 83.

<sup>5</sup> Opp. viii. 50.

<sup>6</sup> Opp. vi. 77; cf. vv. 3, 4 of

the Hymn to Ethelthryth in H. E. iv. 20; Morison's St. Bernard, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> He has not Gregory the Great's contempt for Grammar: 'indignum uehementer existimo, ut uerba coelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati.' Comment. in Iob, cited by Werner, p. 19: 'eius non solum non sententia ecclesiasticum lectorem offendit, sed nec oratio . . . docibilem grammaticum mouet.' Vita I; Opp. I. clv.

affectation of a false classicality, and no touch of the puerile pomposity of his contemporary Aldhelm, for whom, however, he cannot help feeling a kind of admiration<sup>1</sup>. Alcuin rightly praises Bede for his unpretending style<sup>2</sup>.

That Bede knew Greek is shown most clearly by his two works on the Acts, the *Expositio* and the *Retractationes*, throughout which he is constantly comparing the Latin versions with his 'Graecum exemplar'<sup>3</sup>, which, from the readings he gives, must be a MS. now existing in the Bodleian Library<sup>4</sup>. There are many other passages in Bede's works which seem to imply some knowledge of Greek<sup>5</sup>, but we might have doubted how far this was first-hand knowledge, were it not for the two treatises on the Acts<sup>6</sup>.

Throughout his theological works, Bede shows himself fully sensible of the importance of textual criticism. Not only does he continually compare, as we have seen, the two translations, the Vulgate and the Itala together<sup>7</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> 'Sermone nitidus.' H. E. v. 18, and notes.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sermo simplex.' Mon. Alc. pp. 598, 599; 'stylo ad purum purgato.' R. W. i. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. xii. 28, 35, 42, 52, 62, 63, 75, 78, 79, 83, 87, 94, 97-102, 105, 109-111, 114, 116, 118, 119, 121-126, 129-131, 134, 135, 137, 139, 141-149, 152-155.

<sup>4</sup> Laud. Greek, No. 35. I owe the reference to Mr. Madan. It has the Greek and Latin in parallel columns, and as the writing is very large, there is seldom more than one word in a line, so that the Latin forms an almost word-for-word translation of the Greek.

<sup>5</sup> Opp. v. 211, 399, 415, 425, 463; vi. 2, 3, 5-9, 11-13, 15, 17-

27, 29, 30, 32-41, 47, 57, 59, 80-92, 94, 95, 98, 101, 146, 168, 175, 176, 207, 211; vii. 46, 85, 101, 134, 166, 188, 305, 323, 335, 350, 392; viii. 19, 50, 92, 113, 114, 129, 143, 235, 243, 271, 308, 389; ix. 7, 11, 29, 79, 82, 89, 161, 164, 209, 217, 227, 290, 291, 310, 360; x. 5, 29, 45-47, 127, 148, 195, 240, 250, 296, 370, 390; xi. 1, 10, 378.

<sup>6</sup> Werner, pp. 98, 191, seems to me to underrate Bede's knowledge of Greek. S. D. says: 'Graecae [linguae] peritiam non mediocriter percepit,' i. 29; cf. Stubbs in D. C. B. i. 301: 'he certainly knew Greek, and some Hebrew.'

<sup>7</sup> Bede cites the Itala as 'alia,' 'antiqua,' 'uetustranslatio': Opp.



but he constantly notes the readings of various manuscripts, pointing out which are faulty<sup>1</sup>, though in one case

i. 149; cf. *Hist. Abb.* § 15, p. 379; *Opp.* vii. 20, 21, 29, 43, 45, 53, 54, 59, 65, 69, 72-74, 77, 86, 90, 142, 164, 171, 181, 187, 216; viii. 253, 256, 395, 415, 449, 456; ix. 72, 85, 86, 89, 97, 100, 102, 103, 110, 115, 117, 126, 129, 131, 132, 134, 136, 146, 161, 162, 167, 223, 251, 310, 317; xii. 28, 42, 74, 90, 91, 111, 192, 222, 231, 254, 286, 346, 358, 378, 381, 409. (For his commentary on the canticle of Habaccuc, Bede uses the *Itala*. Here '*alia translatio*' is the *Vulgate*, ix. 412. The reason for this no doubt is that in the liturgical use of that canticle the old translation still maintained its ground.) Sometimes the *Itala* is cited as '*alia editio*,' xii. 25, 53, 85, 89, 261, 376, 397, 399, 413, 422, 430, 431; once as '*uetus editio*,' xii. 238. The *Vulgate* is '*nostra editio*,' ix. 224; xii. 192. Jerome is '*noster interpres*,' vii. 239; viii. 245; xii. 134. Bede also cites the Bible '*iuxta Hebraicam ueritatem*,' i. 145, 153; vii. 428; ix. 326, 408; xii. 33, 62, 97, 192. (Whether he had any first-hand knowledge of Hebrew I should doubt. See, however, Dr. Stubbs' opinion cited in the last note; cf. vi. 85, 340; ix. 53, 337.) He quotes the *LXX*, i. 145; vii. 84, 86, 153, 383, 392; ix. 71, 419, 437; xii. 33. And all through the *Chronicon* at the end of the *De Temporum Ratione* he compares the Hebrew chronology with that of the *Septuagint*. Cf. i. 145 ff.; x. 362; xii. 2. Aquila's translation he cites only once (viii. 255; cf. vi.

136, probably not at first hand. He speaks of '*aliae translationes*,' viii. 211; '*quaedam editiones*,' ix. 418; '*quaedam translatio*,' xii. 112; '*quidam interpretati sunt*,' xii. 151, 166. As to readings, he notes the '*codicum uarietas*,' xii. 63; '*diuersa exemplaria*,' i. 149, and condemns some as '*mendosa exemplaria*,' x. 50; xi. 138; while others are '*emendatiora exemplaria*,' xii. 27. A copy owned by his friend Nothelm is '*omnino mendosum*,' viii. 235; cf. '*corruptio Graecorum codicum*,' i. 147; '*antiqua translatio corrupta . . . atque uiolata*,' ib. 149. He cites '*nostri codices*' (possibly those spoken of above, p. xix), ix. 7; xii. 116, 119; of '*quidam codices*,' vii. 91, 166; ix. 80, 167, 251, 277, 377, 416, 422, 424; x. 16, 120; xi. 177; xii. 52, 61, 63, 73, 98, 116, 146, 151, 152, 181, 182, 202, 215, 217, 223, 229, 244, 254, 303; of '*Latini codices*,' xii. 78. Of Jerome's translation Isidore says: '*cuius editione generaliter omnes ecclesiae utuntur, pro eo quod ueracior sit in sententiis, et clarior in uerbis*.' Cited D. C. B.; cf. Gregory, *Introductory Epistle to the Commentary on Job*: '*nouam translationem dissero, sed, cum probationis causa exigit, nunc nouam, nunc ueterem per testimonia assumo; ut quia sedes apostolica, cui auctore Deo praesideo, utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur*.' Cited by Moberly on *Hist. Abb.* § 15.

<sup>1</sup> An interesting reading used



he certainly allows his critical judgement to be determined by what he believes to be the exigences of the allegorical interpretation<sup>1</sup>. He gives instances of corruption in MSS.<sup>2</sup>, and notes the special tendency of scribes to mistakes in copying numerals<sup>3</sup>.

The allegorical method.

§ 14. Bede's mode of exposition is largely allegorical. This method he inherited from his predecessors; and its prevalence was mainly due to the influence of the Alexandrian schools upon the early Church<sup>4</sup>, of which we see the beginning in the New Testament itself, in the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>5</sup>. This method rests upon the belief, in itself, surely, no ignoble one, that nothing in Scripture can be devoid of significance<sup>6</sup>. All things in Scripture, says Bede, times and places, names and numbers, are full of spiritual figure, of typic mystery, of heavenly sacraments<sup>7</sup>. This word sacrament is a favourite word with

by Bede himself is: '*unus grex et unus pastor*' (John x. 16). Opp. viii. 171; x. 220. But he has the '*unum ouile*,' the mis-translation which has so unfortunately dominated the Western Church, in viii. 197, 335; ix. 441; x. 225, 228.

<sup>1</sup> Opp. xii. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. xii. 12, 93, 155; i. 149.

<sup>3</sup> '*Numeri . . . negligentius describuntur, et negligentius emendantur.*' Opp. i. 149; cf. viii. 2; and the appeal of the author of the Flores Temporum in Pertz, xxiv. 231: '*obsecro . . . scriptores ut circa numeros annorum correcte scribendos adhibeant diligentiam propter Deum, alioquin ego in quantum ad homines in vacuum laboravi, et ignavia mee imputabitur error librarii dormitantis.*'

<sup>4</sup> 'Origen's method . . . determined the character of a large part of the patristic and

mediaeval exegesis.' Sanday, Bampton Lectures, p. 421; cf. D. C. A. ii. 1851, 1853, 1854.

<sup>5</sup> Bede himself cites the Epistle to the Hebrews as justifying his method. Opp. vii. 175: '*uestigia eius sectantes.*'

<sup>6</sup> Sanday, *u. s.*, pp. 23, 35, 39, 85; cf. Werner, p. 177; Morison's Bernard, p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> '*Cuncta sacri eloquii series mysticis est plena figuris, nec tantum . . . factis sed et . . . locis ac temporibus congruit illud apostolicum quia omnia in figura contingebant illis.*' Opp. vii. 173, 174; ib. 225, 293; viii. 248; x. 56: '*sacra historia mysteriis typicis est plena,*' vii. 159; '*neque beatus Lucas interpretationem nominis augeret, nisi magnum ei mysterium inesse cognosceret,*' xii. 46; '*omnia plena figuris in scriptura sancta, etiam nomina et positio locorum.*' Ib. 133; cf. xi. 55.

Bede in this connexion, and for him it means, not 'the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace,' but rather the inner and spiritual meaning of an external fact, or narrative, or name<sup>1</sup>. Had not St. Paul himself declared that all things happened to Israel in a figure, and were written for our admonition<sup>2</sup>? Did not our Lord Himself speak in parables to teach us to look below the surface of things<sup>3</sup>? We must not suppose that a writer like Moses meant only to give historical information<sup>4</sup>; and

<sup>1</sup> 'The word *sacramentum* in early Christian writings has two senses: (1) It is the equivalent of the Greek *μυστήριον*, . . . "a sacred ordinance, or doctrine, or fact," more especially where a deeper verity is hidden under some familiar external form. . . . (2) It is used in its classical sense of "a solemn obligation, or pledge, or oath." In both senses it was applicable to the two ordinances which we call sacraments, . . . though in the latter sense it was more appropriate to baptism.' Ltft., App. Ff. II. i. 51. It is in the former sense that Bede most commonly uses it; and especially in the plural; '*altius sacramentum fidei . . . continet numerus ille militum*,' Opp. vii. 173; '*cuius uectis si . . . sacramentum scire desideras*,' ib. 301; viii. 244; '*patet sacramentum*,' *i.e.* 'the inner meaning is plain,' ix. 10. Bede is especially fond of tracing the inner significance of proper names: '*Felix . . . iuxta sui nominis sacramentum*,' H. E. ii. 15 *ad fin.* So of Benedict Bishop: '*nominis sui mysterium factis exequens*,' Opp. iv. 176; cf. ib. 194. So of Benedict Bis-

cop: '*gratia Benedictus et nomine*,' Hist. Abb. § 1, p. 364; cf. Opp. x. 288; xii. 32. So of place names: H. E. iii. 2, p. 129 (Hefenfelth); '*propter nominis sacramentum Dominus in Bethleem nascitur. Bethleem namque domus panis interpretatur*,' Opp. x. 309. 'Sacramenta' in the plural is sometimes used specifically of the Eucharist and Baptism: '*sacrae communionis sacramenta*,' H. E. i. 27, p. 53; '*baptismatis sacramenta*,' ib. and iii. 3, p. 131. More often it signifies generally the mysteries and doctrines of the Christian faith; thus, '*fides et sacramenta*,' ii. 9, 15; iii. 7, 21; iv. 23, pp. 97, 115, 140, 169, 252; '*sacramenta fidei*' (especially in the phrase '*fidei sacramentis inbui*,' where a reference to baptism is often implied), ii. 9, 15; iii. 1, 23, 30; iv. 14, 16, 27, pp. 15, 116 (bis), 127, 128, 175, 199, 234, 238, 269; '*sacramenta caelestia*,' iii. 25, p. 183; '*noui testamenti sacramenta*,' ib. p. 186; '*sacramenta dominicae resurrectionis*,' v. 21, p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. x. 11 (Vulgate).

<sup>3</sup> Opp. xi. 62, 63; cf. ib. 196.

<sup>4</sup> Opp. vii. 164: '*non est . . . putandum haec . . . auctorem . . . historici tantum studii gratia memoriae mandasse*,' Ib. 169.

many details would be quite useless if they had no significance beyond themselves<sup>1</sup>. The literal sense is but the stepping stone to the allegorical meaning<sup>2</sup>; the veil or covering which must be drawn aside, the crust which must be removed, before we can see the fullness of the revelation which God gave<sup>3</sup>. The literal is to the allegorical meaning what water<sup>4</sup> is to wine, or the leaves of a tree to its fruit<sup>5</sup>. The word of God is like precious spices, which must be bruised and sifted before they will yield their full fragrance<sup>6</sup>. In this way the whole of the New Testament may be discovered in the Old<sup>7</sup>. To cleave to the letter only is mere Judaism<sup>8</sup>; it is 'standing without' like Christ's Mother and brethren<sup>9</sup>, for to 'enter' means to penetrate to the arcana of divine understanding<sup>10</sup>. It is true that Bede says that we are not by our allegorising to do away with the historical credit or moral lessons of the narrative<sup>11</sup>. Occasionally he even consents to desert allegory altogether<sup>12</sup>. But sometimes he comes

<sup>1</sup> 'Quid utilitatis habebat decor marmoris . . . si non mysticum aliquid tacite signaret.' Opp. viii. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. vii. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. viii. 435, ix. 148: 'sub contemptibili literarum uelamine . . . spiritualis gratiae uirtus inuenietur,' x. 25, 400.

<sup>4</sup> 'In uino mixto historicam simul et allegoricam . . . scientiam propinat.' Opp. ix. 92. Cf. 'quae . . . a Domino nobis in uinum conuersa, hoc est, in spiritualem sensum . . . translata.' Ib. 13.

<sup>5</sup> 'Quantum poma foliis, tantum . . . interior eius sensus . . . simplicitati literae praestat,' ib. 427; cf. 'in . . . literae nemore . . . spiritualis allegoriae poma quaeramus,' vii. 403; viii. 107.

<sup>6</sup> Opp. v. 39.

<sup>7</sup> 'Noui testamenti gratia in uelamine erat ueteris condita, et nunc sacramenta ueteris testamenti per lucem sunt noui reuelata.' Opp. viii. 324; cf. ib. 276, 304.

<sup>8</sup> 'Si . . . solas literae figuras sequi Iudaico more curamus.' Opp. vii. 369.

<sup>9</sup> Opp. x. 55; xi. 70.

<sup>10</sup> Opp. xi. 155, 156.

<sup>11</sup> 'Ita quisque sensibus allegoricis studium impendat, quatenus apertam historiae fidem allegorizando non derelinquat,' Opp. vii. 3; 'neque ita . . . interpretari debemus, ut moralia . . . instituta sub allegoriae regulis extenuare . . . conemur,' xi. 125; cf. Sanday, *u. s.*, p. 79.

<sup>12</sup> Opp. viii. 71: 'imitandum potius quam allegorizandum,'

very near to throwing over the literal sense entirely, as when he says that the Song of Songs 'nil carnale et iuxta literam resonet'¹.

The allegorical method has lost much of its credit. To us it seems an arbitrary and subjective process whereby anything may be made to mean anything, according to the taste and fancy of the expositor. And seeing that Bede expressly lays down that the interpretation may go by contraries, good meaning bad, and bad good²; that the same persons and things may typify different things at different times³, and that the order of events in the type and its fulfilment may be reversed⁴; it is obvious what scope is left for the play of the subjective imagination; and we can readily understand that, as Bede says, a single line may contain matter for many pages⁵. But though seemingly arbitrary, the method has its fixed laws and rules, 'leges tropologiae'⁶, 'leges allegoriae'⁷, or 'regulae allegoriae'⁸.

ib. 77; 'non nos allegoriae sensum inquirere, sed ipsum literae textum oportet . . . cernere,' ix. 22; xi. 166.

¹ Opp. ix. 365.

² Opp. vii. 397, 417; viii. 27; ix. 429; xi. 201.

³ Opp. viii. 65, 209, 295; x. 58.

⁴ Opp. viii. 114.

⁵ 'Talis est foecunditas scripturarum, ut uersus qui breui in linea scribi consueuerat, multas impleat paginas.' Opp. ix. 283.

⁶ Opp. x. 18, 32, 389, 406; xi. 36.

⁷ Opp. x. 41, 94, 196; xi. 95, 310.

⁸ Opp. xi. 53, 125. Here are some of these 'leges allegoriae.' A Dove must always signify the Spirit because of Luke iii. 22 (Opp. ix. 336; x. 178). Silver = the Word of God because of Ps. xi. 7 (viii. 380, 381; xi.

281, and fq.). Wood = the Gospel, for the Cross was made of wood (viii. 295). Stone = the law, because it was written on tables of stone (viii. 295; x. 254; xi. 341, 375); but it also = hard hearts, because of Ezek. xxxvi. 26 (x. 345). A millstone = the wicked because of Ps. xi. 9, 'in circuitu impii ambulant' (xii. 422). Thorns = sins; cf. Gen. iii. 18 (x. 238). A reed = Scripture, as written with a reed-pen (x. 239, 248). But it also = the carnal mind, because it is easily deflected (xi. 47). Left and right mean respectively present and eternal things; because of Prov. iii. 16. 'Longitudo dierum in dextera eius, et in sinistra illius divitiae et gloria' (x. 279). The Arm of God is the Son, because of John

And though Bede's symbolism may often strike us as

i. 3, 'omnia per ipsum facta sunt' (x. 296; xi. 140). The finger of God is the Spirit, Lk. xi. 20, compared with Matth. xii. 28 (xi. 141). Most curious of all: 'sputum . . . Domini saporem designat sapientiae, quae . . . loquitur: "Ego ex ore Altissimi prodiui,"' Ecclus. xxiv. 5 (x. 112). Again: 'Lutum de terra caro Christi est. Sputum de ore, diuinitas eius est, quia "caput Christi Deus,"' 1 Cor. xi. 3 (x. 381). Other instances are these: Skins = death (ix. 343; x. 9, 87, 349). Loins = succession, generation (ix. 344; xii. 426). Fish = faith (x. 135). Sea = present world (x. 67). Water = Spirit; but also = depth of intellect (xii. 441, 442). Mountain = the Devil (x. 181). A good deal of Bede's symbolism is borrowed from the traditional natural history of his time, *e. g.* the dove (v. 170, 174, 175; ix. 228, 243, 244; cf. Ltft., App. Ff. II. iii. 390, 391); the stag (ix. 80, 238); the goat (ix. 238, 240, 348); the fox (ix. 248); the elephant (ix. 316); the eagle (xi. 61, 257); the cedar (ix. 230); the mulberry tree (xi. 242); precious stones (xii. 437-447).

But it is in dealing with numerals that this method reaches its most elaborate results; and here too Bede was following Isidore, who wrote a special treatise on the numbers of Scripture. D. C. B. iii. 309. Arator also influenced him. Werner, p. 191; Sanday, *u. s.*, pp. 35, 56. Thus:  $\frac{1}{2}$  = imperfection (vii. 235, 243). 2 = the two Testaments

(vii. 305); = Jews and Gentiles (vii. 308); = the love of God and the love of our neighbour (viii. 279); = mutual love (vii. 240; viii. 301). But it also = division, discord, &c. (xi. 178). 3 = the Trinity (vii. 312, 330); = heart, soul, and strength (vii. 312; x. 363); = the theological virtues—faith, hope, charity (vii. 301, 314); = the three evangelical virtues—almsgiving, prayer, fasting (viii. 269); = Resurrection on the third day (viii. 422); = the married, continent and virgins (xi. 189); = the three continents—Europe, Asia, Africa (v. 4; xii. 48). 4 = the Gospels (vii. 308, 314; cf. Sanday, *u. s.*, pp. 309 ff.); = the four quarters of the world (vii. 301, 308); = the four cardinal virtues—temperance, fortitude, justice, prudence (vii. 269, 295; x. 399); = the four elements (vii. 349); = the four seasons of the year, and the four humours or elements of the body (vii. 430, 431; viii. 351; cf. x. 363). For combinations of several of these explanations, *r.* vi. 217, 218; viii. 345; H. & S. iii. 411. 5 = the five books of Moses, or the law (Opp. vii. 299; viii. 353 and fq.); = the five senses (vii. 301, 315; x. 357); = the five ages of the world before Christ (viii. 353). 6 = perfection of work, because God made the world in six days (vii. 253; viii. 48; xii. 358). 7 = the Spirit and His sevenfold gifts (xii. 441 and fq.); = the sabbath and rest (vii. 314 and fq.); = penitence (because of the seven penitential psalms, vii. 407); = perfection



fanciful, it is seldom simply foolish<sup>1</sup>, and often has that high degree of appropriateness and beauty<sup>2</sup> which springs from a true spiritual insight into that divine order, wherein 'all things are double one against another<sup>3</sup>,' that 'fair harmony of things<sup>4</sup>,' that 'wondrous sacramental concord<sup>5</sup>,' as Bede himself beautifully calls it, whereby nature and history furnish types of truths higher than their own<sup>6</sup>.

or wholeness (vi. 268; vii. 383; xi. 61; xii. 340). But 7 may also be treated as 4 + 3 (viii. 351; x. 363; xii. 345). 8 = the Resurrection on the eighth day of the week which is also the first (vii. 314; viii. 271). 8 also = the day of Judgement, because it follows the seven days of the world's ages (viii. 319; cf. *sup.* p. xlii). 10 = the Decalogue (vii. 362 and *fq.*); = the name of Jesus, of which the initial letter has this numeric value (*ib.*); = the heavenly reward and rest, because of the *denarius*, which the labourers in the Lord's vineyard receive (vii. 313; viii. 9). But 10 is also 5 × 2 (viii. 353). 11 = transgression, because it is one beyond the number of the commandments (vii. 82; xii. 10, 417). 12 = wholeness (v. 180), but it also = 3 × 4, with their various interpretations (vii. 338, 339; viii. 333, 421; ix. 334; x. 44; xii. 436). 50 = jubilee, rest, remission (v. 78; vii. 312, 313; cf. viii. 298). It also = the Pentecostal gift of the Spirit (vii. 316). Of course the larger the figures, the greater the number of possible combinations becomes. For 15: v. xi. 391; vii. 110, 314. For 18: v. viii. 322; xi. 181, 182. For 20: v. vii. 362, 363; cf. 423. For 24: v. xii.

356, 357. For 30: v. x. 356; xi. 67. For 40: v. vii. 108, 230; x. 13; xii. 136. (The sum of the component parts of 40 yields 50, from which Bede deduces the beautiful lesson that the forty days during which the risen Saviour goes in and out among His disciples on the earth, lead to the jubilee of eternal rest; xii. 14). For 42: v. x. 364. For 60: v. ix. 260, 334. For 70: v. xii. 340. For 75: v. vii. 157. For 77: v. x. 363. For 80: v. ix. 334. For 84: v. x. 335. For 85: v. viii. 159. For 100: v. vii. 310, 311; x. 62; xi. 67. For 120: v. viii. 286; xii. 10. For 144: v. xii. 340, 367, 401, 437. For 300: v. x. 365. For 318: v. vii. 173. For 365: v. vii. 89. For 888: v. x. 321. For 1000: v. viii. 113; ix. 383. For 1600: v. xii. 407.

<sup>1</sup> For some of Bede's less happy symbolism see Opp. viii. 123, 191; x. 112, 113.

<sup>2</sup> See *e.g.* Opp. viii. 97, 291; ix. 242; x. 157.

<sup>3</sup> Eccclus. xlii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> 'Pulchra rerum concordia.' H. E. iv. 23 *ad fin.*; cf. v. 22, p. 347.

<sup>5</sup> 'Mira sacramenti concordia.' Opp. xi. 2.

<sup>6</sup> This paragraph was composed before I had heard or seen



But Bede recognised not merely a twofold but a threefold or even fourfold sense of Scripture : the historical, the typical or allegorical, the tropological or moral, and the anagogic <sup>1</sup>. It is difficult for us to grasp the distinctions between the three last senses, which we should be inclined to class together as figurative or allegorical, but the classification was one on which mediaeval theologians set much store, and it appears as we know in Dante <sup>2</sup>.

Bede's  
orthodoxy

§ 15. One point which strikes us forcibly in Bede is his zealous orthodoxy. There is hardly any form of heresy known in his time which is not refuted in his writings, the two most frequently attacked being Arianism and Pelagianism <sup>3</sup>. Under the same head might come what

Professor Sanday's fine statement of the same view. *u. s.* pp. 405, 406.

<sup>1</sup> Threefold. A. i. Historical ; 2. Allegorical ; 3. Moral. This is the threefold cord which is not quickly broken ; *Opp.* vii. 317. B. i. Historical ; 2. Allegorical ; 3. Anagogic. These are the three loaves of 1 Sam. x. 3 ; vii. 196, 197 ; viii. 22, 23 ; *cf.* *ib.* 103. Fourfold. A. i. Historical ; 2. Typical ; 3. Tropological or moral ; 4. Anagogic ; vi. 96, 97. B. vii. 246, 247, viii. 100, is the same ; except that Allegorical is substituted for Typical.

<sup>2</sup> *Convito* ii. 1 ; *cf.* also the Letter to Can Grande, in a note to Fraticelli's edition of which the following distich is given :—

*'Littera gesta refert ; quid credas allegoria,*

*Moralis quid agas, quid speres anagogia.'*

<sup>3</sup> The heresies and heretics refuted by Bede are : Apelles (gnostic), *Opp.* xii. 270. Apollinarianism, x. 341 ; xii. 252. Arianism, viii. 34, 219, 220, 225,

404, 407 ; ix. 67, 84, 106, 109 ; x. 20, 26, 42, 71, 185, 207, 249, 281, 303, 340, 395, 401 ; xi. 75, 139, 352 ; xii. 226, 229, 252, 267, 285. Basilides (gnostic), xii. 258. Cerdonians (gnostic), xii. 258. Cerinthus, xi. 199 ; xii. 269. Chiliastae, x. 158. Doceetae, x. 102. Donatus, ix. 84, 336 ; xii. 276, 340, 451. Ebionites, x. 34 ; xi. 1 ; xii. 252, 258. Eunomius (arian), x. 185, 207. Eutyches (monophysite), viii. 34 ; x. 114, 226 ; xi. 144. Eutychius, vi. 322 ; xi. 384. H. E. ii. 1, and notes. Heluidius, *Opp.* x. 310. Macedonius, viii. 225 ; xii. 29, 82. Manes and Manichaeans, v. 277 ; viii. 34 ; x. 20, 72, 223, 281, 341 ; xi. 150, 383, 384, 395 ; xi. 78 ; xii. 252, 270, 271, 293. Marcion, vi. 310 ; x. 122, 223 ; xi. 251 ; xii. 258, 269. Menandrians, xii. 258. Nestorians, viii. 34 ; x. 289, 291 ; xii. 25, 54, 80, 301. Nicolaitans, xii. 258. Novatians, ix. 165 ; x. 52. Origen, *v. s.*, pp. li, lii. Pelagians, *Opp.* vi. 319 ; vii. 308 ; viii. 47, 404, 425 ; ix. 64, 132, 186 ff.

has been already said of Bede's interest in the Paschal question.

The difficulties of the Church vary from age to age, and many of the controversies in which Bede engaged with such ardour seem pale and colourless to us. We have lost also much of our zeal for orthodoxy as such. We think that questions of practice are more important than questions of doctrine. It remains, however, to be seen whether we can, in the long run, maintain the superstructure of Christian practice, when we have undermined the basis of Christian doctrine on which it has been reared.

But whatever the difficulties of our times may be, Bede has a source of consolation for us. He remarks truly that the different forms of error often mutually destroy one another<sup>1</sup>; and in a fine passage he shows how much the Church has indirectly owed to the multifarious heresies by which she has been attacked. But for this, the greatest works of Athanasius and Ambrose, Hilary and Augustine would have remained unwritten<sup>2</sup>. It is the law of antagonism, of the struggle for existence, of the survival of the fittest applied to religious things; the old Heraclitean doctrine that opposition is salutary, that the fairest harmony results from difference, and that all things are evolved by way of strife<sup>3</sup>. And we may be sure that the outcome of our present difficulties, if we only meet them faithfully and bravely, will but be to enlarge our view of and confirm our hold upon the truth.

x. 140; xi. 84; xii. 160, 238, 243, 252, 273, 274, 288, 290, 292, 301, 320, 335, 339, 451. H. E. i. 10, 17-21; ii. 19; v. 21. Photinus, Opp. v. 277; viii. 34; ix. 365; x. 20, 281, 333, 395; xii. 252. Porphyrius, ix. 67. Satel-  
lianism, viii. 34; ix. 106; xii. 226. Simony, ix. 67; xii. 258. Theodorus Pharanitanus (mono-  
thelite), x. 102. Valentinians

(gnostic), i. 145; x. 122, 223; xii. 340. On heresy generally, or unnamed heresies, viii. 55, 56, 283, 406, 407; ix. 78, 119, 138, 184, 220, 248; xi. 154, 186, 187; xii. 300. Heretics accused of tampering with texts, xii. 267, 300, 376.

<sup>1</sup> Opp. viii. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. ix. 38, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Arist. Eth. Nic. viii. 1, 6.

The  
miraculous  
element in  
Bede's  
works.

§ 16. Another point which may strike a modern reader unfavourably in Bede's historical works is the presence of the miraculous element in them. I have already said<sup>1</sup> that in the life of St. Cuthbert Bede shows a tendency to emphasise this element beyond what his authorities justify. It was natural to his age<sup>2</sup>, and especially natural to his religious spirit to see direct interpositions of the supernatural everywhere.

The subject of mediaeval miracles is one of considerable difficulty. The large majority of them may be set aside at once, as being quite deficient in anything like contemporary evidence. Many may be condemned summarily on internal evidence, being silly, unspiritual, or even positively immoral. Others are open to suspicion as being so evidently modelled on the miracles of the Bible, and still more on those of the apocryphal Scriptures<sup>3</sup>. Others are merely classical myths, or widely diffused folk-tales masquerading in an ecclesiastical dress<sup>4</sup>. Others need not necessarily be miracles at all, but may be either mere coincidences<sup>5</sup> brought about by perfectly natural means, though a devout mind will gladly believe that they have been divinely ordered<sup>6</sup>; or due to causes which are only

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. xlvii.

<sup>2</sup> 'There are . . . ages when belief is so utterly uncritical that it does seem as if they could not under any circumstances afford us satisfactory evidence of miraculous occurrences.' Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> In Alcuin's life of Wilbrord, c. 19, a miraculous multiplication of wine ascribed to W. is expressly based on the promise of John xiv. 12. *Mon. Alc.* p. 53. So: *H. Y.* i. 244, 250.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* the case of Hippolytus. *Ltft.*, App. Ff. I. ii. 453 (where 'mythical' is misprinted 'mys-

tical'). See the whole essay, and Ramsay, *Church in the Empire*, pp. 466, 472, 477. Cf. note on *H. E.* i. 7 (*Oedipus*). The subject is too intricate to be gone into here, but would well repay careful study. Of course several of these grounds of suspicion may be present in the same story.

<sup>5</sup> Such is the case with a miracle of which Bede believed himself to have been the subject. *Vit. Metr. Cudb. Praef. Opp. Min.* p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *κατὰ συγκυρίαν*, Luke x. 31. The word *τυχή* and its compounds do not occur in the

now beginning to be investigated, but which there is no reason to regard as supernatural<sup>1</sup>. But, after all these deductions have been made, the question remains, whether there is not a residuum which cannot be explained away<sup>2</sup>.

§ 17. But throughout the works of Bede, the characteristic which strikes us most is the simple and unfeigned piety of the writer<sup>3</sup>. He continually invokes the divine assistance to aid him in his tasks<sup>4</sup>. He constantly begs his readers to pray for him in return for what he has tried to do for them<sup>5</sup>; to give thanks to God if anything

Bede's  
piety.

whole of the N. T. As to the O. T. Dr. Driver writes to me: 'The idea of accident or chance is not very common in the O. T. but it occurs sometimes . . . It would not be consonant with Hebrew ideas of the world, to dwell much on the action of chance.'

<sup>1</sup> The phenomena of mesmerism and telepathy (as it is called) offer many points of analogy with some of these mediaeval miracles. In all cases of nervous disease the mere belief that a cure was probable would be a powerful curative agency. Cf. A. Lang, *Contemporary Mag.*, Sept. 1893; Id., *Cock Lane and Common Sense*.

<sup>2</sup> Bede believed that Bishop John of Hexham, by whom he was ordained both deacon and priest, had wrought several miracles. H. E. v. 2-6. Bede's view is that miracles are relative to a certain stage of development: 'haec necessaria in exordio ecclesiae fuerunt; . . . quia et nos cum arbusta plantamus, . . . eis aquam fundimus; . . . at si semel radicem fixerint, irrigatio cessabit.' Opp. x. 261. Moreover the cessation of mira-

cles is largely due to man's sin: 'postquam enim homo suo Conditori subiectus esse noluit, perdidit dominium eorum quae suo Conditor iuri subiecerat.' Opp. vii. 27. Some men by special grace of holiness have recovered part of this lost heritage: 'qui enim Auctori omnium creaturarum fideliter . . . famulatur, non est mirandum si ei . . . omnis creatura derseruiat. At nos . . . creaturae dominium perdidimus, quia . . . Creatori omnium ipsi seruire negligimus.' Vit. Cudb. c. 21. Opp. Min. p. 90. Cf. ib. c. 14, p. 76. Opp. viii. 439, 440; ix. 36. Mr. Browning uses an illustration very like Bede's above:—

'You stick a garden-plot with ordered twigs,

To show inside lie germs of herbs unborn . . .

But when herbs wave, the guardian twigs may go.'

A Death in the Desert. Works, vi. pp. 125, 126.

<sup>3</sup> 'Fidei sanae et incuriosae.' W. M. i. 63. He says that not even 'Gallicanus tumor' could find any fault with Bede.

<sup>4</sup> Opp. vi. 144; vii. 265, 266, 369, 432; xi. 137.

<sup>5</sup> Opp. i. 106; vi. 342; viii.

he has written should profit them, or lead them to success in study<sup>1</sup>; and to pray for forgiveness for him, if in any point he should have fallen into error<sup>2</sup>. For Bede has the humility of the true scholar<sup>3</sup>. He is always ready to welcome corrections, and to receive additional knowledge<sup>4</sup>; but at the same time he defends his statements warmly, when he knows that he is right<sup>5</sup>. Only let both him and his correctors be found faithful stewards of their master's talents, and earn the 'Euge bone serue' at the last great day<sup>6</sup>.

It is related that the late Lord Beauchamp used to say that he divided men into two classes, according as they believed, or did not believe, in the day of judgement. Certainly Bede would stand very high in the former class. The subject is ever in his thoughts, and he is continually urging his readers to bear it in their minds<sup>7</sup>, and to prepare for the day of death, which will fix irrevocably their fate for weal or woe<sup>8</sup>. It is with this object that he narrates many things in his history, especially the visions connected with the other world<sup>9</sup>; he tells, with evident sympathy, how

233; x. 3. H. E. Praef. p. 8. Vita Cudb. Praef. *ad fin.* Cf. Opp. ix. 308 (a beautiful passage).

<sup>1</sup> 'Mecum Deo qui donauit . . . deuotus gratias agas.' Opp. vi. 140; ib. 242; viii. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. xii. 446.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ein unermüdlich bis an sein Lebensende Lernender.' Werner, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Opp. i. 145, vi. 140: 'parati ueriora . . . discere, si qui nos docere uoluerit;' vii. 280; viii. 233, 261: 'haec . . . dixi, non praeiudicans sententiae meliori si adsit,' xii. 35, ib. 96, 97, 99, 100, 123, 140, 141.

<sup>5</sup> Opp. i. 144 ff.; x. 272; xii. 103.

<sup>6</sup> Opp. viii. 261.

<sup>7</sup> Opp. v. 31, 133, 201, 202; vi. 337-339; vii. 125, 385, 411; xi. 171, 172, 174, 175; xii. 234, 235. Hist. Abb. § 6, p. 370.

<sup>8</sup> Opp. i. 153: 'appropinquante morte . . . non immerito cuiuslibet anima terretur, quando post pusillum hoc inuenit, quod in aeternum mutare non possit;' xi. 343. Cf. ib. 180; vii. 385; viii. 37, 104; with which last passage, cf. i. 203 ff. Purgatory is only for the cleansing of lesser sins; x. 349, 350. Cf. vii. 355; v. 381. Ep. ad Egb. § 17, p. 422.

<sup>9</sup> Fursa, H. E. iii. 19. Drythelm, v. 12; v. 13 *ad fin.*, v. 14 *ad fin.*



St. Chad always regarded a thunderstorm as a divine reminder of the time when the Judge would come with clouds<sup>1</sup>, and, in a passage in his own works, he rebukes those who are deaf to all such warnings<sup>2</sup>. So too his hopes are ever set on heaven, and the 'full joy' of the vision of eternal peace<sup>3</sup>; where festivals are not annual but eternal<sup>4</sup>, where is our true home, our proper country. Earth is but an exile and a pilgrimage<sup>5</sup>, the flesh a prison<sup>6</sup>, from which the soul flies forth at death, as the dove released from the ark. Bede, who loved our native poetry<sup>7</sup>, would have welcomed Chaucer's melodious statement of this truth:

'This world nys but a thurghfare ful of woo,  
And we ben pilgryms passyng to and fro<sup>8</sup>.'

Death is in truth but the entrance to true life<sup>9</sup>, and the death-day of the saint is more properly called his

<sup>1</sup> H. E. iv. 3, pp. 210, 211.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. viii. 456, 457, a remarkable parallel, cited in the notes to H. E. iv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. v. 17-19, 23, 154, 257, 294; vii. 424; viii. 292 (a beautiful passage).

<sup>4</sup> 'Desiderium nostrum ad obtinenda festa quae non sunt annua sed continua.' Opp. v. 62. Cf. H. E. v. 22 *ad fin.*

<sup>5</sup> Opp. v. 63, 64, 71, 427; vii. 161, 293, 296, 297; viii. 279, 291, 389; ix. 215; xii. 310: 'Non semper . . . quod in patria peruenientibus promittit, hoc in itinere huius exilii adhuc pergentibus prorogat. Denique quotidie saepius . . . dicamus. . . . *Veniat regnum tuum*; . . . nec statim, quod postulamus, accipimus, sed effectum nostrae precis . . . patienter . . . sustinemus;' ix. 306: 'non quae-

rat in uia praemium quod ei reseruatur in patria;' ib. 329. (On this contrast between the 'way' and the 'country,' see Bright, *Ancient Collects*, p. 87.) Even in a purely grammatical work like the *De Orthographia* this thought of the earthly pilgrimage comes in: 'Peregrinus, . . . ut sancti dicuntur peregrini huius saeculo,' Opp. vi. 30.

<sup>6</sup> 'A carnis ergastulo soluti coeleste regnum intramus.' Opp. viii. 429; so of Chad: 'soluta ab ergastulo corporis anima sancta.' H. E. iv. 3, p. 210; Cf. Chaucer's 'foule prison of this lyf,' *Knight's Tale*, v. 2203.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. lxxiv.

<sup>8</sup> *Knight's Tale*, vv. 1989 f.

<sup>9</sup> Opp. vii. 130, 271, 272, 312; viii. 430; ix. 63, 73. H. E. ii. 1; iv. 23, 29, pp. 74, 79, 256, 274.



birthday<sup>1</sup>; and there are no scenes in the whole of Bede's histories over which he lingers so lovingly, as the holy deathbeds, some of them so like his own, of Benedict Biscop, Sigfrid<sup>2</sup>, Boisil<sup>3</sup>, Chad, Hild and Cædmon<sup>4</sup>. 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord,' commenting upon which Bede says: 'I thank Thee, O Jesu, who makest them blessed in heaven, who die in Thee upon the earth; how much more those, who lay down their happy lives in and for Thy faith<sup>5</sup>.'

Bede, as might be expected, is strong on the religious motive which should inspire even the most ordinary acts<sup>6</sup>. Only so can we obey the precept to pray without ceasing<sup>7</sup>. And on the lightest occasion he lifts his heart on high. Thus, after enumerating the native names of the months of the year, he thanks the 'loving Jesus,' who hath turned us from the heathen vanities, which these names imply, and caused us to offer to Him the sacrifice of praise<sup>8</sup>. He sometimes pauses in his commentary at the solemn thoughts suggested by the text: 'This verse is a matter for awe not for exposition,' though he prefers, as a rule, to dwell on the promises,

<sup>1</sup> 'Rectissime potest natus appellari, qui solutus a uinculis carnis ad lucem sublimatur eternam. Unde . . . martyrum . . . solennia non funebria sed natalitia dicuntur.' Opp. v. 5. Cf. vi. 197. H. E. iv. 14, p. 236; v. 24, p. 359. Cf. D. C. A. ii. 1379; Ltft., App., Ff. I. ii. 496; II. ii. 218; iii. 396, 397. In Icelandic the day of a saint's death is his 'hivldardagr,' 'rest-day.' Magnús Saga. p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Abb. §§ 11-14, pp. 374-379.

<sup>3</sup> Vit. Cudb. c. 8. Opp. Min. pp. 64-66.

<sup>4</sup> H. E. iv. 3, 23, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Opp. xii. 405. This seems

a reminiscence of a Leonine Collect given by Bright, Ancient Collects, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> 'Quae in sanctis . . . pro temporalium dispensatione fiunt, coelestium tamen rerum intentione fieri nunquam omittunt.' Opp. ix. 266, 267; v. 45. Cf. Ign. ad Ephes. c. 8: ἃ δὲ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα πράσσετε, τὰυτα πνευματικὰ ἐστίν· ἐν Ἰησοῦ γὰρ Χριστῷ πάντα πράσσετε.

<sup>7</sup> Opp. v. 188; x. 143; xi. 258.

<sup>8</sup> Opp. vi. 179. Cf. ib. 226.

<sup>9</sup> 'Timendus est iste uersus, non exponendus.' Opp. xi. 142: 'Expauescendum magis quam exponendum est,' xii. 379.

rather than on the threatenings of God<sup>1</sup>. He is strong on the duty of reverent devotion in Church, of checking those wandering thoughts which beset us all in prayer<sup>2</sup>. He is equally strong on the duty of almsgiving. How can that man expect to receive, when he stretches forth his hand to ask for forgiveness, whose hand has never been stretched forth at the cry of the needy<sup>3</sup>.

§ 18. But with all this there is nothing strained or overwrought about Bede's piety. His good sense is conspicuous. The fathers, he says, have rightly defined discretion as the mother and nurse of all the virtues<sup>4</sup>. To attempt literally to pray, or fast, or labour without ceasing, would be foolish obstinacy<sup>5</sup>. In regard to property, it is safer not to possess riches, but still it is the loving them, not the having them<sup>6</sup>, the serving not the possessing of mammon that is the sin<sup>7</sup>. The Psalmist did not say 'if riches increase, do not receive them,' but 'if riches increase, set not your heart upon them<sup>8</sup>.' To renounce all things, in the sense of being ready to give them up for Christ, is the duty of all, actually to forsake all things for Him is the privilege only of the few<sup>9</sup>. Lazarus was not received into Abraham's bosom because he was poor, but because he was humble and innocent; nor was Dives condemned because he was rich, but because he was proud

Bede's good sense.

<sup>1</sup> 'His cum timore . . . paulisper commemoratis, ad letissimum potius Domini . . . promissa conuertamus auditum.' Opp. v. 181.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ore quidem orantes, sed mente foris uagantes.' Opp. v. 248. Cf. ib. 406, 407; x. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. x. 39, 40; xi. 7, 57, 150, 151. Cf. ix. 70. Almsgiving was a special virtue of Bp. Edbert, Cuthbert's successor. H. E. iv. 29 *ad fin.*

<sup>4</sup> Opp. xi. 339. Cited in the

notes to H. E. iii. 5, p. 137. Cf. Dante, Conv. iv. 8 *ad init.*: 'Lo più bello ramo che dalla radice razionale consurga, si è la discrezione.'

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Opp. x. 143; xi. 258.

<sup>6</sup> 'Inter pecunias habere, et pecunias amare, multa distantia est.' Opp. x. 156, 157.

<sup>7</sup> 'Non dixit, qui habet diuitias, sed qui seruit diuitiis.' Opp. xi. 227.

<sup>8</sup> I have mislaid this reference.

<sup>9</sup> Opp. xi. 207.

and pitiless<sup>1</sup>. The saints are not forbidden to hold property for their own use and that of the poor<sup>2</sup>. So when Christ rebuked the Scribes for their struggle for precedence, it was the temper which they showed, not the possession of high office in itself which He condemned<sup>3</sup>. Christ Himself did not literally observe the precept to turn the other cheek to the striker<sup>4</sup>, and though we should give to everyone that asketh, it does not follow that we should give him what he asks<sup>5</sup>. For there is a weak kind of compassion (how well we know it nowadays!) which amounts to sympathy with crime, and merely encourages wrong-doing<sup>6</sup>. The command 'Judge not' does not mean that we are not to condemn open and flagrant sins, but that in things doubtful or indifferent we should decide by the law of charity<sup>7</sup>; the command against wearing two coats does not forbid the use of extra clothing in cold climates<sup>8</sup>; while the warning against over anxiety about raiment is neglected as much by those who are anxious that their garments should be specially ascetic, as by those who care too much for splendour of apparel<sup>9</sup>; and in the Prose life of St. Cuthbert, that saint is expressly praised because his dress was neither conspicuously neat nor conspicuously sordid<sup>10</sup>. So when Christ bids us call our poorer, rather than our richer neighbours to our festivities, He does not condemn mutual hospitality among equals as wrong, but only shows that the other brings a greater blessing with it<sup>11</sup>. Illness is a sufficient dispen-

<sup>1</sup> Opp. xii. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. xi. 168.

<sup>3</sup> 'Animum . . . non gradum . . . redarguens.' Opp. xi. 309.

<sup>4</sup> Opp. xi. 24.

<sup>5</sup> 'Omni petenti te tribues, quamuis non semper id quod petit tribues.' Opp. xi. 25.

<sup>6</sup> 'Sunt plerique qui compassionem proximo non spiritu-

aliter, sed carnaliter impendunt, ut ei non ad uirtutem, sed quasi miserando ad culpas faueant.' Opp. xi. 204.

<sup>7</sup> Opp. xi. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Opp. xi. 91.

<sup>9</sup> Opp. xi. 166.

<sup>10</sup> Vit. Cudb. c. 16. Opp. Min. p. 82.

<sup>11</sup> Opp. xi. 198.

sation from fasting<sup>1</sup>. Against one form of religious folly, which is ever with us, the folly, namely, which would seek, in defiance of Christ's express command, to fix the day and the hour of His second coming, Bede is justly severe<sup>2</sup>.

§ 19. And now the time was coming when Bede was to show forth in his own person, that which he had so lovingly described in the case of others, the blessedness of a holy death. Already when he wrote the letter to Archbishop Egbert in Nov. 734, he was ill, and unable to keep his engagement with the Archbishop. And the end was not very long in coming. There are difficulties as to the year of Bede's death; the traditional date is 735, and I am disposed to adhere to it<sup>3</sup>. Of his last hours we have

<sup>1</sup> Opp. x. 37; cf. xii. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. xi. 250; vi. 332-334. Some tried to evade the force of this command by saying that though Christ had forbidden us to inquire 'the day or the hour,' he had not forbidden us to inquire the year. Opp. i. 151, 152. Of Bede's views on virginity and marriage, which are eminently sensible, and, with one exception, scriptural, I have spoken in the notes to H. E. i. 27. In regard to the relation of the active to the contemplative life, Bede is also free from mediaeval exaggerations. See the notes to H. E. ii. 1. I cannot see that we have any reason to pride ourselves on our superior wisdom, because on these points we have gone to the opposite extreme from that into which the Middle Ages fell.

<sup>3</sup> Some foreign chronicles place his death in 730. Pertz, i. 114; ii. 221, 239. More place it in 731. Ib. i. 24, 25, 64, 67,

73; ii. 281; iii. 138; iv. 6, 12; xv. 187, 1294. This date is probably due to a confusion between the date of Bede's death, and the date of the completion of the H. E. For the latter 731 is correct. One chronicle places Bede's death in 733 (Pertz, vi. 26), but the indiction points to 731. Any date earlier than 734 is inadmissible because of Ep. ad Egb. §§ 13, 17, pp. 416, 423, and notes. 734 is the date of all MSS. of the Sax. Chron., of the Ann. Ult., W. M. i. 58, G. P. p. 385, R. W. i. 220, and probably of Ethelwerd and H. H. p. 115. Fl. Wig., following the Chron., gives 734, but his own criteria point to 735, and he himself regards this as the date indicated in Cuthbert's letter, i. 53. 735 is the date of Cont. Bed. *infr.* p. 361; of S. D. i. 41, 224, 228; and of the Ann. Lindisf., Pertz, xix. 505. Two foreign authorities give 736, Pertz, iii. 153; v. 1; and four give 737, ib. iii.

fortunately a description from the pen of an eye-witness, Cuthbert, afterwards Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, a description not inferior in beauty and pathos to any of Bede's own. I give it here in its entirety<sup>1</sup>.

'To Cuthwin, his dearest fellow-lector<sup>2</sup> in Christ, Cuthbert, a co-disciple, eternal health in God.

'The gift which thou sentest I have received with great pleasure, and have also read with much satisfaction thy devout and learned letter, from which I was glad to find that masses and sacred prayers are diligently celebrated by you for our master Bede, that father beloved of God. Wherefore I am pleased, rather for the love of him, than for any skill of mine, to tell thee in a few words the

117; iv. 3; v. 546; x. 17. Thus the earliest northern authorities are in favour of 735, and this is important. In view of the uncertainty of reading in Cuthbert's letter as to the day of the month on which Bede died, and the proverbial uncertainty of numerals in MSS. I cannot attach much value to the argument of Messrs. Lumby and Mayor that he died in 742. Hen. Hunt, *u.s.*, says that Bede was in his sixty-second year when he died; this would give 734; for Bede himself says he was in his fifty-ninth year in 731. But this may be only Hen. Hunt's inference from that passage combined with his own date of 734. I have already exposed Sim. Dun.'s error in saying that Bede was only fifty-nine when he died. Above, p. xi. The *Vita Alcuini* errs in the other direction when it says: 'migravit ad Dominum nonagenarius.' Pertz, xv. 187.

<sup>1</sup> The original is given in an

Appendix. It is printed as given by M. & L. from a ninth-cent. MS. at St. Gallen. In the notes are given the variations of the text as ordinarily printed. It will be seen that the variations are very considerable. For a list of other MSS. see Hardy, Cat. i. 455, 456; M. & L. p. 399. I have not attempted to collate the various MSS.; and therefore I have no theory to propound with reference to the divergence of the texts.

<sup>2</sup> There is some doubt as to the meaning of 'collectori' here. It cannot mean 'collector.' To take it with M. & L. as meaning 'fellow-student' creates a rather poor tautology with 'condiscipulus' which follows. I am inclined to agree with Mr. T. Arnold (*S. D.* i. 43) that it means fellow-lector; *i.e.* both Cuthbert and Cuthwine were at this time in the second grade of minor orders. 'Lector' also means a teacher or lecturer in the monastic schools, *v.* Ducange, *s.v.*



manner of his departing from this life, since I understand that such is thy wish and request.

'For about two weeks before Easter he was troubled with weakness, and especially with difficulty of breathing, yet without much actual pain. And after that, he continued until Ascension Day<sup>1</sup> cheerful and rejoicing and giving thanks to Almighty God every day and night, yea every hour. He gave lessons daily to us his disciples, and the rest of the day he occupied himself, as far as his strength allowed, in chanting the Psalms, and all the night too he passed cheerfully in prayers and giving of thanks to God, except only when a light slumber

<sup>1</sup> Here after the words 'ad diem Ascensionis dominicæ,' the ordinary text inserts 'id est vii. Kal. Iunii' (May 26), while the St. Gallen MS. reads 'id est vii. Id. Mai' (May 9). It seems to me possible that both these insertions may be later glosses by scribes who embodied in the text their own views as to the date of Ascension Day in the year of Bede's death. Another possibility is that in the St. Gallen reading the 'Id.' may be due to the 'id' of 'id est'; then a later scribe, seeing that 'vii. id. Iunii' was an impossible date for Ascension Day, altered 'Iunii' into 'Mai.' But putting these conjectures aside, let us ask which date has the better claim to be accepted. It will be observed that it is said here that Bede lived till Ascension Day; while later in the letter he is said to have died on the fourth feria, *i. e.* Wednesday. If Bede died after 6 p.m. on Wednesday, Ascension Day had ecclesiastically begun. But the question now arises: is the

inserted date, whether May 26 or May 9, the date of Ascension Day, or of the civil day on which Bede died, viz. the Wednesday before Ascension Day? It appears to me that the former is far more probable. It seems very forced to explain the date as referring to a day not yet mentioned. Now Ascension Day did fall on May 26 in 735; whereas it fell on May 9 in 720, and then not again till 799, both impossible years. M. & L. take the view that the inserted date refers to the Wednesday, and they urge that the years in which Ascension Eve fell on May 26, viz. 751, 762, and 773, are all impossible, and out of the years in which it fell on May 9, viz. 731, 742, and 750, they decide for 742. I cannot agree with them for the reasons given above; and I hold that Bede died on a day which civilly was Wednesday, May 25, 735: though ecclesiastically it was Ascension Day, because he died after 6 p.m.; cf. *inf.* p. clxii: 'diem ultimum usque ad vesperum duxit.'

hindered him. But again straightway waking up, he would go over, as he was wont, the melodies of Scripture, and stretching out his hands forgot not to give thanks to God. I can with truth declare that I never saw with my eyes, or heard with my ears, any one return thanks so unceasingly to the living God. O truly blessed man! He would recite the saying of the holy apostle Paul: "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God<sup>1</sup>;" and many other things out of Holy Scripture, in which he warned us to arise from the sleep of the soul, by thinking beforehand of our last hour. And in our own tongue also (for he was skilled in our native songs), speaking of the dread departure of the soul from the body, he sang<sup>2</sup>:

"Ere that forced journey, no one may be  
More prudent, than him well beseemeth,  
If he but meditate, ere his departure,  
What to his spirit, of good or evil,  
After his deathday, may be decreed."

He chanted also antiphons for our comfort and his own, whereof one is: "O King of Glory, Lord of Might, Who didst this day triumphantly ascend far above all heavens, we beseech Thee leave us not comfortless, but send to us the promise of the Father, even the Spirit of truth; Hallelujah." And when he came to those words, "we beseech Thee leave us not comfortless<sup>3</sup>," he burst into

<sup>1</sup> Hebr. x. 31; 'appropinquante morte, nostrae mentis in se certamen [Iesus] expressit, qui uim quandam terroris ac formidinis patimur, cum per solutionem carnis aeterno iudicio propinquamus.' Opp. xi. 343, cf. ib. 206; and Bishop Butler's dying words: 'It is an awful thing to appear before the Moral Governour of the World.' Cited by Lightfoot, *Leaders in the Northern Church*, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> S. D., who reproduces this letter, here reads: 'nam et tunc Anglico carmine componens multum compunctus aiebat: for þam,' &c.; i. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bede's own beautiful comment on the text: '*Non relinquam uos orphanos, ueniam ad uos. Uidebatur in fidelibus, quia moriens in cruce Dominus discipulos relinqueret orphanos; sed non reliquit orphanos, quibus et praeiuit*

tears, and wept much; and after a space he began to repeat again what he had commenced, and we hearing this wept and lamented with him. One while we read, at another time we mourned, or rather we mingled our tears with our reading. In such exaltation of feeling we passed the quinquagesimal tide<sup>1</sup> up to the aforesaid day. And he greatly rejoiced and gave thanks to God, that he was counted worthy to suffer such weakness. He would often say: "God scourgeth every son whom He receiveth<sup>2</sup>," and the saying of St. Ambrose: "I have not so lived as to be ashamed to live among you; yet neither do I fear to die, for we have a loving Lord<sup>3</sup>."

'In those days moreover, besides the lessons which he gave us daily, and the chanting of the Psalms, there were two works, very worthy of mention, which he laboured to complete; that is, he translated into our language, for the profit of the Church of God, from the beginning of St. John's Gospel<sup>4</sup> to the place where it is said: "but what are they among so many<sup>5</sup>?" and some extracts from the works of Bishop Isidore<sup>6</sup>, for he said: "I would not

seipsum uiuum post passionem suam in multis argumentis, per dies quadraginta apparens eis," et post dies decem assumptionis suae, hoc est, hodierna die, Spiritus Sancti illos de coelo charismate donauit. Ubi ipsum Christum ad eos uenisse nullus ambigit, qui inseparabilem Sanctae Trinitatis naturam, uirtutem et operationem esse cognouit. Quod ipsum latius exequens, quantum causa illorum de gente non sancta sit discreta denunciat.' Opp. v. 72.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the period between Easter and Pentecost. See note on H. E. iii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Hebr. xii. 6; cf. H. E. ii. 1, p. 77; Opp. ix. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Paulinus, Vita Ambrosii, c. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the description of the death of Boisil, alluded to above. Vit. Cudb. c. 8. Opp. Min. pp. 65. 66. On Bede's translations into English, see Ep. ad Egb. § 5, p. 409, and notes.

<sup>5</sup> This insertion of the St. Gallen MS. seems inconsistent with what is said below about the 'one chapter,' the 'one verse,' needed to complete the work; for Bede can hardly have intended to stop abruptly in the middle of a narrative.

<sup>6</sup> The ordinary text reads here: 'de libris rotarum [*lege*: notarum] Isidori'; and Liber notarum is one of the books in the list in O<sub>2</sub> f. 251.

that my children should read a lie, and labour herein without fruit after I am gone."

'But when the Tuesday before Ascension Day arrived, his breathing became much more difficult, and his feet began to swell slightly. But all that day he taught and dictated cheerfully, and among other things he would say from time to time, "Learn speedily, I know not how long I shall be with you, or whether my Maker will remove me shortly." We, however, wondered whether perchance he did not well know the time of his departure; and thus in giving of thanks he wakefully passed the night.

'And when the morning broke—that is the Wednesday—he bade us write diligently what we had begun, and this we did up to the third hour. But from the third hour we walked in procession with the relics of the saints, as the custom of that day required<sup>1</sup>. One, however, of us remained with him, who said: "There is still one chapter wanting of the book which thou hast been dictating, and it seems hard for thee to be questioned further." "Nay," said he, "it is easy, take thy pen, and mend it, and write quickly;" and he did so. But at the ninth hour he said to me: "I have a few treasures in my casket, that is, some pepper, napkins, and incense<sup>2</sup>; but run quickly and call the priests of our monastery to me, that I may distribute to them such gifts as God has given me." And in great agitation I did so. And he addressed them generally and severally, exhorting and beseeching them diligently to offer masses and prayers for him, which they gladly promised. And they all wept and lamented,

<sup>1</sup> On the observance of Rogations, which dates from the middle of the fifth century, see Bright, p. 48. D. C. A. s.r.

<sup>2</sup> So Lullus, afterwards Archbishop of Mainz, sends to Abbess Cuneburg: 'turis et piperis et cinnamomi permodica xenia.'

Mon. Mog. p. 110. Theophilas, Archdeacon of Rome, to St. Boniface, sending: 'cinnamomum, costum, piper et incensum,' ib. 199. Lullus to Eadburg, Abbess of Thanet, sending: 'storacis et cinnamomi partem aliquam,' ib. 214.

sorrowing most of all because he had said that they must not reckon to see his face much longer in this world<sup>1</sup>, but rejoicing because he said: "It is time for me, if it be His will, to return to my Maker, Who formed me, when as yet I was not, out of nothing. I have lived long, and my merciful Judge has well disposed my life. The time of my departure is at hand, for my soul desires to see Christ my King in His beauty<sup>2</sup>." This, and many like things he said, and passed the day in gladness until evening. Then the same boy, named Wilbert<sup>3</sup>, said once more: "There is still one sentence, dear master, which is not written down." And he said, "Well, then, write it." And after a little space the boy said: "Now it is finished." And he answered: "Well, thou hast spoken truth; it is finished. Take my head in thy hands, for it much delights me to sit opposite my holy place where I used to pray, that so sitting I may call upon my Father." And thus upon the floor of his cell<sup>4</sup> singing "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost" and the rest, he breathed his latest breath.'

And we may doubtless believe that as on earth he had most devoutly laboured in the praises of God, so his soul was carried by the angels to the longed-for joys of heaven<sup>5</sup>. And all who heard and saw the death of our father Bede, declared that they had never seen any one end his life with so great devotion and peace. For, as thou heardest, as long as the soul was in the body, he sang the *Gloria Patri* and other songs to the glory of God, and stretching

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Acts xx. 37, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Tim. iv. 6; Is. xxxiii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> There is a 'Uilberet monachus' in the *Liber Vitae Dun. Sweet, Oldest Texts*, p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> See the passage cited above, p. xxvii, note. What was said to be Bede's cell was still shown

in Simeon of Durham's time. S. D. i. 43. The 'porticus' to the north of the church was dedicated to him, *ib.* 42. Bede's cell was also shown in Leland's time. Cited by Gehle, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> H. H. truly says: 'Beda semper mente inhabitata coeli conscendit palatia,' p. 115.



out his hands ceased not to give thanks to God<sup>1</sup>. Know moreover that many things could be narrated and written concerning him, but my unlearned tongue makes my words the briefer. But I purpose with the help of God to write at leisure more fully about him the things which my eyes have seen, and my ears have heard<sup>2</sup>.

And so he passed away<sup>3</sup>, the very model of the saintly

<sup>1</sup> 'Felix autem nunc eorum uita, qui angelicam in terris conversationem sequuntur; uidelicet sobrie, et iuste, et pie, et caste uiuendo, ac diuinis laudibus semper, quantum mortali possibile est, uacando,' Opp. vii. 202: 'non est laboriosa sed amabilis et optanda seruitus, in Dei laudibus perpetuo adsistere,' v. 271.

<sup>2</sup> If this last sentence is genuine, the intention was either not carried out, or the letter has perished.

<sup>3</sup> 'Senex annis et sapientia, et plenus dierum non in uano consumptorum.' H. H. p. 115. 'De eo loquamur, reminiscentes memoriam sanctitatis eius, et gratias ei referentes pro suis laboribus.' S. D. ii. 23. W. M. i. 67, gives his epitaph which he calls 'pudendum prorsus et tanti uiri mausoleo indignum'; and asks indignantly whether Bede's monastery could not produce anything better than this:

'Presbyter hic Beda requiescit carne sepultus,

Dona, Christe, animam in caelis gaudere per aeuum.

Daque illi sophiae debriari fonte, cui iam

Suspirauit ouans intento semper amore.'

As to the fate of Bede's relics, see S. D. i. 42, 88, 89, 168, 252,

253 (cf. ib. 221, where Bede is spoken as 'breoma bocera,' 'famous bookman'); R. W. i. 223; Stevenson, Church Historians, I. ii. pp. iii, xx, xxi. They were translated to Durham in the eleventh century, and placed with those of St. Cuthbert, whom he had so fervently admired. Alberic of Trois Fontaines in his chronicle at the year 1115 cites the following from Helinandus: 'uenerunt ad abbatiam . . . que dicitur Wiltonia, ubi ostensa est eis sepultura uenerabilis Bede.' He then continues in his own person: 'hic oritur questio . . . quid sit uerius de sepultura . . . Bede, uel si utrumque stare potest, et quod hic dicitur, et quod in legenda translationis beati Cuthberti . . . scribitur. Sed dicunt quidam quod fuerunt duo Bede, primus, qui fecit homelias, et iste de Wiltonia.' Pertz, xxiii. 820. The last sentence is interesting as showing that Alberic knew Bede chiefly by his homilies, v. s. pp. xlvii, xlviii. For other persons of the name of Bede cf. Vit. Cudb. c. 37, Opp. Min. p. 120 (a priest of Lindisfarne); Pertz, i. 301 (a monk 'monasterii Anianensis a partibus Gotiae'); Fl. Wig. i. 253 (in the genealogy of the Lindisfari. Curiously enough this Bede has a son

scholar-priest; a type in which the English Church has never, thank God, been deficient, and of which we have seen in our own day bright examples in the person of men like Richard William Church and Henry Parry Liddon.

The world has in many ways made great progress since the days of Bede. If he could come to life to-day, he would find indeed part of his beloved Church at Jarrow still standing<sup>1</sup>; but the monastic buildings are almost wholly gone, and the face of the country has been utterly transformed. Instead of the small and scattered villages of Bede's time<sup>2</sup>, he would find a dense mining and manufacturing population; the then quiet reaches of the lower Tyne resound with the din of shipbuilding, and the roar of factories; and her once wooded banks are bare and black with the smoke of colliery and furnace. How far all these things have really added to the happiness of the world, may, I think, be doubted. But even rating them at the very highest value that has ever been put upon them by the most zealous votary of material progress, we have not, it seems to me, amid all our discoveries, invented as yet anything better than the Christian life which Bede lived, and the Christian death which he died.

named Biscop'. Alcuin gives an account of a miracle wrought by Bede's relics. *De Sanctis Ebor.* vv. 1316-7. With this exception what Fuller says of him is true: 'Saxon Saints who had not the tenth part of his sanctity, nor hundredth part of his learning, are said to have wrought miracles *ad lectoris nauseam*; not one single miracle is reported to have been done by Bede.' In MS. Add. 5810, p. 250. there is a Collect for Bede's day, from a 'Manual for the Clergy of London diocese: 'Venerabilis Bede presbyteri et

doctoris hac die sanctissimi tui Confessoris nos meritis et doctrina sanctifica, cuius concedis sacra solemnia uenerari; per Dominum.' For Bede as an authoritative standard of orthodoxy, cf. Bouquet, vii. 712; cf. note on H. E. i. 1, *ad init.*

<sup>1</sup> 'I have no doubt whatever that large parts of the two churches [Jarrow and Wearmouth] now standing are the genuine work of Benedict Biscop.' F. N. C. v. 898, 899; cf. *ib.* 635.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. E. iv. 27; Ep. ad Egb. § 7, p. 410.

## PART II.

### THE MANUSCRIPTS.

#### A. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA.

Smith's  
edition of  
Bede.

§ 20. ON the earlier editions of Bede's *Hist. Eccl.* up to the end of the seventeenth century something will be found below (pp. cxxix, ff.). The first really critical edition is that of Smith, folio, Cambridge 1722. This was a truly monumental work, and its execution cannot be too highly praised. It contained all Bede's historical works, including the Anglo-Saxon version of the *H. E.*, with valuable notes<sup>1</sup> and appendices. The Latin text of the *H. E.* was based on the famous MS. of Bishop Moore at Cambridge (M), collated with the three MSS. in the British Museum which I have called B, C, and R<sub>1</sub> respectively. As M, B, and C are three out of the four oldest MSS. known to exist, it was natural that Smith's text should be, as it was, a great advance on all its predecessors.

It is not perfect; owing partly to the fact that Smith and his successors attributed, as I shall show, a rather excessive weight to the authority of M in the formation of the text; partly to the difficulties inseparable from a first attempt; partly perhaps to the fact that the original editor, John Smith, Canon of Durham, died in 1715 when less than a quarter of the work was through the press. It was completed as a labour of love by his son, George Smith, who at the time of his father's death was only twenty-two years old<sup>2</sup>. So good, however, is

<sup>1</sup> 'Several of these notes are transcribed from Ussher's *Brit. Eccl. Ant.*, and many of the others were written by Gale, who had made extensive preparations for a new edition of the *H. E.*,

which are preserved, among his other MSS., in Trinity College, Cambridge. O.ii.63, 64.' Stevenson, *Church Historians*, I. ii. p. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> See the interesting and

Smith's text that subsequent editors have practically been content to reproduce it, and very little has been done for the textual criticism of Bede since 1722.

Stevenson (1841) is little but a reprint of Smith's text Stevenson. without his critical notes<sup>1</sup>; though in his preface (pp. xxxiii ff.) he says that he based his text on M, collating 'where necessary' the MSS. which I have called B, C, H<sub>1</sub>, R<sub>1</sub>; and 'occasionally consulting' H<sub>2</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, Bu<sub>1</sub>, Bu<sub>2</sub>, R<sub>2</sub>, R<sub>3</sub>, A<sub>3</sub>.

Giles (1843) corrected some of Smith's errors, chiefly, Giles. it would seem, by reference to the Heidelberg edition in the *Scriptores Rerum Britannicarum*, 1587; and 'referred to' other MSS.<sup>2</sup>

Hussey (1846) used Smith's text, 'inspectis nonnullis Hussey. quam codicibus prout res tulerit'; though the only MSS. which he names are M and D; the former of which a Cambridge friend collated for him in places. The latter is cited *once*, p. 87. He also used the editions of Stevenson and Giles, and compared some other sources for the documents, &c., contained in the H. E. The Anglo-Saxon version is occasionally cited.

The M. H. B. (1848) also reproduces Smith's text and Mon. Hist.  
Brit. his critical notes, though the editor 'compared to a certain extent' (Preface, p. 73) H<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>4</sub>, four Phillipps MSS., and one belonging to Lord Gosford<sup>3</sup>. The four Phillipps

modest account which he gives of his labours at the beginning of his preface.

<sup>1</sup> Smith's critical notes do little more than register the points in which his text differs from the common text of previous editions. It is very rarely indeed that the reading of any individual MS. is given. M.H.B. does little more than reproduce Smith's notes. Hussey is rather more independent, but his notes have the same general character.

They register readings of editions, not of MSS. Stevenson, Giles, and Moberly have no critical notes. Hence, with the very partial exception of Mayor and Lumby's edition of Books iii, iv, there is no edition of Bede in existence which gives a text based on an exhibition of the readings of the best MSS.

<sup>2</sup> See Giles' Preface, Opp. ii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Now in the Brit. Mus. Add. 25014.

MSS. I have not seen.  $H_1$  is cited *once* (p. 162), the Phillipps MSS. *once* (p. 231), the Barlow MS. (=  $O_{10}$ ), though not mentioned in the preface, is *once* cited (p. 148), a citation which is borrowed from Smith (p. 78), and MS. Colbert is cited at p. 171, also from Smith (p. 100).

Moberly. Moberly (1869, reprinted 1881) says: 'The text of the Church History is that of Smith corrected in a few places by that of M. H. B.' (p. xix).

Holder. Holder in his handy editions of the text used no fresh MS. material, though he utilised the work of previous editors, including Lumby and Mayor; and he introduced a theoretical orthography based on Bede's treatise *De Orthographia*, which is not that of any of the MSS., and is not consistently carried out<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* we have 'collocare' and 'conlocare' on the same page, p. 20, 'languore' and 'langore' p. 225, 'fulgura' and 'fulgora' in consecutive lines on p. 170, and so on. I have used Holder's second edition. How little most of these editors, except Hussey, have done for the correction of Smith's text will be seen from the following table, where some obvious misprints and oversights of Smith are given which his successors have omitted to correct. I place first the error of Smith, with the names of those editors who have followed him; then the true reading with the names of its adherents.

- i. 17, p. 33, l. 5 from bottom :  
     episcopi. Smith, Stev., Hussey, Holder. (The two last give the true reading in a note.)  
     episcopi Pelagiani. Giles, M. H. B., Mob.
- ii. 12, p. 107, l. 2 from bottom :  
     ut. Smith, Stev., M. H. B.  
     et. Giles, Hussey, Mob., Holder.
- ii. 16, p. 118, l. 10 :  
     construxit. Smith, Stev., Holder.  
     conspexit. Giles, Hussey, M. H. B., Mob.
- iii. 13, p. 153, l. 23 :  
     ergo. Smith, Stev.  
     ego. Giles, Hussey, M. H. B., Mob., Holder.
- iv. 1, p. 202, l. 12 from bottom :  
     euenire. Smith, Stev., Giles, M. H. B.  
     inuenire. Hussey, Mob., Holder.



In 1878 Professors Mayor and Lumby made a new departure by publishing Books iii and iv of the Ecel. Hist. from the Moore MS. with occasional readings from certain other Cambridge MSS. It is not possible, as I shall show, to base a satisfactory text on M alone; but apart from this fact, the readings of M are not always correctly given<sup>1</sup>.

- iv. 17, p. 240, l. 16:  
nono. Suscepimus. Smith, Stev., M. H. B.  
nono suscepimus. Giles, Hussey, Mob., Holder.
- iv. 29, p. 275, l. 15:  
diuina. Smith, Stev., Hussey, M. H. B., Mob.  
diutina. Holder.

<sup>1</sup> Thus we have:—

	L. & M.	MS.
iii. 5, p. 28, l. 12.	indomabiles	-lis
iii. 6, l. 29, p. 6.	domino	deo
iii. 18 <i>ad fin.</i> , p. 52, l. 21.	praedecessor	prodecessores
iii. 20, p. 58, l. 2.	subtracto	protracto
iv. 16, p. 121, l. 14.	erat	eatenus erat
iv. 22, p. 133, l. 28.	suis	sui
iv. 24, p. 142, l. 17.	adstitit	adstitit enim
iv. 30 <i>ad fin.</i> , p. 159, l. 21.	commodum	commemorandum

Even if the reading of L. & M. is in some cases the right one, the divergence from the standard MS. should be noted. One very great drawback to the value of L. & M.'s edition is that they have omitted, as a rule, to distinguish between the original and later hands in M. To give as the text of an eighth-century MS., readings which may be the work of correctors two or more centuries later, is to falsify the evidence. Of this a crucial instance can be given. In the capitulum of iii. 28, M, by an obvious blunder (*silently* corrected by L. & M.), has 'orientales' for 'occidentales' (Saxones). It had originally

the same blunder in the text (L. & M. p. 82, l. 5), but by erasure and insertion 'orientalium' has been altered into 'occidentalium.' Now Harl. 4978 (H<sub>1</sub>) is, as I shall show, a tenth-century transcript of M, and it reads 'orient-' not only in the capitulum, but also in the text; *i. e.* the correction in M was not made till after the transcription of H<sub>1</sub>, *i. e.* at least two centuries later. Yet L. & M. give it as the reading of M. See the present edition, pp. 194, 195, and notes. For another example see p. 169, note 5. Again, it sometimes happens that one MS. has been revised by means of another. Thus B

Plan of the  
present  
edition.

§ 21. Before proceeding to describe the MSS. of Bede, it will be well to give some account of the plan of this edition. The text is based on a complete collation of the four oldest known MSS.: viz. M, B, C, N. Of these M has so far been taken as the basis, that all deviations from its text are noted, except in the case of mere variations of orthography, and even of these the more important are registered. References to the folios of M are placed in the margin. Of the other three MSS. such readings are cited in the notes as seemed of importance, either intrinsically, or as illustrating the relationship between the MSS. I have tried in all cases, where a MS. has been altered, to distinguish the original from later hands by a number placed *above* the symbol which indicates the MS. in question. Thus N<sup>1</sup>, N<sup>2</sup>, indicate the first and second hands respectively in the Namur MS. (A number placed *below* a symbol indicates that the MS. is one of several belonging to the same place or collection. Thus the Harleian MSS. referred to are cited as H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, &c.; the Oxford MSS. as O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>2</sub>, &c.) In regard to proper names I have, except in one or two cases of obvious blunders which are specially noted, always retained in the text the spelling of M, and have given in the notes the variations of *all* the other three MSS. Thus text and notes together will give a complete view of the various modes of spelling Anglo-Saxon names in four MSS. of the eighth century<sup>1</sup>. In regard to the

has been corrected throughout by a scribe, who had either C or a sister MS. to C before him (see below, p. xci). To quote these corrections as the readings of B would give the impression that B and C were in most cases in exact agreement. As a matter of fact they represent two different recensions of the text. Of Lumby and Mayor

I have used the third edition, *revised*, 1881. The second edition was published in 1879.

<sup>1</sup> In the case of Latin words I have not distinguished between the *ae*, *æ*, and *e* with a loop, but have printed *ae* in all cases; in the case of native proper names I have carefully distinguished them, representing the last in the text by the

Latin orthography I have neither normalised it; nor have I reproduced that of M, which is in many respects highly individual<sup>1</sup>; but I have adopted that which had in its favour the prevailing practice of the four MSS.; which may be taken to represent fairly the Latin orthography of the eighth century, the century in which the *Hist. Eccl.* was written<sup>2</sup>. (In the case of Bede's *Hist. Abb.* and the *Hist. Anon. Abb.*, where one of the MSS. (*H*<sub>1</sub>) is so much earlier than all the rest<sup>3</sup>, I have reproduced exactly the orthography of that MS.)

In addition to the four MSS. which have been collated throughout, numerous MSS., especially in Oxford and the British Museum, have been examined and collated in certain test passages. The object of this examination has been chiefly to investigate the relations of these MSS. to the four primary MSS., and to one another; for I have rarely felt justified in altering the text arrived at by a comparison of the four oldest MSS., even when apparently faulty, in deference to the readings of MSS. of which the oldest is two centuries later; since it is probable that these represent, not a better MS. tradition, but merely the conjectures of later scribes. We have a concrete illustration of this in the corrections made in the text of M by the scribe of *H*<sub>1</sub><sup>4</sup>. Nor have I introduced into the text conjectures or corrections of my own. I have relegated them, even when they seemed most certain, to the pages of the Commentary.

To determine fully the mutual relationships of the numerous MSS. of Bede's *Hist. Eccl.* would be a work of many years, and in the case of the later (fourteenth and fifteenth century) MSS., the gain would not repay the

*Relations  
of the MSS.*

broken diphthong æ, in the notes generally by ę. where a theoretical orthography is introduced, it ought to be carried out consistently.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. xc.

<sup>2</sup> The result is naturally not

logical, because the practice of the scribes was not logical. But

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. cxxxii.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. xcix, note.

labour. I have, however, been able to arrive at some results which are probable and not uninteresting. They may at any rate serve as starting-points for any who wish to pursue the subject further. Readings from these later MSS. which from this, or any other point of view, seemed to be of interest, are occasionally given in the critical notes. More will be found in the additional critical notes at the end of vol. i. The Anglo-Saxon version is also occasionally cited.

The MSS.  
of the Hist.  
Eccl. very  
numerous.

§ 22. The MSS. of the Hist. Eccl. are extremely numerous. Hardy, in his Catalogue, i. 433-441, enumerates 133<sup>1</sup>, the highest figure reached by any work in the first volume of that Catalogue, except Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De Gestis Regum Britanniae*, of which 172 MSS. are enumerated (ib. 341-348). The juxtaposition is interesting. For if Bede be the father of English History, Geoffrey is no less surely the father of mediæval romance.

The four  
oldest  
MSS.

The four oldest MSS. on which the text of the present edition is based are the Moore MS. (M), Cambridge University Library, Kk. v. 16; Cotton, Tiber. A. xiv (B); Cotton, Tiber. C. ii (C); Namur, Bibliothèque de la Ville (N).

The Namur  
MS. (N).

§ 23. Namur, *u. s.* (N). No. 11 in the printed Cata-

<sup>1</sup> From these must be deducted Laud 78 (p. 437) which is not the Eccl. Hist. at all, and the Arras MS. p. 438, which is not Bede's Hist. Eccl. but Rufinus' Latin translation and continuation of Eusebius. Nor when I was at Arras in 1892 could I hear anything of the ninth-century MS. mentioned by Hardy, *u. s.* p. 435. Possibly he means the Codex Bertinianus cited by Bouquet, viii. 79. On the other hand there should be added Brit. Mus. Add. 18.150 (A<sub>1</sub>), eleventh century; Add.

33.371 (A<sub>4</sub>), fragments, twelfth or thirteenth century; Winchester (W), late tenth century; two Berne MSS., Bibliotheca Bongarsiana, Nos. 49 and 363, of which one possibly is mentioned by Hardy; Pembroke College, Camb. (P), twelfth century; College of Arms, Arundel MSS. No. 16, thirteenth century; two Rouen MSS., twelfth century, Nos. 1177 and 1343, of which one is possibly mentioned by Hardy; Utrecht University Library, No. 735, fifteenth century.

logue, No. 2 in the MS. Catalogue, eighth century<sup>1</sup>, fol., double columns, 33·50 × 26·10. It belonged formerly to the Monastery of St. Hubert in the Ardennes. The history of Gregory of Tours with the continuation by Fredegar is bound up with the Hist. Eccl. of Bede, but the juxtaposition is purely fortuitous. The Bede occupies sixty folios. The gatherings are of eight, six, and (in one instance) four folios. The third gathering has been lost, causing a lacuna which extends from 'trahens suspiria,' ii. 1, p. 80, to 'crucem magnam auream,' ii. 20, p. 126. It is the work of several scribes, some of them extremely bad; a fact which seems to show that it did not issue from the scriptorium of a great monastery, but from some little house where there were few if any skilled scribes. The writing is continental—not Anglo-Saxon—as Mone asserted. But it would seem to have been copied from a MS. of Hiberno-Saxon character, as may be inferred from the frequent confusions between *n* and *r*<sup>2</sup>, and *r* and *s*<sup>3</sup>. I mention this MS. first, not because of any special value or antiquity as compared with the other three eighth-century MSS., but, on the contrary, in order to clear it out of the way as soon as possible. *For the settlement of the text it is quite worthless.* After collating it in 1891 I wrote a description of it which appeared in vol. xix of the *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur*. But though I there spoke of the 'deplorable carelessness' with which this MS. had

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the MSS. described are always on vellum. The measurements (in centimetres) are internal measurements, *i. e.* of the pages, not of the binding.

<sup>2</sup> Thus: *quanto* for *quarto*, p. 24, note 4; *adsertiones* for *adsertiones*, p. 35, l. 4 from bottom; *pontum* for *portum*, p. 203, l. 6 from bottom; *annis* for *aruis*, p. 231,

l. 20, &c. Conversely: *Saxorum* for *Saxonum*, p. 31, l. 21; *fororum* for *faronem*, p. 203, note 5; *re- quieverat* for *nequieverat*, p. 324, l. 8 from bottom, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *reuerus* for *seuerus*, p. 27, l. 19; *cartellis* for *castellis*, p. 29, l. 6; *tre- carenæ* for *trecasenæ*, p. 34, l. 6; *deterrerit* for *deterserit*, p. 68, l. 9 from bottom, &c. The converse mistake was not likely to occur.



been executed, I had not at that time collated the other MSS., and had not realised fully the worthlessness (for textual purposes) of this MS. We need not go beyond the preface and the first chapter of the first book to see how ignorant the scribes were of Latin; thus: 'præscriptum' for 'presbyterum,' p. 6, l. 15; 'scriptare padsumsi' for 'scripta repperi, adsumsi,' p. 7, l. 2 from bottom; 'unum ferunt' for 'auium ferax,' p. 10, l. 2; 'pallerare' for 'palescere,' ib. 14, &c. Their ignorance of history and geography is shown by the way in which they have bungled over the word 'Scotti'; thus: 'ad-rantos' for 'ad Scottos,' heading of i. 13; 'rectorum' and 'sanctorum' for 'Scottorum,' p. 71, ll. 8, 22, &c. The commonest contractions are mistaken; 'quam.' 'quia' and 'quod' are constantly confused; so 'per.' 'præ,' 'pro,' 'post' and 'propter'; 'con,' 'cum,' and 'contra'; 'tamen' and 'tantum'; 'sed' and 'sicut'; 'a' and 'aut'; 'hoc' and 'autem'; 'aut' and 'ante'; 'epo' (episcopo) and 'ipo' (ipso) p. 328, l. 16. Omissions are frequent; the most important being in v. 12, and at the end of v. 22. Sometimes the scribes could not read their copy, and spaces were left which were only filled up later, or not at all. The MS. has been corrected throughout by later hands. But the corrections are often as bad as, sometimes worse than, the original text<sup>1</sup>. Hence, except in the case of proper names<sup>2</sup> this MS. is only sparingly cited. Nor need it be taken into account in discussing the mutual relationships of the various MSS., for so far as I have discovered, no other MS. shows any special affinity to this one<sup>3</sup>. In the general type of text which it exhibits it agrees with M and B against C.

<sup>1</sup> Thus: *pergeret* for *peteret*, p. 24 *ad ped.*, the latter being right; *uirum* for *uiro*, p. 260, l. 25, where *uiro* is right; *de simili* for *dissimili*, p. 304, l. 13,

the latter being right.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. lxxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> R<sub>2</sub> is a partial exception; see below, p. cii.

§ 24. M<sup>1</sup> (see above), the standard MS. of all editions since Smith's, eighth century, folio, 28·60 × 22·00, ff. 129. Written on the Continent, perhaps 'at Epternach or at some such Anglo-Saxon colony on the other side of the Channel'; probably about the year 737, as seems to be shown by the chronological entries at the end. It is called the Moore MS. because it is one of about fifty volumes which were bought on the Continent after the Peace of Ryswick, Sept. 20, 1697, and sold to John Moore, Bishop of Ely; on whose death in 1714 they were bought by King George and given to the University of Cambridge. They had belonged to the collection of J. B. Hautin, whose writing is found on the fly-leaf of this MS. It belonged at one time to a monastery or church of St. Julian, probably that at Le Mans, as one of the other MSS. is known to have come from Le Mans. The writing is 'old Hiberno-Saxon minuscules.' One peculiarity of the MS. is that 'when a document is quoted a red mark is repeated at intervals of two or three lines down the left margin. It resembles a distended Hebrew **ס**.' Contractions are frequent. After the chronological notes alluded to above a 'French hand of the tenth century' has added an

The Moore  
MS. at  
Cambridge  
(M).

<sup>1</sup> In the description of the MS. I am much indebted to the account of it by the late Mr. Bradshaw in the publications of the Palaeographical Society, where two pages of it are given in facsimile. There are two or three very slight corrections to be made in the account. (a) Unless we take 'rubrica' to be a gloss on 'nota,' there are not four but three glossed words at the end of the Anglo-Saxon version of Cædmon's hymn. They should be printed thus: *arula* hearth, *destina* feor-stud (cf. feor-

stuðu, Wülker's Glossaries, 280, 10; 461, 3); *iugulum* sticung, *nota rubrica*; and not as they appear in M. & L. p. 431\*, where *iugulum* is made a gloss on *stud* and *nota rubrica* on *sticung*! The glosses refer to ii. 15 (*arula*), iii. 17 (*destina*, which the AS. vers. translates 'studu'). (b) It is not quite true that '*d* is always turned back'; one or two instances of straight *d* occur. (c) One or two instances of the long Hiberno-Saxon *r* occur (p).

extract from St. Isidore on prohibited degrees, and the decree of Gregory II in the Roman Council of 721. The latter is mutilated owing to a folio having been excised at the end. The MS. has been corrected throughout by later hands, some of which at any rate are at least two centuries later<sup>1</sup>.

Apart from the fact that the existence of other MSS. of equal weight precludes the idea of basing the text solely on M, this MS. is not so uniformly correct as to be above criticism. The notes give frequent testimony to this fact<sup>2</sup>. The spelling is peculiar and arbitrary, especially in the matter of double letters; thus we have 'accesit,' 'cesisse,' p. 20; 'misus,' p. 89; 'iusit,' p. 45; 'decolatus,' p. 21, note 1; 'positis' (for 'possitis'), p. 44, note 2; 'anuo,' p. 111; 'dificultas,' p. 14. On the other hand: 'persuassio,' p. 53; 'suassio,' p. 112; 'dispossuisse,' p. 130; 'miserant,' p. 137, note 3; 'tollerare,' p. 83; 'Cessare' for 'Caesare,' p. 122. Words ending in *-ii*, *-iis*, &c., are generally written with a single *i*, but not always; we get even such forms as 'piissimo' for 'piisimo,' p. 44, note 5; *i* and *e* are in hopeless confusion, so that the testimony of this MS. is practically worthless as to whether we should read, *e.g.* 'suscipimus' or 'suscepimus,' p. 240; 'accidere' or 'accedere,' pp. 59, 60. This is the case in some degree with the other three MSS., but not to the same extent. A further peculiarity of this MS. is the way in which the scribe abbreviates the scripture quotations in the text, giving the first few words, and the last few words with the phrase 'usque ad' between them, pp. 102, 121, 188, &c., or else adding 'et cet.' after the first words, pp. 58, note 1; 124, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. lxxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Thus: *illum* for *ituri*, p. 82, note 3; *solcmstitialem* for *solstitialem*, p. 155, note 3; *protracto* for *subtracto*, p. 169, note 2; *orientales* for *occidentales*, pp. 194, 195, notes

3 and 6; *septum* for *sceptrum*, p. 212, note 5; *quam* for *quia*, p. 274, note 6; *commemorandum* for *commodum*, p. 277, note 9; *depraecessori* for *praedecessori*, p. 295, note 5, &c.

There is a facsimile of a page of this MS. in M. H. B. (plate xxvi).

§ 25. B (*v. s.*), eighth century, folio, double columns, Cotton. ff. 200. It wants the preface and capitula of the first Tiber. A. book at the beginning, and ends at the word 'regnabat' xiv. (B). in the year 709 of the chronological summary, v. 24. These losses are due to the great Cottonian fire of 1731, in which this MS. suffered severely<sup>1</sup>. Owing to this fact also the original size of the MS. and its gatherings cannot be given; and all evidence as to its history has been destroyed. This is the more to be regretted, as the MS. is of great interest. The writing is of the same general character as that of C, but more pointed<sup>2</sup>. The initials of the chapters are illuminated, and larger illuminations mark the beginnings of the books. Contractions are less frequent than in M. It has been corrected all the way through by a scribe who had either C or a sister MS. to C before him. Many pages of the critical notes will supply evidence of this<sup>3</sup>. This is the case even when the readings of C are clearly inferior to those of B<sup>4</sup>. It has the same mode of marking documents as M. This is one of many points which prove that *B is a sister MS. to M*<sup>5</sup>. They have not only the same type of text, but they agree

<sup>1</sup> It was this burnt condition of the MS. which led me to use the symbol B for it, as a sort of 'memoria technica.' Hence it is not safe to argue from the *silence* of the critical notes as to the readings of B. Large portions of it are totally destroyed, others are illegible.

<sup>2</sup> A facsimile of a very small portion of this MS. is in Stevenson's edition.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* pp. 13, note 1; 21, note 7; 24, notes 1, 11; 31, note 1; 39, note 3; 46, note 1; 106, note 3; 130, note 1; 141, note 7; 151,

note 1; 163, note 9; 273, note 5; 277, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* pp. 69, note 2; 96, note 1; 108, note 2; 211, note 4; 224, note 8; 251, note 1; 289, note 3; 293, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> That it is no light coincidence may be judged from the fact that Mr. Warner, of the MS. Department of the British Museum, whose acquaintance with Latin MSS. is unrivalled, stated, when his attention was called to this point, that he did not remember to have seen this peculiarity in any other MS.

in many minute particulars which cannot be accidental: 'loeti' for 'leti,' p. 79, note 2; 'ciuitas' for 'ciuitatis,' p. 94, note 1; 'eandem' for 'eundem,' p. 100, note 2; 'ob' for 'ab,' p. 105, note 2; 'miserant' for 'miserant,' p. 137, note 3; 'patefactum' for 'patefactam,' p. 166, note 4; 'uincerant' for 'uinxerant,' p. 250, note 5; 'sortibus' for 'consortibus,' p. 294, note 13, &c. On the other hand, neither of these MSS. is derived from the other; each has peculiarities of its own, B does not abbreviate the quotations as does M, and what is more decisive, each has omissions which are not found in the other. For omissions in M which are not found in B see pp. 16, note 1; 68, note 3; 92, note 2; 124, note 6; 129, note 4; 143, note 1; 151, note 4, &c. For omissions in B which are not in M (and these are more considerable) see *e.g.* pp. 169, note 5; 172, note 3; 275, note 3; v. 16, 17, and notes. Hence it follows that both MSS. must be copied from a common original.

As soon as this fact is realised, it becomes plain that we can no longer take M as the sole basis of our text. Where M and B agree we may presume that we have the text of their common original; *i.e.* we have the testimony not of two independent MSS. but really of a single MS., though a MS. more ancient than any which we possess, and which cannot be very far removed from an autograph of Bede. Where however M and B differ, we cannot straightway award the palm to M; we must either decide by internal evidence, or we must call in further external testimony. From this point of view I attach very great importance to the agreement of either M or B with C. For C, as I shall show, contains a different recension of the text from M and B, and is therefore a wholly independent witness. And it will be found, I think, that where M and B differ, C more often agrees with B than with M; in other words, where they differ B is more often right than M. Hence B has at least an



equal claim with M to be consulted in the settlement of the text.

§ 26. C (*r. s.*), eighth century, folio, double columns, Cotton. 28.25 x 22.00, ff. 157, slightly imperfect at the end, and Tiber. slightly damaged by the great Cottonian fire<sup>1</sup>. The C. ii. (C). gatherings are of eight leaves. The writing is 'pointed Saxon minuscules,' but less pointed than that of B. The initials of each chapter are illuminated, and there are elaborate ornamentations at the beginning of each book. Contractions are fairly frequent. On the blank spaces, on folios 5 r<sup>o</sup>, 34 v<sup>o</sup>, 60 v<sup>o</sup>, a later hand has written some Anglo-Saxon glosses on words occurring in the text of Bede. These glosses have been printed by Mr. Sweet (*Oldest English Texts*, pp. 179-182), who thinks that they are Kentish. Besides these written glosses there occur sporadically in parts of the MS. interlinear Anglo-Saxon glosses scratched with a stylus<sup>2</sup>. Musical notes occur on folios 18 r<sup>o</sup>, 26 r<sup>o</sup>, 29 r<sup>o</sup>, 59 r<sup>o</sup>, 132 v<sup>o</sup>, in a hand of the tenth or eleventh century. The MS. has been corrected throughout by later hands. At the beginning and at the end a folio of a fourteenth-century psalter has been inserted. C is certainly a Durham book (possibly brought originally from Lindisfarne). This is proved by two little facts of great significance. At the beginning of the preface, C has the impossible reading 'meditaturum' for 'meditandum,' a reading which occurs in no other MS. which I have examined except O<sub>8</sub>, where it is given

<sup>1</sup> There is a facsimile of a page of this MS. given by the Palaeographical Society, plate 141, accompanied by a description of which I have made use.

<sup>2</sup> These occur: ff. 8 d, 9 a, 10 c, d, 11 d, 13 c, 58 a, d, 62 d, 63 a, b, d, 64 a, 67 a, 69 a, b, c, 74 c, d, 76 b, c, d, 77 a, b, c, d, 78 c, d, 79 a, c, 80 c, 82 a, b, 83 a, b, 84 b, c, 85 c, d, 87 a, c,

88 v<sup>o</sup>, 89 v<sup>o</sup>, 91 a, b, c, d, 94 c, d, 95 b, 97 v<sup>o</sup>, 99 a, d, 100 r<sup>o</sup>, 101 a, 116 a, 117 a, b, c, d, 118 a, b, 119 a, d, 120 a, b, c, 122 a, b, 123 c, d, 124 a, c, d, 126 a, b, c, d, 128 d, 129 a, 130 c, d, 131 b, 132 a, d, 133 b, 135 c, d, 136 a, b, 138 a, 139 b, 140 d, 141 c, 143 a, 146 d. By good eyes in a strong light most if not all of these glosses could be read.

as an alternative. Yet Simeon of Durham, who embodies this passage in his history, has 'meditaturum' (ii. 42). Again, towards the end of the preface (p. 7, line 5 from bottom) where Bede speaks 'de sanctissimo patre et antistite Cudbereco,' a later hand in C has inserted the word 'nostro' after 'patre.'

Different  
types of  
text.

§ 27. The type of text which C exhibits is in several important points very distinct from that found in M, B, N. I call the former the C-text or type, the latter the M-text or type.

Of the MSS. which I have been able to test a certain number are of the M-type, rather more are of the C-type, while the most numerous class shows a conflate text, the basis being of the C-type, but contaminated by insertions and corrections of the M-type.

Tests.

Apart from minuter differences of reading, the more important points in which the two types differ are these.

1. The clause in which Bede asks for the prayers of his readers, 'Praeterea omnes . . . inueniam,' p. 8, is found at the end of the Preface in the M-text, but in the C-text it is placed at the end of the work.

2. The chapter which is numbered iv. 14 in the editions is omitted altogether in MSS. of a pure C-type<sup>1</sup>.

3. The words 'cuius supra meminimus.' near the beginning of iv. 18, which do not as a matter of fact correspond to anything in the preceding part of the work

<sup>1</sup> In M itself cc. 13, 14, 15 of Book iv. form a single chapter. In B there is a division between cc. 13 and 14. and in N between cc. 14 and 15. In A<sub>1</sub>, another MS. of the M-type, the three chapters are divided from one another; but in no MS. that I have seen are there separate headings in the capitula for cc. 14 and 15. So that these

headings rest on no MS. authority. It is interesting to find that W. M. had observed this variation in the MSS.: 'Oswaldi . . . sanctitatis fuere indicia, cum cetera, tum illud quod *secundum quaedam exemplaria* in gestis Anglorum asseritur.' Then follows the present tale, i. 260, 261; cf. ib. II. xciii.

(for Benedict Biscop has *not* been previously mentioned), are omitted in the C-text.

4. In the chronological summary, v. 24, the C-text ends the annal 731 with the word 'archiepiscopus,' omitting the words 'nonus . . . inperii' (p. 356). It then embodies the annals 733, 734 (which in the M-text occur in a sort of appendix after the close of the work), after which it proceeds with Bede's notice of his life and works.

5. In the list of Bede's works the C-text omits the excerpts from Jerome on the Prophets: 'In Isaiam . . . excerptas,' p. 358.

Judged by these tests the following MSS. belong to the M-type: M, B, N, H<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>, R<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub>, A<sub>4</sub>; and probably Ca<sub>5</sub>, Ca<sub>8-9</sub>. MSS. of the M-type.

The following belong to the C-type: C, W, O<sub>1</sub>, D, H<sub>2</sub>, O<sub>16</sub>, P, O<sub>8-9</sub>, Bu<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>7</sub>. MSS. of the C-type.

Of the conflate MSS. I have drawn up a table showing in which of the five points they conform to the C and M-types respectively. Where a small *m* is appended to the symbol C, it means that the original C-text has been altered by a later hand into conformity with the M-type. The same phenomenon occurs in the pure text MSS. Thus in W and O<sub>1</sub> the words 'cuius supra meminimus' (No. 3) have been inserted. In O<sub>1</sub> the words 'nonus . . . inperii' (No. 4) are inserted. Again in O<sub>1</sub>, though iv. 14 is not actually inserted in the text there is a mark made that something is wanting. These instances are interesting as enabling us to trace the actual steps by which the process of conflation took place. The most striking case of this occurs also in O<sub>1</sub>. This has the clause 'Praeterea omnes . . . inueniam' at the end of the work (No. 1, C-type). A later scribe has inserted the clause at the end of the preface in accordance with the M-type. But he did not delete the passage at the end of the work;

<sup>1</sup> A<sub>1</sub> is defective in the part where tests 4 and 5 come in.

accordingly in  $H_3$ , which, as I shall show, is a derivative of  $O_1$ , this clause occurs in both places; while iv. 14 and the clause 'cuius supra meminimus' are inserted in the text of  $H_3$ <sup>1</sup>. This is the most extreme case of conflation that I have met with. The symbol V (uacat) indicates that the MS. is defective at this point.

MS.	1	2	3	4	5	MS.	1	2	3	4	5
$O_3$	V	M	C	C	C	$O_6$	C	M	M	C	C
$R_1$	C	M	C	C	C	$O_{11}$	C	M	M	C	C
$O_4$	C	M	C	C	C	$O_{12}$	C	M	M	C	C
$O_{10}$	C	M	C	C	C	$O_{14}$	C	M	M	C	C
$O_5$	C	M	C	C	C	$O_{15}$	C	M	M	V	V
He	C	M	C	C	C	$A_2$	C	M	M	C	C
Bu <sub>1</sub>	C	M	C	C	V	$O_{17}$	C	M	M	C	C
$O_{18}$	C	M	C	C	C	$H_3$	CM	M	M	C	M
$O_{20}$	C	M	C	C	C	Ar	CM	M	M	C	M
S	C	M	Cm	C	C	$O_7$	CM	M	M	V	V
$O_2$	C	M	Cm	C	C						

It will be seen from the above table that the commonest and simplest form of conflation is the insertion in a C-type MS. of the chap. iv. 14 from a M-type MS.

Date of the  
two recen-  
sions.

§ 28. The question next arises which of these two types of text we are to consider as the earlier.

From the test passages Nos. 1 and 5 no inference can I think be drawn either way.

No. 2 at first sight favours the view that M is the later type. It seems more natural for an author to add to his work in later editions than to make excisions.

No. 3 points slightly the other way. In the first draft of the work, Bede, who had written so much about Benedict Biscop in his History of the Abbots, might easily forget that up to that point he had not mentioned him in the H. E. On a revision of the work this might be detected and corrected.

<sup>1</sup> Exactly the same phenomena show, is either a sister or a daughter MS. to  $H_3$ .

No. 4 seems to me decisive on the same side. Bede finished the H. E. in 731<sup>1</sup>. At that point the chronological summary in the M-text stops. The insertion in the C-text of two later annals, 733 and 734, seems to show that that recension was made in the latter year; and as the death of Archbishop Tatwin is not mentioned in that part of the 734 annal which is embodied in the C-text, it is probable that that recension was made before July 30, 734, the date of Tatwin's death. Moreover the facts that he was the ninth archbishop, and that his accession coincided with the fifteenth year of Ethelbald of Mercia would seem more important in the year of his accession than three years later.

We seem to have an indication of a yet earlier recension from which iv. 32 was absent, and in which the fourth book ended with iv. 31, which in fact forms a much more natural conclusion to it than the succeeding chapter. The evidence for this is that at the end of iv. 30 where the ordinary text reads: 'quaedam, quae nos nuper audisse contigit, superadicere commodum duximus,' several MSS. read 'unum quod' for 'quaedam, quae'; showing that originally only one miracle, that in iv. 31, followed, and that the miracle in iv. 32 is a later addition. Curiously enough it is in MSS. which are wholly or mainly of the latest or C-recension that this trace of the earliest recension has been preserved. With this fact is no doubt connected the variety in order and reading which the MSS. of all three classes exhibit in the capitula of iv. 31, 32.

§ 29. Having thus shown the basis on which the MSS. of Bede should be classified<sup>2</sup>, I proceed to describe those

Trace of a  
still earlier  
recension.

Descrip-  
tion of  
MSS.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. xi, cli.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Stevenson, in the preface to *Church Historians*, I. ii. which marks a great advance on the preface to his edition

of the H. E.), has noticed the existence of these three classes of MSS., pp. xxxiii. f. He did not, however, work out his discovery in detail. It was not till



which have come under my notice according to this principle of classification.

*MSS. of the M-type.*

MSS. of  
the M-type.  
Harley  
4978 (H<sub>1</sub>).

M, B, N have been already described.

Harl. 4978 (H<sub>1</sub>). This is a 4to MS., 24.00 × 17.75, ff. 151, written in a French hand of the tenth century. The H. E. occupies ff. 8-148b. Of the matter which occupies the remaining leaves of the MS. I will speak presently. The gatherings are usually of eight, but also of six and four. After f. 67 a fold probably of eight leaves has been lost and the lacuna has been supplied by the insertion of a fold of ten leaves of which the last has been cancelled. The writing of this insertion is from 150 to 200 years later than the rest of the MS. In some cases, *e.g.* ff. 58, 59, 110, the writing is large and unnaturally spaced; in others, *e.g.* ff. 85, 92, it is unnaturally contracted. This looks as if the folds had not been written consecutively, but the later sometimes before the earlier; so that the scribe had to cover a definite amount of vellum to make them join. *This MS. is unquestionably a direct transcript from M.* This is proved by many convergent lines of evidence. (1) It abbreviates the scriptural quotations of Bede as M does, and in precisely the same way<sup>1</sup>; and of all the MSS. which I have examined it is the only one besides M which does so abbreviate. (2) It agrees with M in many of the latter's most obvious mistakes; *e.g.* 'pergens' for 'pergebat,' p. 113, note 1; omission of 'morem,' p. 126, note 12; 'nam' for 'nec,' and 'corruit' for 'corruens,' p. 130, notes 5, 8; omission of 'ueniens,' p. 149, note 4, of 'merito,' p. 182, note 2; the false reading 'orientales' for 'occidentales,' pp. 194,

this Introduction was in the printer's hands that I found that Mr. Stevenson had to some ex-

tent anticipated my conclusions.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. xc, xci, and reff.

195, notes <sup>1</sup>, 'commemorandum' for 'commodum,' p. 277. note 9, 'depraecessori' for 'praedecessori,' p. 295, note 5. &c. (3) But the most decisive evidence of copying is given by those instances in which the scribe of H<sub>1</sub> has misinterpreted the reading of M. Thus, p. 253, M reads 'ad calcariam ciuitatem q: (quae),' meaning that 'calc.' and 'ciu.' are to be transposed. H<sub>1</sub> perceives this, but mistaking 'q:' for the conjunction 'que' transposes it also, and reads 'ciuitatemque calcariam,' which makes nonsense. Again, in v. 24, annal 538: 'eclipsis solis . . . ab hora prima usque ad tertiam,' M accidentally omits 'solis,' then adds it on the margin at the end of the line with a mark of insertion after 'eclipsis.' H<sub>1</sub> overlooks this mark, and copying mechanically reads: 'eclipsis . . . ab hora prima usque ad tertiam solis<sup>2</sup>.' (4) A further proof of the connexion of the two MSS. is afforded by the extracts which follow the H. E. These are identical with those which occur at the end of M, as far as these latter, which are mutilated, go; viz. Isidore on Consanguinity, and the decree of Gregory II. And more than this, *they are in the same hand*. If any one will compare the Palaeographical Society's facsimile of the last page of M (plate 140) with f. 149 a of H<sub>1</sub>; or, if that be impossible, with the facsimile of H<sub>1</sub> in M. H. B. (plate xxvii), he will be convinced of this. In other words, it was the scribe of H<sub>1</sub> who made these additions to M<sup>3</sup>. After the

<sup>1</sup> On the special significance of this see above, p. lxxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand H<sub>1</sub> makes a certain number of slips and omissions for which M is not responsible; per contra, he has corrected, generally quite rightly, a number of M's mistakes. I have noticed about fifty cases in which H<sub>1</sub> differs from M; but all may be accounted for in one of these two ways. None of

them indicate the use of any source besides M.

<sup>3</sup> It is very interesting to note that this same additional matter from Isidore and Gregory II is to be found in a MS. of Bede's Hist. Eccl. at Berne, Bibliotheca Bongarsiana, No. 49. See Hagen's Catalogue, p. 73. This MS. is of the ninth cent., and belonged to the great monastery of Fleury. I have not seen it, but

decree of Gregory II come various extracts chiefly from St. Jerome, ff. 148 b-151 a. Then follow some glosses: 'runcina, ascia; circino, quod rustice dicitur compassus,' &c. Then on f. 151 b is a short Frankish chronology: 'Ab incarnatione Domini usque ad transitum Sancti Martini, anni ccccxliiii. Ab inc. D. usque ad baptismum Francorum, anni . . . Abhinc usque in presens, anni cccxi. Ab inc. D. usque ad transitum Chlodouei, anni dlvi. Ab inc. D. usque ad transitum Sancti Remigii, anni dlxxvi. A transitu Remigii usque in presens, anni cclxx (?).' Then follow five lines which are nearly illegible, but which are not chronological. The dates seem to be those of the Julian era, which precedes the Christian era by forty-five years. Thus the death of Clovis which is here dated 556 took place 511 A.D. ( $556-511 = 45$ ). St. Remigius died c. 530 ( $576-520 = 46$ ). Clovis was baptized 496;  $496 + 311 = 807$ , and this must be the time at which this chronology was drawn up. But this MS. is not earlier than the tenth century. Therefore this chronology must be copied from an older MS. Preceding the H. E. comes the 'Sermo beati Augustini de lapsu monachi et uiduae,' followed by various extracts from Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, *Saint Aleuin*, &c., ff. 4-7. The first three leaves contain fragments of an eleventh century obituary<sup>1</sup> which have nothing to do with the MS. On f. 3 a in a coarse hand is the entry: 'uxor defuncti Almarici 'de Leues uilla' debet duos modios tritici.' This seems to show that though the original home of the MS. was in France, it belonged at one time to the Priory of Lewes.

Additional,  
18,150 (A<sub>1</sub>).

Additional, 18,150 (A<sub>1</sub>), large 4to, 29.00 × 22.50, eleventh century (not mentioned by Hardy), ff. 183.

it would probably prove to be related in some way to M and H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> It is from an entry in this obituary: 'Girardus prior Caritatis primus,' that Stevenson,

*u. s. p.* xxx, inferred that this MS. 'belonged to the Monastery of St. Mary de Caritate in the diocese of Auxerre.' Cf. *Gallia Christ.* xii. 403.

A beautiful MS. It belonged formerly to the monastery of St. Georgenberg, near Schwatz, Tyrol; and on the reverse of the last leaf is an entry relative to St. George of Cappadocia. Owing to the loss of a leaf near the end tests 4 and 5 cannot be applied; but the other three show it to be a MS. of the M-type.

In the Bibliotheca Casinensis, vol. iv, two MSS. of Monte Cassino, 181 and 177 respectively; the former belonging to the first, the latter to the second half of the eleventh century. Judged by test No. 1, which is the most decisive, they belong to the M-class<sup>1</sup>. They agree with one another in a very peculiar series of capitula to Books iv and v, which I have met with nowhere else. Probably, therefore, the later MS. is a transcript of the earlier. But of this I cannot speak positively, not having seen the MSS.

Reg. 13 B. xviii. (R<sub>2</sub>), small folio, double columns, 29.50 x 20.50, ff. 102; thirteenth century, according to Hardy, but I think this is a good deal too early. Hardy was perhaps influenced by the fact that the metrical chronology which precedes the Hist. Eccl. and is in the same hand as the rest of the MS., only comes down to Henry III<sup>2</sup>. But this need only prove that the MS. from which this was copied was not earlier than 1216. On f. 63 v in a hand of the sixteenth century is written: 'In nomine Dei. Amen. I George fforlonge of Wexforde. In mense Mandi tum flores sunt blandi,' &c. By all the tests given above this MS. belongs to the M-class; but within that class it stands quite by itself. After the metrical chronology<sup>3</sup> mentioned above, which extends

Reg. 13 B.  
xviii. (R<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>1</sup> Judged by the same test the MS. which M. & L. call C<sub>5</sub>, and I Ca<sub>5</sub> (the symbol C being already appropriated) viz. Sidney Sussex Coll. Δ. 2. 8, is also of the M-type. See M. & L. p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> The author calls him 'Henricus quartus,' reckoning 'the young king,' the son of Henry II, as Henry III.

<sup>3</sup> 'Metrica excerpta de libro qui intitatur de Gestis Anglorum.' Incipit: 'octingen-

from Egbert to Henry III, and occupies ff. 1 a-4 b, come the capitula of all the five books of the H. E. consecutively, ff. 4 c-7 b; whereas in all other MSS. that I have examined the capitula of each book immediately precede that book. Further, at the end the beautiful invocation 'teque deprecor, bone Iesu . . . ante faciem tuam,' is omitted. This is not due to mutilation; for the H. E. ends on f. 101 a, and the remainder of ff. 101, 102 is occupied with other matter. In one or two points it shows an affinity with N. Thus it omits the clause: 'gratulabatur ille . . . gaudis est' at the end of v. 22; it agrees with N in the peculiar reading in v. 12, 'postea autem,' &c. See p. 309, note 2. But as it has *not* the lacuna which in N immediately precedes that passage, it cannot be a transcript of N; and the same is true of other peculiarities of N which are not shared by R<sub>2</sub>. But apart from these points the text of the H. E. is dislocated in the most extraordinary way; and as the points of dislocation occur, not merely in the middle of a column, but as a rule in the middle of a line, the dislocation must be due to the scribe having copied mechanically a MS. in which the gatherings had been misbound, and one gathering lost altogether. The text now occurs in the following order. After the capitula (*v. s.*) we have:

(1) Preface to i. 27, ending with 'quia pro ueritate,' p. 51, l. 15, ff. 7 b to 20 c = 13½ ff. of the MS. or 47 pages of the present edition.

(2) iii. 9, beginning 'Christianorum prorsus oboleri' (*sic*), p. 145, l. 5, to iv. 2, ending 'erant instructi,' p. 204, l. 5 from bottom, ff. 20 c to 37 c = 17 ff. or 59½ pages.

(3) ii. 1, beginning 'aduenientibus nuper,' p. 79, l. 4 from bottom, to ii. 14, ending 'esset consumata' (*sic*), p. 114, l. 14, ff. 37 c to 47 c = 10 ff. or 34½ pages.

tesimo conceptus uirginis anno	currere statim,   Versibus hiis
Egbertus clarus' &c. Explicit:	centum, lector tibi do docu-
'Cronica summam si uis per-	mentum.'



(4) iv. 2, beginning 'congregata discipulorum,' p. 204, l. 5 from bottom, to iv. 15 *ad fin.*, ending 'id est Occidentalium,' p. 236 = 9 ff. or 32 pages.

(5) ii. 14, beginning 'rex ipse impia,' p. 114, l. 14, to iii. 9, ending 'de catalogo regum,' p. 145, l. 5, ff. 56 c to 64 c = 8 ff. or 31 pages.

(6) iv. 15 *ad fin.*, beginning 'Saxonum qui essent,' p. 236, to the end of v. 24, ff. 64 c to 101 a = 36½ ff. or 124 pages.

Hence it will be seen that from i. 27 'Iohannes occisus est,' p. 51, l. 15, to ii. 1, 'die quadam cum,' p. 79, l. 4 from bottom = 28½ pages, is wholly wanting.

We may take it that Nos. 3, 4, 5 in the above list represent single gatherings of the original MS., Nos. 2 and 1 (with the addition of some prefatory matter, possibly the same metrical chronology as here) represent double gatherings, while No. 6 would contain four gatherings. One gathering, the third, is missing. The original MS. must therefore have contained twelve gatherings. Representing these by the Greek letters  $\alpha$  to  $\mu$ , we may say that  $\gamma$  was lost, and the remaining gatherings misbound in the following order:  $\alpha\beta(\gamma)\zeta\eta\delta\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\lambda\mu$ . I have thought it worth while to analyse the composition of this curious MS., because it is a striking example how purely mechanical the work of a scribe might be.

Additional, 33,371 (A<sub>4</sub>), folio, double columns, 34.50 Additional, 33,371 (A<sub>4</sub>).  
 x 23.75, twelfth or early thirteenth century. This consists only of fragments of the H. E. But fragmentary as it is tests 1, 2, 4, 5 can be applied; and these show that it is a MS. of the M-type. Before its mutilation it must have been a fine MS.; it is not unlike O<sub>18</sub> in its general character.

Additional, 10,949 (A<sub>3</sub>). This is a poor fifteenth-century paper MS., small folio, double columns. The Additional, 10,949 (A<sub>3</sub>).  
 actual date is given in a note on f. 163 c as 1420. It has

however one point of interest. It is the only MS., as far as I am aware (besides two in the Phillipps collection which I have not seen), which contains the chronological continuation of Bede's epitome in v. 24. This continuation is embodied in that epitome; and I have carefully collated it. But beyond this and the five test passages I have not examined this MS<sup>1</sup>.

*MSS. of the C-type.*

MSS. of  
the C-type.  
The Dur-  
ham and  
Winches-  
ter groups  
of MSS.

§ 30. C has been already described.

We come now to two groups of MSS., which are closely related to C, and also to one another. We may call these the Durham and the Winchester group respectively; at the head of the former group stands the MS. belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, B. ii. 35 (D), at the head of the latter the MS. belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, No. 3 (W). The chief point in which these two groups agree with one another, and differ from C, is the insertion of considerable additions in Bede's chronological summary. (See the critical notes to v. 24.) Further, both groups differ greatly from C, and from all normal MSS. of whatever type, in the divisions between the chapters; the divisions being very unskilfully made, sometimes even in the middle of a sentence. But in this matter of the divisions of chapters, the two groups not only differ strongly from C, but also from one another. Hence we must conclude that the original MS. from which these two groups are ultimately derived (i) was closely related to C; (ii) contained additional matter in the chronological epitome; (iii) had the divisions between the chapters marked very imperfectly or not at all, so that later scribes, guided by the capitula, had to make the divisions as best they could.

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson calls it 'a . . . . . from a MS. of considerable valuable copy, . . . transcribed authority,' u. s. p. xxxiii.

The fact that the inserted matter has mainly to do with Wilfrid shows that the origin of this MS. must be northern. The key to the position lies in an entry under the year 667: *n̄r* abb. scri. ('noster abbas scripsit'). Who was the northern abbot about 667 whose writings were so important as to deserve a special entry? The answer to that question would fix the locality of the parent MS. of these two groups. The evident interest in Wilfrid suggests Hexham, Ripon, York, or possibly Lindisfarne? Can it refer to the writing of the great Lindisfarne Gospels by Eadfrid<sup>1</sup>? If so, the date is probably placed too early.

Of the two groups, the D group is much nearer to C than the W group. This is not surprising, seeing that I have already given reasons for believing that C itself is a Lindisfarne or Durham book. This greater nearness of D to C is shown by the fairly numerous instances in which they agree together against W. The following may serve as specimens: 'itaque,' C, D, p. 42, note 4, 'iamque,' W; 'conuersione,' C, D, p. 106, note 3, 'conuersatione,' W; 'cognoscuntur,' C, D, p. 84, note 3, 'noscuntur,' W; 'uocatur,' C, D, p. 253, note 9, 'appellatur,' W; 'uocatur,' C, D, p. 286, note 7, 'uocabatur,' W; 'institutionis,' C, D, p. 332, note 3, 'institutis,' W.

For this reason I take the Durham group first in order.

§ 31. The parent MS. (D) belongs to the Durham Cathedral Library (B. ii. 35). The other members of the group are Harl. 4124 (H<sub>2</sub>); C. C. C., Oxon. 279 (O<sub>16</sub>); Burney, 310 (Bu<sub>2</sub>); Additional, 25,014 (A<sub>5</sub>); Pemb. Coll., Cambridge (P); Bodley, 302 (O<sub>9</sub>).

D. This is a large folio MS. in double columns (I have omitted to note the exact size and number of the leaves). The bulk of the MS. is of the twelfth century. But a certain number of fifteenth-century tracts are bound up in it. This juxtaposition must, however, have taken

<sup>1</sup> See on v. 12.

place as early as the fifteenth century, since, with one exception<sup>1</sup>, all these later tracts occur in the fifteenth-century table of contents. The contents of the MS. are chiefly historical. The articles which concern us are: Bede's *Ecel. Hist.*, ff. 38 c-118 d; Life of Bede, with the Preface, ff. 119 a-123 c; Bede's Lives of the Abbots, ff. 123 d-129 a. On f. 75 a is written in a fifteenth-century hand: 'Beda de gestis Anglorum in libraria monachorum Dunelm.' It has been corrected throughout by later hands.

Harley  
4124 (H<sub>2</sub>).

H<sub>2</sub>. This is a twelfth-century MS., small folio, double columns, 33.00 × 20.75, ff. 89. It contains Bede's *Hist. Ecel.*, the life of Bede, with the Preface, and Bede's Lives of the Abbots. It ends imperfectly in the middle of the last article. Whether it originally contained more than these three articles cannot now be known. On f. 56 v<sup>o</sup> between the columns in a fifteenth-century hand is the memorandum: 'iste liber constat monasterio de Wyrksopp.' On f. 1 r<sup>o</sup> is the entry: 'Bought at Mr. Rawlinson's sale, 1734.' This is Thomas Rawlinson, the brother of the famous Bodleian benefactor. He died in 1734, and some of his books were bought for the second Earl of Oxford of the Harley family<sup>2</sup>.

Pembroke  
College,  
Cambridge,  
(P).

P. This is a late twelfth-century MS., folio, 31.00 × 20.00, ff. 139. It contains: (1) *Vita Sancti Alexii confessoris*, ff. 1 b-4 b. (2) Bede's *Hist. Ecel.*, ff. 5 a-123 b. (3) Life of Bede with prefaces, ff. 124 a-130 a. (4) Bede's Lives of the Abbots, ff. 130 b-137 b. (5) 'Decretum Gregorii papae: ut Episcopi nullam molestiam monasteriis . . . inferre praesumant,' ff. 138 a-139 a. On f. 1 a is a list of Bishops of Lindisfarne, and on f. 139 b a pedigree of Northumbrian kings, showing clearly that the book is of northern origin. On f. 1 a is the entry: 'Trine

<sup>1</sup> An inventory of Durham relics inserted on seven quarto leaves at the end of the MS. See on this MS., *Catalogi Veteres*

*Ecel. Dun.* pp. 56, 65, 214.

<sup>2</sup> See Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, ed. 2, pp. 232, 234, 250, 251.

Deus da ne dicas tua gratia uana (?), Iohannes de Westwyk<sup>1</sup>.

Additional 25,014 (A<sub>5</sub>), small folio, double columns, Additional 25,014 (A<sub>5</sub>).  
29.55 × 19.75, ff. 119, twelfth or early thirteenth century. A good MS. It conforms to all the D-tests. The H. E. ends on f. 117 b, then comes Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede, ff. 117 b-118 c, followed by two short articles: 'de eo quod episcopi Candide Case esse debeant subiecti archiepiscopo Eboracensi,' ff. 118 c, d; 'Qualiter acciderit quod memoria Sancti Andree apostoli amplius in Scotia sit quam in ceteris regionibus,' ff. 118 d-119 d. The remainder of 119 d is occupied by 'prefatio Ambrosii Merlini de regibus Anglie: Coegit me Alexander Lincolnensis presul'; i.e. Geoffrey of Monmouth's seventh book, which ends mutilated at the bottom of the column. On f. 2 v<sup>o</sup> is a record of the homage of Edward Balliol to Edward III of England in 1334 at Newcastle, in Latin, with the form of homage in French. All these additions (with the exception of Geoffrey of Monmouth) show the northern interests of the scribes. The MS. was bought at Sir Francis Palgrave's sale, Nov. 20, 1862, and entries on ff. 1 and 2 show that it formerly belonged to Francis St. John. Hence this is probably the MS. which Hardy calls the Gosford MS., Cat. i. 438, note †.

O<sub>16</sub>. This is a fourteenth-century MS., small folio, in double columns, 25.70 × 15.50, ff. 74, bound up with the eleventh-century copy of the Anglo-Saxon Version of Bede. It formerly belonged to Bryan Twine, but nothing else is known of the history of the MS. C.C.C. Oxon. 27. (O<sub>16</sub>).

Bu<sub>2</sub>. This is a fourteenth-century MS., large folio, double columns, 35.50 × 24.00, ff. 176. Of the ten items which it contains nine are common to it and D. The remaining one, the first in the volume, is Rufinus' Burney 310 (Bu<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>1</sup> For information about this MS., supplementing my own rather hurried examination of it, I am indebted to my kind friend, Mr. F. Jenkinson, University Librarian, Cambridge.



translation and continuation of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History in eleven books. The MS. is all in the hand of one scribe whose name and date are given, f. 89c: 'Explicit liber hist. eccl. secundum Eusebium scriptus per manum Guillelmi dicti Du Stiphel de Britannia, pro uenerabili et religioso magistro Domino Vtredo Dunelm. monacho, ac sancte sacre [*sic, lege: sacrosancte*] pagine doctore. Anno Domini millesimo ccc<sup>o</sup> octuagesimo primo, uicesimo sexto die mensis Augusti G. Du Stiphel.' And the same name occurs at the end of Bede's H. E.. f. 158b. By 'Britannia' is meant Brittany. This MS. is the MS. marked N on pp. 56, 65 of *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Dunelm*<sup>1</sup>. For another MS. by the same scribe, see *ib.* 51, 192. The Utred in question is Utred de Boldon, prior of Finchale, near Durham. in the second half of the fourteenth century (see *Priory of Finchale*, pp. xxiii, xxvii, S.S. 1837).

Bu<sub>2</sub> is known to be a transcript of D, and its relations need not therefore be discussed, nor have I been at the trouble to test its readings.

Bodley 302  
(O<sub>9</sub>).

O<sub>9</sub>. This is a fifteenth-century MS., small folio, double columns, ff. 143. Its contents are given in *Catalogi MSS. Angliae et Hiberniae* (1697), No. 2086; to which should be added at the beginning 'Regulae quaedam a bonis uiris obseruandae.' On f. 7r<sup>o</sup> is the name 'Tho. Allen<sup>2</sup>,' and on f. 67r<sup>o</sup> the entry 'iste liber pertinet George Hufl.' The Bede occupies ff. 72-137r<sup>o</sup>. and is in a single hand, different from the rest of the MS.

Character-  
istics of the  
Durham  
group.

That all these MSS. belong to the same family is shown by the numerous points in which they agree among themselves, and differ from all other MSS. which I have examined. (i) Divisions of chapters: thus i. 12 begins 'Fracta est autem Roma' instead of 'Exin Britannia.'

<sup>1</sup> This is proved by the fact that the second folio begins, as there stated, 'cibus ita refertur.'

<sup>2</sup> On him see Macray, *u. s.* pp. 23-25.

p. 25; i. 17 begins 'Utebantur eo tempore' instead of 'Ante paucos . . . annos,' p. 33; i. 26 and 27 are joined together in the text; ii. 7 begins 'Post quem Mellitus' instead of 'Hoc regnante rege,' p. 93; iv. 26 [28] begins 'Uerum quia de uita' instead of 'Exin Cudberct,' p. 271. (ii) Omissions: 'et huius quoque . . . meruerunt,' iii. 4 *ad fin.*, p. 135; 'prouisione,' iv. 9, p. 222, l. 8; 'ad,' v. 19, p. 328, l. 18. (iii) Peculiar readings: 'uestigiorum' for 'fastigiorum,' ii. 8, p. 95, note 3; 'anno tricesimo' for 'annos triginta,' iv. 11, p. 225 (an absurd misinterpretation of the numeral). I would not assert that all these MSS. are directly copied from D. That is certainly the case with Bu<sub>2</sub>, and I think also with H<sub>2</sub>. But some of the later MSS. may be derived not immediately, but mediately, from D. Still the points cited are sufficient to show that they all belong to one family. Nor can it be asserted that D itself was directly copied from the MS. which was the ultimate progenitor of the two groups. There may have been intermediate links.

The later MSS. sometimes exhibit either solely or in combination the readings inserted by the correctors in D<sup>1</sup>. Where this is not the case it would not be safe to assume that the corrections in question must be posterior to the transcript, as later scribes exercise their own discretion as to the adoption or rejection of alternative readings.

§ 32. We now come to the Winchester Group.

Winchester Cathedral MS. 3 (W), large folio, 36.20 x

The Winchester group.

The Winchester MS. (W).

<sup>1</sup> Thus in iv. 15 [17] *ad fin.*, p. 240 D<sup>1</sup> has 'damnauerunt' with the ordinary reading 'anathematizauerunt' written above as an alternative by D<sup>2</sup>. H<sub>2</sub> has simply 'damnauerunt,' but O<sub>16</sub> embodies both the alternative readings in his text: 'damnauerunt uel anathematizauerunt.' In iv. 20 [22] *ad init.*, p. 249,

over 'de militia eius' D<sup>2</sup> has written the gloss 'scilicet Ecgfridi regis'; this is not in H<sub>2</sub> even as a gloss; in O<sub>16</sub> it is embodied in the text. In v. 19, p. 323, l. 27, D<sup>1</sup> has the false reading 'similiter' for 'sublimiter'; this is reproduced in H<sub>2</sub>, but corrected in O<sub>16</sub> after D<sup>2</sup>.

26.20<sup>1</sup>, ff. 108. 'Late tenth cent. Written in minuscules generally of a continental type, but obviously by English scribes. . . . On f. 40 is a marked change of hand extending over three columns only, the characters being strongly English in form, notably the *r* and *g*. The last scribe, apparently beginning at f. 83 b, was the Ædelelm who wrote the colophon. A monk of this name appears in the "Liber Vitae" of Hyde Abbey (New Minster) early in the eleventh cent. (ed. Birch, p. 138). . . . On f. 45 b, in a hand of the fourteenth cent., is a note on the translation of St. Birinus . . . from which it may be inferred that the MS. was already at Winchester when the note was written.'

The colophon referred to above runs thus: 'Finit. Deo gratias ago. Quicumque legerit hunc librum uel scrutauerit, ut det benedictionem pro anima Ædelelmo (*sic*) qui scripsit hoc. Sit sic hoc hic in aeternum.' Then comes the following inscription in Irish: 'éscor doont-erchinnach duillim; bennacht (*sic, lege: bennacht*) en scribenned ma beth ní uaréle beth ferr degenter nú hère<sup>2</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Slightly cropped by the binder. This MS. is not mentioned by Hardy. The passages in inverted commas are from a description of the MS. by Mr. G. F. Warner of the British Museum, kindly shown me by the Rev. F. Madge, Librarian to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester. They are printed here by Mr. Warner's courteous permission.

<sup>2</sup> This is very poor Irish indeed. It is evidently the work, either of a scribe reproducing an inscription in an older MS., which he did not understand; or of one who had a smattering of Irish, and tried to imitate the notes often made by Irish scribes in the MSS. which they

wrote. For the following restoration and translation of it I am mainly indebted to the kindness of Dr. Norman Moore, who tells me that the conjecture 'ní air' for 'nú hère' is due to Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady. 'Is cóir dond-erchinnach duillim; bennacht in scribennid; ma beth ní uair ele bud ferr, dogentar ní air.' 'It is fitting for the *erenach* (or prior) to go with me; the benediction of the writer; if there be anything that would be better at some other time, something shall be done for him.'—I am inclined to think that the phrase 'duillim' contains the proper name 'William' with prefixed 'do,' *i. e.* a dative

'After this, still in Ædelelm's hand, are twelve hexameters beginning "Summe (for Sume) pater placidus modulantis nota poete." They form the preface to a poem addressed to Egbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne (803-821) by Æthelwulf. . . . The verses end at the bottom of the page, and no doubt the whole poem followed on leaves now missing. There is however reason to believe that they are in the British Museum in MS. Cott. Tib. D. iv. ff. 309-318. These leaves, which have nothing to do with the rest of the MS. (Lives of Saints of the twelfth cent.) with which they are bound up, contain the poem of Æthelwulf, without the prefatory lines, and beginning at the top of the page. Allowing for the injury done to them by the fire of 1731, they are of the same dimensions as the Winchester MS., and the hand . . . appears to be identical with that of the lines in the latter volume.'

I cannot see that there is anything which throws light on the history of the MS. Dr. Kitchen thought that it had been originally a Glastonbury book<sup>1</sup>. O<sub>2</sub>, as I shall show presently, is a transcript of this MS., though, owing to the insertion in it of iv. 14, I am obliged to place it in the class of conflate MSS. ; but as regards origin, O<sub>2</sub> and derivatives of O<sub>2</sub> (if any), must be reckoned as belonging to the Winchester group.

The only other MS. which I can place here as exhibiting Balliol 176  
(O<sub>19</sub>).

in apposition to 'dont-erchin-nach.' Then the translation would run : 'There is due to the prior, viz. to William, the benediction' &c. In any case, if the MS. came from Glastonbury, the Irish connexions of that monastery receive an interesting illustration, as Dr. Moore remarks. I cannot think the MS. is so ancient as to enable us to identify the scribe with Æthelm who became archbishop of Canterbury

in 923; unless we suppose that that inscription also may have been copied from an older MS.

<sup>1</sup> For additional information as to this MS., I am indebted to the Rev. F. Madge. In a Glastonbury Catalogue of 1247, we find 'Historiae Anglorum scriptae a Beda, bon. set uetust.'; also, 'Beda de gestis Anglorum.' Iohannes Glastoniensis, ed. Hearne, ii. 428, 435.

a pure C-text of the Winchester type is Balliol College, Oxford, No. 176 ( $O_{19}$ ). This is a twelfth-century MS., folio, double columns,  $36.50 \times 25.70$ , ff. 182. The H. E. occupies ff. 1-93, the remainder being assigned to Bede's Commentary on St. Mark. It is all in one hand, and well written, the initials finely illuminated in green and red. Owing to the glaze of the vellum or the thickness of the ink the writing has peeled off in many places.

On a flyleaf at the beginning is the entry: 'Liber domus de Balliolo in Oxon. ex dono Willm. Gray Eliensis episcopi.' William Gray was bishop of Ely, 1454-1478. They are no other marks of ownership.

Apart from the general characteristics of the Winchester group,  $O_{19}$  is specially connected with W by the adoption in the text of the alternative beginning of v. 9 which  $W^2$  has written on the margin. The object of this alternative was undoubtedly to make the passage more suitable for reading aloud in church or in refectory<sup>1</sup>; and that the scribe of  $O_{19}$  had this object specially in view is shown by the fact that he has actually given to ii. 1 the heading: '*Lectiones* quedam de uita uel obitu beati Gregorii pape, edite a uenerabili Beda presbitero.' He would naturally therefore prefer the alternative reading of  $W^2$  in v. 9.

Character-  
istics of the  
Winches-  
ter group.

The following are some of the points in which W,  $O_2$ , and  $O_{19}$  agree with one another against all other MSS.: i. 8 begins (in the middle of a sentence) 'ubi postea redeunte,' p. 21, l. 27, instead of 'at ubi turbo,' p. 22; ii. 2 begins 'haec iuxta opinionem,' p. 81, l. 4, instead of 'Interea Augustinus' in W and  $O_2$ ; in  $O_{19}$  there is a large initial to 'haec,' but a still larger one to 'interea.' In iv. 1, p. 202, l. 6, the four oldest MSS. are divided between 'Niridano' and 'Hiridano' as the name of

<sup>1</sup> The additional critical notes will furnish many illustrations of this custom. It is a frequent cause of corruptions of the text

of MSS., notably in MSS. of the N. T. Cf. D. C. A. ii. 954. For the custom of reading aloud at refectory, ib. 987.



Hadrian's monastery;  $O_2$  and  $O_{19}$  both read 'Oiridano,' and we may assume that this was the reading of W, though the first letter has been tampered with, and is now illegible. In iv. 25, p. 264, l. 17, where the M-text reads 'aspicerent' and the C-text 'conspicerent,' these three MSS. read 'suspicerent'.

Of the corrections and alternatives written in W by later hands some appear in the text of  $O_2$ , others appear in  $O_2$  also as corrections and alternatives by a later hand.

§ 33. Other MSS. which exhibit a pure C-text without any special affinities are the following:—

Hatton 43 ( $O_1$ ), 4to, 26.25 × 20.00, early eleventh century, ff. 177, of which the first eight are in a different hand from the rest of the MS. On f. 129 a a somewhat later hand has written the Anglo-Saxon version of Cædmon's hymn (see notes to iv. 24). This is the MS. which by the corrections and additions of the later scribe has prepared the way for the curiously conflate MSS.,  $H_3$ , Ar,  $O_7$  (*v. sup.* pp. xcv, xcvi). Another feature of this MS. is the addition by the later scribe of historical glosses on the text. A leaf has been cut out between ff. 66 and 67. At the foot of f. 152 b is a verse of a hymn to St. John the Evangelist. The MS. would seem to have belonged to Glastonbury, if we may judge from the fact that in the Preface, p. 7, 'Laestingaeu' has been altered into 'Glaestingaei.' (*v. inf.* p. cxxvii.)

Bodl. 712 ( $O_8$ ). This is a fourteenth-century MS., large folio, double columns, 34.00 × 22.50, ff. 371. It contains, besides Bede's H. E., William of Malmesbury's

<sup>1</sup>  $O_2$  agrees with W in many places where  $O_{19}$  does not; thus i. 13 and 14 are joined together; so i. 17 and 18; ii. 16 and 17; ii. 18 and 19. In iv. 6 *ad init.*, p. 218, ll. 7-12, the words 'Sexuulfum . . . Gyruiorum' and 'Depositus . . . finiuit' are trans-

posed in W; in  $O_2$  the whole passage is written on an erasure, showing that the scribe at first copied the error of W, and then discovered and corrected it; 'paschae' for 'pascha,' v. 24, p. 356, l. 12; 'eliaco' for 'elegiaco,' ib. p. 359, note 8.

Gesta Regum, ff. 89-198 b; the Chronicle of Martinus Polonus, ff. 199-248 a; and the 'Chronica Bede,' wrongly so called. After the Bede, f. 88 c, is the note by the scribe: 'scriptus reuerendo domino, domino Roberto de Wiuill episcopo Sarum.' This is Robert Wyville who was Bishop of Salisbury, 1330-1375. On the first page are two coats of arms: (1) *Gules*, a cross *or* fretté sable, between four mullets of the second, voided of the field<sup>1</sup>. (2) The second shield is the same as the first, except that there is only one mullet in the first quarter of the field. On the flyleaf at the beginning is the name 'I. Rogers.' This is the MS. cited above as being the one MS. which has preserved (and that only as an alternative) the wrong reading of C in the preface, 'meditaturum' for 'meditandum.'

Conflate  
MSS.

§ 34. We now come to the class of conflate MSS. (I arrange them in groups according to the degree of conflation.)

Reg. 13.  
C. v. (R<sub>1</sub>).

Reg. 13. C. v. (R<sub>1</sub>). The date of this MS. is about 1000. It is folio, 32.00 x 21.00 and is boldly and clearly written; ff. 225. It ends imperfectly in the middle of the list of Bede's works, v. 24, p. 358, note 6. On f. 1 a is a short account of Bede in a later hand. At the beginning of the volume is the inscription 'Liber Monasterii Sancti Petri Glouc.' And in iv. 23, p. 255, over the name of Osric, King of the Hwiccas, is written in a later hand, 'fundator mon. Glouernis sub Ethelredo Rege' (*sc.* Merciorum). The text is of the C-type, except that iv. 14 has been incorporated.

New  
College,  
Oxford,  
308 (O<sub>18</sub>).

New College, Oxford, 308 (O<sub>18</sub>), folio, double columns, 35.40 x 27.20, ff. 91, twelfth century. At the beginning is a list of Popes down to Innocent III inclusive; and a rough table in a still later hand of the contents of the H. E. At the end is a very beautiful extract on the

<sup>1</sup> In Burke's General Armoury (1878), pp. 1146, 1147 are several Wyvill coats of arms. None of them are exactly like this. The one that comes nearest is on

p. 1147: '*gules*, a cross *or*, between four mullets of the second.' For the correct blazon of these arms I am indebted to my friend Mr. Hurst.

humility of Christ, which is in the same hand as the MS.; then follow the lines:

‘Rex . miles . presul . edictis . ense . cruore .  
 Impugnat . uiolat . protegit ecclesiam .  
 Rex ira . miles gladio . presul prece pugnat;  
 Pro populo presul . pro grege pastor obit .  
 Pax patrie . dux iusticie . iurisque patronus;  
 Presul in ecclesia: militis ense cadit.’

The reference is apparently to Thomas Becket. This is a fine MS. The initials are profusely ornamented with grotesque animals, chiefly in red and green and blue. At the beginning a leaf of a fourteenth-century service-book has been inserted, containing the ‘*propria Sanctorum*’ for SS. Augustine, Germanus, and Petronilla (May 26, 28, 31). I could discover no marks of ownership beyond the frequent erasure of the word ‘papa’ by some zealous protestant. This MS. has peculiarities of its own in regard to the division of chapters; and it omits the valediction and dates at the end of the letters in i. 29, 30.

Hengwrt 102 (He). I have not seen this MS. myself. For the following particulars I am indebted to my friend Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans. Folio, double columns, 31·55 × 21·00, ff. 147; middle of twelfth century, beautifully written, and finely illuminated at the beginning. At the end is the ‘*Forma Pacis*’ made between Henry III and Louis of France in 1217, occupying rather more than half a page.

Hengwrt  
102 (He).

Douce 368 (O<sub>4</sub>). This is a twelfth-century MS., large folio, double columns, 41·50 × 28·00, ff. 81, of which Bede, H. E., occupies ff. 1–78 c. Then follows a genealogy of the Mercian kings; and lastly the life of St. Kenelm, f. 79 b, imperfect at the end, but, according to an inserted note by Mr. Petrie, containing more than the usual copies. The whole MS. is in the same hand. At the beginning, in a fourteenth-century hand is the note ‘*Hoc . . . uolumen pertinet ad monasterium Winchelcombense*’ (Winchcombe, near Cheltenham). The MS. belonged at one

Douce 368  
(O<sub>4</sub>).

time to Thomas Rawlinson, for a note by him is inserted at the beginning: 'omnium quos (*sic*) uidi exemplarium Bedae si artem spectes, hoc est iure praestantissimum. This praise is excessive, but it is a fine MS. It has the book-plates of Philip Carteret Webb, and of Francis Douce, from whom it came to the Library. The latter has inserted the note: 'bought at Mr. Brander's sale, pretium £1 1s. 6d.' It has a peculiar beginning to i. 7 which I have not noticed in any other MS.: 'regnante in tempore illo Maximiano Herculio in Brittania passus est sub eo eiusdem insulae Sanctus Albanus,' &c. This, like many other corruptions in MSS., is probably to be traced to the desire to fit the passage for public reading in Church or in refectory. (See above, p. cxii.)

Barlow 39  
(O<sub>10</sub>).

Barlow 39 (O<sub>10</sub>). This is a thirteenth-century MS., 4to, 23.50 × 16.50. It contained originally ff. 196; the H. E. occupying ff. 1-192, the remainder being taken up with the life of Bede<sup>1</sup>. Twelve ff. are lost at the beginning<sup>2</sup>, but it has the clause 'Propterea (*sic*) omnes . . . inueniam' at the end, and in other respects the MS. exhibits the usual characteristics of the C-text, except the insertion of iv. 14. It has peculiarities of its own in the division and headings of chapters, *e. g.* the rubric to v. 7 runs: 'Ut Cadwaladrus rex Britonum et Occidentalium Saxonum,' &c.; which testifies to the popular confusion between Cædwalla of Wessex and Cadwalader of North Wales<sup>3</sup> of which I have spoken in the notes to v. 7; it also testifies to the hopeless darkness of men's minds on the

<sup>1</sup> See Hardy, Cat. i. 451, No. 986.

<sup>2</sup> A note at the beginning probably by the former owner of the MS., Thomas Barlow, Bp. of Lincoln, 1675-1691, says: 'Desiderantur hic capita 28 longa temporis iniuria et infaelicis seculi incuria deperdita.' I do not know whether it is

the Bishop's hand which has throughout the MS. erased the word 'papa' or altered it to 'episcopus.' A leaf is also missing at the beginning of Book iii.

<sup>3</sup> So the scribe of O<sub>11</sub> notes on the margin of iv. 12: 'Ceadwala alio nomine Cadwaladrus in Britonum historia nominatur.'

subject of early English history. It is a poor MS., badly written on very defective vellum.

These four MSS., O<sub>18</sub>, He, O<sub>4</sub>, O<sub>10</sub>, exhibit the ordinary C-text with the insertion of iv. 14, and are connected with one another and with R<sub>1</sub> by the fact that in the middle of the inserted chapter they apparently make a division marked by an illuminated capital at the words 'Praeclari omnino habitus,' p. 235, l. 14. This can hardly be accidental, and seems to point to some common source.

Moreover O<sub>10</sub> is unquestionably a transcript of O<sub>4</sub>. This is shown by the fact that they both have a special heading to the hymn in iv. 20, which I have observed in no other MS.: 'hymnus in honore praefatae uirginis elegiaco et paracberico [para'c'terico<sup>1</sup> O<sub>10</sub>] uel reciproco carmine compositus'; while both read 'oriende' for 'ortandi,' i. 27, p. 58, l. 29; and 'Augustarum' for 'Iuliarum,' i. 30, p. 66, l. 5.

Laud Misc. 243 (O<sub>9</sub>). This is a twelfth-century MS., Laud Misc. 243 (O<sub>9</sub>). ff. 81, small folio, double columns, 27.00 x 18.80; but it has been cruelly cropped by the binder. Fragments of the full-sized margin which happened to have writing on them have in some cases been preserved, showing that nearly three centimetres have been cut away. On f. 1 r<sup>o</sup>, top margin, is written 'Jacobi Armachani'; *i. e.* it belonged at one time to the admirably learned Ussher. On the bottom margin is the entry: 'Liber Gulielmi Laud Archiepiscopi Cantuar. et Cancellarii Uniuersitatis Oxon. 1633.' On the flyleaf a seventeenth-century hand (not Ussher's) has made the remark: 'This is an exceeding good copye,' and on the whole the praise is well deserved. A leaf has been cut away at the beginning, and another at the end; thus the Preface is lost, and all after the words: 'teque deprecor, bone Iesu' at the end. Hence in regard to the first and most decisive test this MS. is dumb. But in other respects it presents in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 515.



the main the ordinary features of the C-text, with the insertion of iv. 14. To this a later scribe has by erasure and alteration given a new beginning, evidently for the purpose of making it more suitable for public reading in Church or in refectory; for on the top margin he has put the heading: 'Incipit qualiter natalitius eiusdem Sancti Oswaldi dies diuinitus celebrari mandatus est,' and an 'Explicit' of similar character at the end of the chapter; while a cross on the left margin answering to a similar cross and note at the beginning of iii. 14, indicates that this chapter, iv. 14, was to be read after iii. 13, in order to complete the account of Oswald's miracles<sup>1</sup>. This MS. is connected with O<sub>1</sub> by the insertion in the text of v. 21, p. 335, l. 31, of the words 'extendit uel expendit uel prolongat,' evidently at first a gloss on the word 'prorogat'; R<sub>1</sub> has an erasure of more than a line at this point, so that probably these words occurred in it also. They are underlined for deletion in O<sub>1</sub>. In O<sub>1</sub> alone of all MSS. that I have seen there is inserted in the text the musical notation for the antiphon which Augustine and his companions sang on their first approach to Canterbury, i. 25 *ad fin.*

Bodley 163  
(O<sub>2</sub>).

Bodl. 163 (O<sub>2</sub>). The date of this MS. is about 1100. It is a large 4to, 26.75 × 20.00, ff. 251. Bede's H. E. occupies ff. 1-209 a. Then after an entry, f. 209 a, relating to Ethelred and Edmund Ironside comes the poem of Ethelwulf 'De Abbatibus<sup>2</sup>,' ff. 209 b-226 b. Then after some extracts from Jerome and Orosius, and a curious charm, ff. 226 b-227 a, follows a copy of Nennius, ff. 228 b-245 a. Next: 'Incipit libellus Bemetoli ["Methodii" written above by a later hand] quem beatus Ieronimus

<sup>1</sup> Hence Stevenson infers that it belonged to some monastery dedicated to St. Oswald; *u. s.* p. xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by Dümmler, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, i. 582 ff. Also in Arnold's *Simeon of*

Durham, i. 265 ff. Mr. Arnold used the present MS. The presence of this poem in O<sub>2</sub> makes it probable that O<sub>2</sub> was transcribed from W before the mutilation of W described above, p. cxi.

de Greco in Latinum transtulit uel composuit<sup>1</sup>,’ ff. 245 a–248 b, a pedigree of the Counts of Flanders from Hildric (Liderik) to Baldwin VII; a list of kings of the Franks from Clovis to Louis VI, ff. 248 b–249 a; three lections from Bede on St. Oswald, f. 249 b; some Anglo-Saxon Glosses, f. 250 a; the beginning of a homily for St. John Baptist’s Day, f. 250 b, and f. 251 a an interesting list of books<sup>2</sup>; a catalogue probably of part of the library of the monastery to which this MS. belonged. This was apparently Peterborough. On f. 250 v<sup>o</sup> appears the entry: ‘Anno Domini obiit frater . . . de burgo S. Petri’; on f. 249 v<sup>o</sup> the name of ‘Humffridus Natures.’ This is probably the person who is known to have been a monk of Peterborough in 1534, Rector of Paston 1548–1553, and the recipient of a pension as of Peterborough in 1553<sup>3</sup>.’ On the top of the next page appears the name of ‘Henricus Storkes,’ of whom I know nothing. At one time the MS. must have been in the possession of some zealous protestant, as the words ‘papa,’ ‘apostolicus,’ &c., are constantly erased. With the exception of the insertion of iv. 14 it is a MS. of the C-type. And the insertion betrays itself as such; for above iv. 14 is rubricated ‘alia’; above iv. 15, ‘item’; and above iv. 16 ‘capitulum quintumdecimum,’ though elsewhere this MS. has no numbers to the chapters either in the text or in the capitula.

<sup>1</sup> A book with exactly the same title occurs among the Cambridge University MSS.: see the Catalogue, iv. 357\*.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Gesch.* ii. 433 (1876). Gottlieb, *u. i.*, who places it among ‘unbestimmte Verzeichnisse.’

<sup>3</sup> I owe the information given above to Mr. Madan; who also refers to Gottlieb’s *Mittelalter-*

*liche Bibliotheken*, No. 515. A person of the same name, also a monk of Peterborough, formerly owned MS. Gough Missal No. 47; cf. Macray, *Annals*, &c., p. 447. But from the handwriting of the entry, he must have lived at an earlier time. Probably the family of Natures was resident in the neighbourhood of the monastery.

With this exception the MS. is, as I have shown above (pp. cxi-cxiii), a transcript of W.

Stowe 104  
S).

Stowe 104 [old number 863], quarto, 25.75 × 17.65. ff. 149, twelfth century. It is mutilated at the beginning, wanting the Preface and the Capitula to Book i; but the clause 'Propterea (*sic*) omnes . . . inueniam' occurs at the end; and in other respects it exhibits the C-text with the addition of iv. 14, and the insertion (above the line) of the words 'cuius supra meminimus' in iv. 18. At v. 2, p. 284, l. 10, the scribe has omitted all after the words 'syllabas ac uerba' to the end of v. 5, p. 289. The H. E. ends on f. 112 a, and is followed by the letter on the death of Bede; then after some verses on the Archbishops of Canterbury<sup>1</sup> from Augustine to Iænbert. ff. 113 b-114 a, comes the omitted portion of the H. E., ff. 114 a-115 b, followed by some sections from Folcard's life of St. John of Beverley, ff. 115 b-117 a; then Ailred's life of Edward the Confessor, ff. 118 a-149 a; f. 149 b is occupied with the beginning of Hugo [? de S. Victore]. De uirginitate Sancte Marie. The special interest in St. John of Beverley suggests a northern origin for this MS., but beyond that I can say nothing. The word 'papa' is frequently erased.

Burney 297  
(Bu<sub>1</sub>).

Burney 297 (Bu<sub>1</sub>). Small folio, 26.75 × 17.80, ff. 131, fourteenth century. On f. 1 r<sup>o</sup> is the entry 'Roger Twysden, 1661'; on f. 46, lower margin. 'James Meredyth, desessed' [deceased]. The H. E. ends, un mutilated, on f. 130 r<sup>o</sup>, with the words 'superadicere curauit,' v. 24, p. 357, l. 9 from bottom, omitting the list of Bede's works and all that follows. Hence the clause 'Praeterea omnes . . . inueniam' does not occur in this MS. at all. It is possible that the scribe had an incomplete copy of the type of the three next MSS., and thought it better to conclude here than in the middle of a sentence. The H. E. is followed

<sup>1</sup> These verses are also in O<sub>12</sub>.

by the letter of Cuthbert, after which the scribe has written: 'Felix qui scripsit sit, et qui talia fixit' [? finxit].

St. John's College, Oxford, 99 (O<sub>20</sub>), twelfth or thirteenth century, small folio, double columns, 26.25 × 17.50, ff. 121, of which the H. E. occupies ff. 1-94 c; it is followed by Cuthbert's letter to Cuthwine on the death of Bede, ff. 94 d-95; St. Bernard's life of St. Malachias, ff. 96-117 c; Nennius, ff. 117 c-121 d, where it ends imperfectly. On the recto of the flyleaf, at the beginning, is a list of Archbishops of York from Paulinus to 'Willelmus de Meltun, assumptus de aula regis' (1316-1340). To the name of 'Henricus de Newerke, Iurista, Decanus ecclesie' (1296-9) is appended the note: 'et tunc statutum in capitulo Ebor. quod nunquam deinceps decanus ecclesie eligetur in archiepiscopum, ne forte decanatus ecclesie uacantis daretur per summum pontificem, sicut contigit in ecclesia Lincolnie et alibi in Anglia.' Then after some verses comes the word: 'Bridlington.' On the verso is the inscription: 'Liber Sancte Marie de Ioreuall (Jervaux)'; but the two last words are written on an erasure, so that it had evidently belonged to some other 'Saint Mary' previously<sup>1</sup>; yet the curse follows: 'quicumque librum istum alienauerit anathema sit.' The MS. came to the College 'ex dono uenerabilis uiri Guilielmi Laud, . . . Praesidis, et ecclesiae Cathedralis Gloucestriae Decani. 1620.'

Fairfax 12 (O<sub>5</sub>), a twelfth-century MS., small folio, after the first four leaves in double columns, 29.00 × 19.00. It is inscribed, 'e libris Monasterii Sancti Germani de Selby Com. Ebor. Chron. xii.' There are inscriptions in English and Latin showing that it was given in Sept. 1650 by Walter Cant, advocate of Edinburgh, to Colonel Charles Fairfax. Before this it had belonged to 'W. Santelair of Roislin, Knecht; Anno 1591, 2 Januarii.'

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Bridlington, which was dedicated to the Virgin. Mon. Angl. vi. 284.

The name of another possessor of it seems to occur: 'Sam. Coluile, Scotus.' This Charles Fairfax was a son of the first Lord Fairfax, brother of the second, and uncle of the third, the famous parliamentary general. He was a barrister by profession, but in the civil war he became a colonel of foot; like his more famous nephew he joined with Monk in the restoration of Charles II. He died in 1673 (Fairfax Correspondence, I. lviii, f.). Some elegiac verses addressed to him are on the flyleaf of the MS. It was by the bequest of his nephew, the great Lord Fairfax, that this and other MSS. came to the Bodleian. It contains, besides the H. E., Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede, and Abbo of Fleury's Passion of St. Edmund (imperfect) prefaced by Abbo's well-known letter to Dunstan. Two marginal notes on iii. 27 and iii. 28 show the interest of the Selby scribe in the ecclesiastical history of neighbouring districts: 'nota quod Lindissi insula proprium habuerit episcopum;' 'nota quod Hripensis ecclesia proprium habuerit episcopum.' The word 'papa' has been occasionally erased. It is a poor and uninteresting MS.

Lincoln  
College,  
Oxford, 31  
(O<sub>11</sub>).

Lincoln College, Oxford, 31 (O<sub>11</sub>), small folio, double columns, 26.25 × 17.50, ff. 201, twelfth or thirteenth century. A poor and carelessly written MS. It contains, besides the H. E., the letter on the death of Bede, and Bede's Commentary on the Catholic Epistles, the last being in a different hand. It is mutilated at the beginning.

Of these three MSS., O<sub>20</sub> and O<sub>5</sub> are C-texts with the insertion of iv. 14. O<sub>14</sub> has further the insertion of 'cuius supra meminimus' in iv. 18. But in all three the H. E. in the first hand ends abruptly with the words: 'Martyrologium de nataliciis,' v. 24, p. 259, l. 15. This is not due to mutilation, as in all three MSS. Cuthbert's letter follows immediately, and the agreement cannot be accidental. All three MSS. must therefore be ultimately derived from some MS. in which a leaf had been lost



before Cuthbert's letter, containing the last paragraphs of the H. E. In  $O_{14}$  the want was discovered, and the missing paragraphs added *after* the letter, including the clause 'propterea (*sic*) omnes . . . inueniam.' But as it is mutilated at the beginning we cannot be sure that that clause may not have occurred also in the preface, as in  $H_3$  and Ar. This group shows a certain affinity with the text of  $O_1$ , but it is not directly derived from it.

§ 35. The next group of MSS.,  $A_2$ ,  $O_6$ ,  $O_{11}$ ,  $O_{12}$ ,  $O_{15}$ ,  $O_{17}$  (to which may be added  $O_{14}$ , which for special reasons has been already described), show a further degree of conflation of the C-text; they not only insert iv. 14, but have the words 'cuius supra meminimus' in the text of iv. 18. Moreover, with the exception of  $A_2$ , they all show more or less affinity to  $O_1$ , though I cannot say that any one of them is an immediate copy of that MS. Within the group  $O_{11}$  is closely related to, though not a transcript of  $O_{17}$ . As  $A_2$  stands apart from the other members of the group I take it first.

Additional, 14,250 ( $A_2$ ), small folio, 27.30 × 17.00, Additional, 14,250 ( $A_2$ ). ff. 150, thirteenth century. It was purchased for the Museum at the sale of Dean Milles' library, April 15, 1843, f. 1v<sup>o</sup>, and on the top margin of f. 3r<sup>o</sup> is the entry: 'Liber domus Plympton.' On f. 2v<sup>o</sup> is a pedigree of Noah's descendants. The H. E. occupies ff. 3r<sup>o</sup>–148r<sup>o</sup>, the remaining ff. (148v<sup>o</sup>–150v<sup>o</sup>) being taken up with a short chronology from the Incarnation to 1177, though the last entry is 1170, 'Anglorum primas corrui ense Thomas.' It agrees with  $O_3$  in a remarkable reading in i. 27, p. 52, l. 10, the insertion of 'ordinantur alii episcopi' after 'episcopi,' but it is not a transcript of  $O_3$ , for in v. 21, p. 344, note 5,  $O_3$  has supplied an omission of the C-text in its own way, whereas  $A_2$  has the correct reading<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The fact that this MS. uses 'finit' and 'explicit' indiscriminately at the end of the books of the H. E. is rather against Mr. Bradshaw's theory, Collected Papers, p. 459, that 'finit' as opposed to 'explicit' is a specially Celtic use.

Digby 211  
(O<sub>6</sub>).

Digby 211 (O<sub>6</sub>), folio, double columns, 33.30 × 22.50, ff. 108, twelfth century. On the v<sup>o</sup> of the first flyleaf is the entry: 'Liber Sancte Crucis de Waltham'; on f. 1 r<sup>o</sup> 'Vindica te tibi Kenelme Digby.' The H. E. occupies ff. 1 a-108 a; then follows the letter 'De obitu Bede,' ff. 108 a-109 a. It is a finely written and beautiful MS.

Magdalen  
College,  
Oxford, 105  
(O<sub>17</sub>).

Magdalen College, Oxford, 105 (O<sub>17</sub>), small folio, double columns, 30.25 × 21.50, ff. 138, of which f. 138 v<sup>o</sup> is blank; twelfth century. It contains only the H. E.; at the end of which, in a different hand, are the following verses:—

'Scribens in scheda sedet hic sua dogmata Beda,  
Ex Anglis natus, doctissimus atque probatus.  
Nam scripturarum tractando profunda sacrarum  
Mundum doctrinis ceu sol perlustrat opimis.  
Suscipe nostrorum rex hystoriam populorum,  
Quam lege, scribe, proba; cunetos hoc uelle labora.'

Between ff. 16 and 17 there is a lacuna extending from after the words 'rexit annos,' i. 23, p. 42, l. 18, to the end of the words 'pensare (*sic*) debet,' i. 27, p. 60, l. 2. On the margin of iv. 24 the West-Saxon version of Cædmon's verses has been written. This is a clear and well-written MS.; the initials are illuminated in red and green, and the headings of the books are finely ornamented.

Digby 101  
(O<sub>1</sub>).

Digby 101 (O<sub>11</sub>), fourteenth century, quarto, 21.75 × 15.00, ff. 209, of which the H. E. occupies ff. 1-105, the remainder being taken up with William of Newburgh, written in the same hand. There are a few English glosses on the margin: p. 136, l. 23, 'inuectione *anglice* undirniminge'; p. 145, l. 31, 'consistere *anglice* withstonden'; p. 232, l. 9, 'sele *anglice*, uitulus marinus *latine*; ey, insula'; p. 234, l. 13, 'clama *gallice* clameth uel cleyrn tu, quod alio uerbo dicitur uoca.' On f. 1 a, 'Vindica te tibi Kenelme Digby.' There are no other marks of ownership. The close affinity of this and the preceding MS. is shown by the following passages:—In the last line of Prosper's epigram in i. 10, O<sub>17</sub> and O<sub>11</sub>

both read 'huic' for 'hic,' O<sub>17</sub> has 'uel grandine' written above 'gramine,' while O<sub>11</sub> reverses them, putting 'grandine' in the text and 'gramine' above. These variants I have noticed in no other MSS. In v. 1, p. 282, l. 3, O<sub>17</sub> has over the word 'undiqueuersum' the gloss 'i. ex omni parte.' O<sub>11</sub> writes in the text, 'undique ex omni parte uersum.' This might look like actual copying; but at p. 182, l. 19, O<sub>11</sub> has the reading 'de obseruantia one paschae,' evidently copied from a MS. which had 'obseruantia' in the text with 'one,' *i. e.* 'obseruatione,' written as an alternative above. But this MS. is not O<sub>17</sub>, which has the ordinary reading 'de obseruatione paschae'¹.

Merton College, Oxford, 95 (O<sub>15</sub>), fourteenth century, Merton College, Oxford, 95  
folio, double columns, 33.00 × 22.00, ff. 196. It is mutilated at the end, all after v. 20 being lost; and from the table of contents a good deal has been lost besides the conclusion of the H. E. The clause 'Praeterea omnes' does not occur in the preface, we may therefore assume that it was placed at the end; unless indeed, as with Bu<sub>1</sub>, it occurred in neither place. But this is unlikely. After the word 'studuimus,' with which the preface in the C-text ends, this MS. has the unintelligible addition, peculiar to itself: 'tempore pro Domino sanctum est fuderunt.' The MS. came to the College 'ex legato . . . Roberti Ketrinham, quondam Rectoris ecclesie Sancti Gregorii Lundon. Oretis igitur pro eodem, et benefactoribus eiusdem, omnium ac fidelium animabus a purgatorio liberandis.' There are no other marks of ownership.

Tanner 348 (O<sub>12</sub>), fifteenth century, small quarto, Tanner 348  
21.50 × 14.50, ff. 114, of which the H. E. occupies ff. (O<sub>12</sub>)  
1-113 r<sup>o</sup>, the remaining space being taken up with the letter on Bede's death. On f. 1 is the name 'W. Cant,' probably the same who gave O<sub>5</sub> to Colonel Fairfax.

¹ A note on Aldhelm at v. 17 suggests Malmesbury as the possible home of O<sub>11</sub>.

Final stage  
of confla-  
tion.

§ 36. We come now to the most highly conflated group of all. I have shown above (pp. xcv, xevi), how the additions of the second scribe in O<sub>1</sub> prepared the way for this final stage, in which, in addition to other insertions, the paragraph 'Praeterea omnes' is found both at the beginning and end of the work.

Harley 3680  
(H<sub>3</sub>).

Harley 3680 (H<sub>3</sub>), twelfth or thirteenth century, folio, 31.00 × 20.50, ff. 177. On f. 1 r<sup>o</sup> is the entry, 'Liber Sancti Andree Roffensis Ecclesie,' and on f. 2 r<sup>o</sup>, 'Liber de claustro Roffensi Huberti precentoris<sup>1</sup>.' And this connexion with Rochester is further illustrated by the fact that on the margin of ii. 9 is written in a later hand, 'Legenda S. Paulini *patris nostri*.' The H. E. ends 173 v<sup>o</sup>, and is followed immediately by the letter on the death of Bede, ff. 173 v<sup>o</sup>–175 v<sup>o</sup>. Then comes an account of the conversion of Kent, ff. 176 r<sup>o</sup>–177 r<sup>o</sup>; then 'Notationes de Sanctis qui in Anglica patria requiescunt,' f. 177 v<sup>o</sup>, where it concludes, mutilated.

Arundel 74  
(Ar.).

Arundel 74 (Ar.), fifteenth century, folio, double columns, 34.00 × 24.75, ff. 106. On f. 1, top margin, is the name, 'William Howarde, 1592.' On the bottom margin, 'Soc. Reg. Lond. ex dono Henr. Howard Norfolciensis<sup>2</sup>.' This MS. is either a transcript of H<sub>3</sub> or they are both copied from the same original. In addition to the mode of conflation and special readings in which they agree, Ar. has the same additional matter as H<sub>3</sub>, only, unlike H<sub>3</sub>, it is unmutilated. The 'Notationes de Sanctis' are complete, and are followed by 'Beda super fortem mulierem<sup>3</sup>,' so that possibly H<sub>3</sub> also contained this. The one point which makes in favour of Ar. and H<sub>3</sub> being derived from a common original, and not Ar. from

<sup>1</sup> In a Catalogue of the Library of St. Andrew's, Rochester, of the year 1202, we find 'Beda Hystoria Anglorum.' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, iii. 55.

<sup>2</sup> See Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*, pp. 196–197.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. cli, clii.

H<sub>3</sub>, is that in the letter on the death of Bede H<sub>3</sub> omits the Anglo-Saxon verses, leaving a blank space of three lines for them, whereas Ar. gives them, though in such a form as shows that the scribe did not understand them. If then Ar. was copied from H<sub>3</sub>, the scribe must have got the verses from some other source. And this is not impossible; but the other explanation is simpler and more probable. Ar. is a very ornamental MS., adorned with coats of arms, &c.<sup>1</sup> But it is very carelessly written.

Bodley, e Musæo, 115 (O<sub>7</sub>), 4to, 24.50 × 16.50, ff. 159, Bodley, e  
twelfth or thirteenth century<sup>2</sup>. Mutilated both at begin- Musæo, 115  
ning and end; and the table of contents shows that (O<sub>7</sub>).  
a good deal has been lost besides the commencement and conclusion of Bede's H. E. Owing to this fact tests 4 and 5 cannot be applied; but there cannot be the slightest doubt that it belongs here. The following instances will show conclusively the close connexion of these three MSS. with O<sub>1</sub> and with one another. In ii. 2, l. 3, above 'proximæ' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> has written as an alternative 'maxime'; O<sub>7</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, Ar. have both 'proxime' and 'maxime' in the text, though Ar. has seen the error and has subpunctuated 'maxime' for deletion. In ii. 13 *ad fin.*, p. 113, l. 22, O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>, O<sub>7</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, Ar. have all 'doro-

<sup>1</sup> On f. 21b Quarterly: 1 and 4, *argent* a bend *sable*; 2 and 3, *gules* a fret *or*. On f. 1a are the same arms within a border *azure* charged with six mitres of the fourth, lined of the third. The first are the arms of Despenser quartering Audley; the second is probably a variety of the coat assigned to Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, 1370-1406, to whom the MS. most likely belonged. See Papworth, *Ordinary of British Armorial*, pp. 183, 211. I owe the reference and identification to

Mr. Shadwell, Fellow of Oriel College.

<sup>2</sup> In the Preface, p. 7, l. 15, H<sub>3</sub>, Ar., and O<sub>7</sub> follow O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> in reading 'Glestigéi' for 'Læstingæu,' *i.e.* Glastonbury, for Lastingham. This attempt to claim for Glastonbury a connexion with Bede's *Hist. Eccl.* is very unfortunate, as Bede is there speaking of the sources whence he derived his knowledge of Mercian and East Saxon affairs, with which Glastonbury could have nothing to do.



bernensionem' [-bor- Ar.] for 'doruentionem.' But the two most decisive cases are the following. In iii. 25, p. 186, ll. 6-7, in the phrase 'a xiiii<sup>a</sup> luna primi mensis [ad uesperam usque ad xxi<sup>am</sup> lunam eiusdem mensis] ad uesperam,' O<sub>1</sub> has by homoioteleuton omitted the words in brackets. O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> has inserted on the margin 'usque ad . . . mensis.' Thus one 'ad uesperam' is lost. And this defective reading is the reading of the text of O<sub>7</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, Ar. In v. 7, p. 294, l. 2, O<sub>1</sub> reads 'an. et cons. iiii.' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> has on the margin expanded cons. (rightly) into 'consulatus,' adding 'sui'; but O<sub>7</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, Ar. have *all* the impossible expansions of the contractions 'ante et constantio quarto.' I have said above that the table of contents of O<sub>7</sub> shows that the volume originally contained more than the H. E. This is the table: 'Historia Anglorum . . . Bede . . . ; item epilogium de obitu eiusdem; et de locis sepulture nonnullorum sanctorum Anglie'; *i. e.* the additional matter in O<sub>7</sub> was largely identical with that in H<sub>3</sub> and Ar. I have little doubt therefore that O<sub>7</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, and Ar. were all copied from a common original, which was itself derived mediately or immediately from O<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>.

The Anglo-Saxon version (AS).

§ 37. The Anglo-Saxon version<sup>2</sup> (AS.). The general

<sup>1</sup> The affinity of these three last groups, O<sub>5</sub>, O<sub>14</sub>, O<sub>20</sub>; O<sub>6</sub>, O<sub>11</sub>, O<sub>12</sub>, O<sub>15</sub>, O<sub>17</sub>; and H<sub>3</sub>, Ar., O<sub>7</sub>, with O<sub>1</sub> and with one another may be seen by a reference to the additional critical notes on the following passages: p. 28, ll. 23, 27; p. 31, l. 7; p. 38, note 4; p. 39, l. 27; p. 45, l. 11; p. 47, l. 22; p. 49, l. 18; p. 58, l. 28; p. 59, ll. 28, 29; p. 60, ll. 22-24; p. 75, l. 23; p. 189, l. 4; p. 194, l. 7; p. 205, l. 4; p. 213, l. 28; p. 252, note 1; p. 280, l. 21; p. 312, ll. 3, 27; p. 325, l. 1; p. 343, l. 21.

<sup>2</sup> The Anglo-Saxon version is cited at the beginning of Ælfrie's Homily on Gregory: 'istoria Anglorum þa þe Ælfred cyning of Leden on Englisc awend,' 'The Historia Anglorum which King Alfred turned from Latin into English,' ed. Elstob, p. 4. More remarkable is that it is cited, and a quotation made from it, by Rudborne, Ang. Sac. i. 183. He seems to think that Bede himself wrote the Saxon version: 'liber quem composuit in lingua Saxonica de Gestis Anglorum, ...

relations of this version to the original do not concern us here. They are matters for an editor of that version. The only question with which an editor of the Latin text is concerned is the bearing of the Anglo-Saxon version on that text. Owing to the freedom with which the translator worked, the AS. version is very rarely available for the settlement of minute differences of reading. But the general type of text used by the translator is perfectly plain. Owing to the omission of the chronological summary, test 4 cannot be applied; but the other four tests show that he used a MS. of the C-type. And it was a good and pure MS. of that type. The AS. version shows no trace either of the unauthorised additions of later MSS., or of the special peculiarities of the Durham or Winchester group. Other points in which it shows its affinity with C are the joining together of iii. 1 and 2, and the reading 'unum quod' for 'quaedam quae' at the end of iv. 28 (30). In one or two points the translator's MS. was superior to our C; it did not omit 'signando' at the end of iv. 22 (24), or 'rationis' at the end of v. 21. It differs from C and the majority of C's followers, and agrees with M in making iii. 13 begin, 'Nec solum inclyti fama uiri,' instead of 'Tempore, inquit, mortalitatis'; but other MSS., not of the M-type, do the same.

§ 38. A few words must be said in conclusion as to early editions. The editio princeps of the H. E. is without printer's name or place, but it is certainly<sup>1</sup> the work of Heinrich Eggestein of Strasburg, and was probably printed about 1475. Of v. 24 it omits all after the words 'adiecit imperio,' p. 352, l. 13; so that tests

Early editions.

cuius copiam habui in Prioratu Canonicorum de Suthwyk.' This is interesting as showing that Saxon studies were not extinct even in the fifteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> I give this on the authority of Mr. R. Proctor of the British Museum; I have no right to speak on a question of typography.

4 and 5 cannot be applied : in other respects it seems to be taken from a MS. of the M-type. About the same time Eggesteyn printed an edition of the Latin version of Eusebius. Both these were reprinted at Strasburg in a single volume in 1500. The Bede reproduces all the features of the editio princeps ; and this is the case also with the reprint of the same two works by Heinrich Gran, Hagenau, 1506. In 1550 a separate edition of Bede's H.E. was published at Antwerp by John Grauius<sup>1</sup>. This not only contains the whole of v. 24, but the continuation of Bede's Chronology is given continuously with it, preceding the list of Bede's works. The preface ends with 'studuimus<sup>2</sup>.' The work ends : 'Te deprecor . . . faciem tuam, qui uiuis et regnas etc. Amen<sup>3</sup>.' Then comes Bede's epitaph, and the date of his death ; and then 'Beda ad lectorem. Omnes . . . inueniam. Vale<sup>4</sup>.' But I am inclined to think that this arrangement is due to the editor. In most of the test points this edition follows the M-text. These features are reproduced in the collected Basle edition of Bede's works, 1563, except that the clause 'Beda ad lectorem . . . Vale' is printed (in a different type) at the end of the preface. All these editions are in folio. Octavo editions of the H.E. appeared at Louvain in 1566, and in 1566-7. In 1583 it was embodied in the *Hist. Christ. ueterum patrum* by René de la Barre, Paris ; and in 1587 in Commelin's *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores*, Heidelberg. This last seems to have been taken from a good MS. of the M-type<sup>5</sup>. The continuation is printed continuously, but distinguished by different type. In 1601 there was an 8vo edition of the H. E. at Cologne, and in 1612 appeared the Cologne reprint of the Basle edition of

<sup>1</sup> 'The first critical revision of the text, in the formation of which good MSS. were employed.' Stevenson, *Church Historians*, I. ii. p. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> p. 8.      <sup>3</sup> p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.*

<sup>5</sup> 'Revised by a good MS., which belonged to Pithou.' Stevenson, *u. s.*

Bede's collected works, which was itself reprinted 1688. In 1681 Chifflet the Jesuit published his edition of Bede's H. E. under the title 'Bedaë Presbyteri et Fredegarii scholastici concordia,' 4to, Paris. For this he used 'S. Maximini Treuerensis codex peruetustus<sup>1</sup>,' a MS. which Hardy<sup>2</sup> identifies with MS. Phillips, 1873, and believes to be a transcript of M. Certainly Chifflet's text is of the M-type. At the end of the work, after 'faciem tuam,' Chifflet gives from the printed editions the continuation of Bede's Chronology. This he believes to be mainly the work of Bede himself, whose death he places in 762 (!). In addition to these continental editions, Giles<sup>3</sup> mentions an edition of the H. E. at Lyons in 1587, and collected editions of Bede's works at Paris in 1544 and 1554. Hardy<sup>4</sup> further gives the following editions: 1483, Strasburg; 1493, Spire; 1514, Strasburg; 1545, Paris; 1661, Cologne<sup>5</sup>.

In 1643-4 Abraham Whelock published, at Cambridge, the first English edition of the Latin text of the H. E., and the editio princeps of the Anglo-Saxon version. He probably took his Latin text mainly from one of the continental editions, but he used also three MSS., one belonging to Sir Robert Cotton, one to Dr. Ward of Sidney Sussex College, and one to Trinity College, Cambridge<sup>6</sup>. In 1722 appeared Smith's edition, already described, which at once superseded all others.

Of translations into English other than the Anglo-Saxon version, the earliest is by Thomas Stapleton, Translations into English.

<sup>1</sup> Chifflet, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. i. 436.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. ii. 6.      <sup>4</sup> Cat. i. 714.

<sup>5</sup> The edition which Hardy puts first: 'No imprint, but probably by Conrad Fyner at Eslington, 1471 × 1475,' is most likely nothing more than a wrong description of the same

edition as that which he gives, more correctly, as 'Strasburg, 1473. Hen. Eggesteyn.'

<sup>6</sup> According to M.H.B. Wheloe's MSS. were our C; Trin. Coll. Camb. R 5. 27 (Ca<sub>1</sub>); Sid. Suss. Δ 5. 17; and the basis of his text, the Cologne edition of 1612. Preface, p. 72.

Antwerp, 1565, 4to (second edition, St. Omer, 1622, 8vo). The object of Stapleton was to influence Elizabeth against the Reformation, and to show the difference between 'the pretended reformers' and the early Church of Augustine and his companions.

Another translation was published by John Stevens in 1723<sup>1</sup>, and a third by W. Hurst in 1814. Dr. Giles published a revised version of Stevens' translation separately in 1840, and in his collected edition of Bede's works, 1843<sup>2</sup>. A new and improved translation was given by Mr. Gidley in 1870.

Of the Hist. Abb. a translation was published at Sunderland in 1818 by the Rev. Peter Wilcock. Of the Epistle to Egbert a translation was published at Oxford in 1882. In 1853 Mr. Stevenson published in Church Historians, vol. i, Part ii, translations of all the historical works of Bede, with the exception of the Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert. The translation of the H. E. was based on that of Stevens. The anonymous history of the Abbots has never, to my knowledge, been translated.

#### B. THE MSS. OF BEDE'S HISTORY OF THE ABBOTS.

MSS. of  
Bede's  
Hist. Abb.

§ 39. Of Bede's History of the Abbots, eight MSS. are known to me, all of which have been collated for this edition. They are Harl. 3020; Digby 112; Cotton. Tiber. D. iii; Durham Cathedral Library, B. ii. 35; Harl. 4124; Pembroke College, Cambridge, 124; Burney 310; Fairfax 6.

Two  
groups.

These MSS. fall into two clearly marked groups; the first consisting of Harl. 3020 and Digby 112, the other of the remaining six MSS.

<sup>1</sup> On this see Stevenson, *u. s.* p. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> In this edition the Hist. Abb., the prose lives of St. Cuth-

bert and St. Felix, the De Locis Sanctis, and the letters to Albinus and Egbert, were also translated.



Harley 3020 ( $H_1$ )<sup>1</sup>. This is a beautiful MS. of the tenth century, 8vo, 22.70 × 13.00, ff. 132. It contains lives of saints, of which the three first articles concern us here. (a) Bede's homily on Benedict Biscop, partly printed from this MS. by Stevenson, *Opp. Min.* pp. 335-338 (cf. *Opp.* v. 179-185, a different text). (b) Bede's history of the Abbots, ff. 7 a-21 a. (c) The anonymous history of the Abbots, ff. 21 a-34 a. This MS. furnishes by far the oldest and best text of Bede's *Hist. Abb.*, and it was rightly made by Mr. Stevenson the basis of his edition (*Opp. Min.* pp. 139-162). It is not mentioned by Hardy, *Cat.* i. 413; though on the preceding page he had cited it as the only authority for the anonymous history of the Abbots. Unfortunately there are two considerable lacunae in it; the first in § 18, from 'qui a primis' to 'commendato—'; the second in §§ 20-21, from 'et in loco' to 'geminorum martyrum.' The fact that in the former case the lacuna ceases in the middle of a word 'commendatoriam' seems to show that these lacunae are due not to 'an oversight of the scribe' (Stevenson, pp. 158, 160), but to some mutilation of the MS. which he had before him. This MS. is on the whole very accurately written. There are some mistakes in it, mostly mere slips, which can be easily corrected, and which have in most instances been corrected by the scribe of the next MS.<sup>2</sup>

Digby 112 ( $\Delta$ ). This is a vellum MS. of the twelfth century, 8vo, 23.00 × 16.00, ff. 152. It also consists chiefly of hagiological matter, and the contents may

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that this symbol,  $H_1$ , does not indicate the same MS. as it does in the case of the *Hist. Eccl.*

<sup>2</sup> p. 366, note 2; p. 368, note 8; p. 369, note 5; p. 370, note 4; p. 372, note 6; p. 373, note 10; p. 374, note 7; p. 375, notes 6, 9; p. 376, notes 3, 5; p. 377, note 1;

p. 380, note 4; (p. 380, note 9); p. 383, note 4; p. 384, note 3; (p. 385, note 1; p. 386, note 5). In all these cases  $\Delta$  has corrected the mistakes of  $H_1$ , except in the three cases enclosed in brackets; and of these the two last do not come into  $\Delta$ 's text at all.

be seen in Mr. Macray's catalogue of the Digby MSS., pp. 126, 127. On f. 1 is the motto 'uindica te tibi Kenelme Digby.' It is an evident transcript of H<sub>1</sub>, as may be seen from the fact that it has the same peculiarities of text, *e.g.* 'militans' for 'militare,' p. 365, note 3; 'leuam' for 'aquilonem,' p. 368, note 3; 'nomine' for 'regimine,' p. 372, note 1; and the right reading at the beginning of § 16, p. 380, note 14, &c. Moreover it has the words, p. 381, note 2, which all the other MSS. omit, while in §§ 20-21 it shows the same lacuna as H<sub>1</sub>, though the text has been doctored a little. Δ has however peculiarities of its own. These consist partly in accidental slips and omissions; partly in insertions of words such as 'igitur,' 'ergo,' 'autem,' 'uero,' 'enim,' &c., and other slight changes intended to make the sentences run somewhat more smoothly'; partly, as we have seen, in the correction of obvious mistakes in H<sub>1</sub>. In only one instance of any importance does Δ show a reading in agreement with the other group of MSS., viz. the substitution of 'donasse' for the meaningless 'ordinatum esse' of H<sub>1</sub> in § 7; and as the word 'donauerat' has immediately preceded, even this may be an independent correction of the scribe of Δ; while in the other cases<sup>2</sup> the agreement is almost certainly fortuitous, the differences from H<sub>1</sub> being merely due to the scribe's desire to improve his text.

He has however conflated his materials in a curious

<sup>1</sup> Mistakes: p. 366, note 1; p. 367, note 15; p. 368, notes 6, 9, 10, 17; p. 369, note 4; p. 371, note 6; p. 377, note 2; p. 385, note 3. Omissions: p. 365, note 6; p. 368, note 18; p. 369, note 2; p. 372, note 7; p. 373, notes 3, 6; p. 381, note 7; p. 385, notes 4, 7. Insertions: 'uero,' p. 365, note 15; p. 367, note 4; 'enim,' ib. note 2; 'et,' p. 368, note 2; p. 374, note 3; p. 378, note 4; 'est,'

ib. note 8; 'igitur,' p. 369, note 1; 'autem,' p. 374, note 5; p. 380, note 8; 'in,' p. 381, note 3; 'iterum,' p. 383, note 2; 'etiam,' p. 380, note 2; 'ergo,' p. 376, note 7. Different order: p. 373, note 2; p. 378, note 6. Totally different reading: p. 368, note 11; p. 385, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> These are, p. 367, note 1; p. 368, note 14; p. 380, note 13; p. 382, note 7.

and interesting way. His object apparently was to provide two homiletic discourses, one for Benedict Biscop's<sup>1</sup> day, the other for Ceolfrid's. For the first he followed Bede's *Hist. Abb.* as far as the end of § 14, appending to it a homiletic doxology<sup>2</sup>. For the second he took as his basis the anonymous *Hist. Abb.*, which not only contains particulars of Ceolfrid's earlier life which are not in Bede, but also by its homiletic exordium lent itself excellently to the purpose of the scribe. To this also he appends a doxology<sup>3</sup>. He was not however content with this, but interpolated the anonymous text from time to time with passages taken from Bede's *Hist. Abb.* He has not always done his work very skilfully. In one instance he introduces from Bede a passage practically identical with one which had already occurred in the *Hist. Anon.*, and tries to gloss the matter over by inserting the words 'ut supra iam diximus<sup>4</sup>.' Hence even in this second part there are considerable passages which are available for the criticism of Bede's *Hist. Abb.* In the critical notes I have distinguished the readings of these passages by the symbol  $\delta$ . It is in one of them that the lacuna alluded to above occurs, proving that they also are taken from  $H_1$ . The earlier lacuna has also influenced the text; for it has obliged the scribe to revert suddenly and awkwardly from the text of Bede to that of the *Hist. Anon.* Other points of agreement between  $H_1$  and  $\delta$  may be seen in the critical notes. The type of text exhibited by these two MSS. may be called the H-text. It is that which I have adopted.

§ 40. The text of the other six MSS. is of a different type; and a glance at the critical notes will show that where these MSS. differ from the H-text, they, in the large majority of cases, agree exactly among themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the heading, p. 364, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 404, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 398, note 2, and p. 383, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 379, note 5.

Conflation  
of the text.

The second  
group.

Cotton.  
Tib. D. iii.  
(C).

Cotton. Tiber. D. iii. (C)<sup>1</sup>; folio, 26.50 × 19.00, in double columns, of the twelfth century, ff. 249. It was badly injured in the Cottonian fire. It also contains lives of saints. The Hist. Abb. occupies ff. 144a-149 b, and is preceded by the 'Titulatio opusculorum uenerabilis Bede presbyteri ab ipso edita,' *i.e.* the list of Bede's works taken from H. E. v. 24<sup>2</sup>. I place this MS. first, though it is not the oldest MS. of the group, because it has certain marked peculiarities which distinguish it from the other five members of the group, and it is therefore convenient to treat it separately. Of these peculiarities the most interesting is that it alone of all the MSS. has preserved the division of the work into two books at the beginning of § 14, which is certainly original, as Bede himself mentions it in H. E. v. 24<sup>3</sup>. In § 18 there is an omission of nine words owing to homoioteleuton, and the fact that this lacuna is not found in any of the other MSS. shows that none of them can be copied from this. The other peculiarities are unimportant, but they help to give this MS. a character of its own<sup>4</sup>.

The Dur-  
ham MS.  
(D).

The Durham MS. (D)<sup>5</sup>. This MS. has been already

<sup>1</sup> Here again this symbol has a different signification from what it has in the case of the Hist. Eccl.

<sup>2</sup> This begins 'Beda famulus Christi,' and ends 'intercessionis inueniam'; which shows that it was taken from a copy of the H. E. which had the clause 'Praeterea omnes,' &c., at the end of the work.

<sup>3</sup> p. 359: 'historiam abbatum . . . in libellis duobus.'

<sup>4</sup> Mistakes: p. 364, note 5; p. 365, notes 8, 13; (p. 367, note 8; p. 368, note 15); p. 373, note 5; (p. 379, note 6); p. 381, note 2; p. 383, notes 8, 9; (ib. note 11;

p. 384, note 2; p. 385, note 10). Omissions: p. 365, note 9; p. 370, note 10; (p. 372, note 10; p. 379, note 7); p. 383, note 3. Difference of order: p. 364, note 3. Other peculiarities: (p. 372, note 8); p. 377, note 5; p. 382, note 6; p. 384, note 5. All these peculiarities, except those enclosed in brackets, are reproduced in Ware's edition. See below, p. cxxxviii.

<sup>5</sup> In the case of this and the two following MSS., the symbols D, P, H<sub>2</sub>, have the same signification as in the case of the H. E.

described (*sup.* pp. cv, cvi). The Hist. Abb. occupies ff. 123 d–129 a. This is the typical MS. of the group, and the remaining four are probably derived from it.

Pembroke College, Cambridge (P). This has also been described above (pp. cvi, cvii). It is almost certainly a transcript of D<sup>1</sup>. It has no variations of importance. In one or two instances where it varies slightly from D it happens to agree with one or other of the MSS. of the same group<sup>2</sup>. But this is most likely purely accidental.

Harley 4124 (H<sub>2</sub>). This MS. has also been described above, and reasons given for believing it to be closely related to D (*sup.* p. cvi). It is mutilated at the end, and the Hist. Abb. which begins at f. 87 c terminates abruptly in the middle of a word in § 9 at the end of f. 89 d.

Burney 310 (B)<sup>3</sup>. This too has been already described (*sup.* pp. cvii, cviii). It is known to be a transcript of D. It has a certain number of peculiarities<sup>4</sup>, but these are purely accidental.

Fairfax 6 (F). This is a large folio, 32.50 × 20.50, in double columns, of the second half of the fourteenth century, ff. 295 (according to the old foliation, which does not include the leaves at the beginning containing lists of the Bishops of Lindisfarne, &c.). It consists wholly of matter relating to the north of England. It contains Simeon of Durham's History of the Church of Durham, the 'De iniusta uexatione Willelmi Episcopi,' the 'Vita Bartholomaei Farnensis,' and the 'Vita Oswaldi,' all of which are printed in whole or in part by Mr. Arnold in his edition of Simeon<sup>5</sup>; the so-called Irish

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. cxxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> p. 370, note 5; p. 383, note 1; p. 386, note 3; p. 372, note 9. Readings peculiar to P: p. 382, note 3; p. 373, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> In the text of the H.E. this MS. has the symbol Bu<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> p. 367, notes 3, 7; p. 370, note 9; p. 372, note 5; p. 375, note 4; p. 376, note 2; p. 379, note 8; p. 381, note 5; p. 383, note 14; p. 384, note 4; p. 385, notes 9, 14; p. 386, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Vol. I. xvi. f. xix. xxv.



Life of St. Cuthbert<sup>1</sup>, Bede's metrical and prose lives of St. Cuthbert, and the work on the same saint by Reginald of Coldingham or Durham<sup>2</sup>; lives of SS. Aidan, Eata<sup>3</sup>, and Ebba, and the Life of St. Godric by Geoffrey of Durham<sup>4</sup>. The MS. 'is evidently the production of the Durham Scriptorium<sup>5</sup>,' and the name of the scribe is given on f. 1: 'nomen scriptoris est Petrus Plenus Amoris<sup>6</sup>.' Between the lives of SS. Ebba and Godric come Bede's Hist. Abb. ff. 174 a-179 a, and the life of Bede. The text of the Hist. Abb. is identical with that of D, and is, I believe, a transcript from it<sup>7</sup>. This I regard as proved by the fact that in § 17 it and P alone keep the false reading of D: 'iuxta euangelium regulam,' which the other MSS. have amended either by omitting 'regulam' (C) or by altering 'euangelium' into 'euangelii' (B), thus restoring the reading of H<sub>1</sub>. The text of these six MSS. may be called the D-text.

Editions.

The Hist. Abb. was first printed by Sir James Ware, Dublin, 1664, 8vo; reprinted by Wharton, London, 4to, 1693. The MS. used by Ware was C. This is proved by the fact that his edition reproduces the two salient peculiarities of C, the division into two books, and the lacuna in § 18. It reproduces also most of the minor peculiarities of C, a few obvious mistakes being corrected<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Miscellanea Biographica*, S. S. 1838. See notes to H. E. iv. 25 [27].

<sup>2</sup> Printed by S. S. 1835. Cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 306-308.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *Misc. Biog. u. s.* See notes to H. E. iii. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hardy, Cat. ii. 390, 391, and the *Vita Godrici* by Reginald of Durham (S. S. 1845), pp. viii. f.

<sup>5</sup> Hardy, Cat. i. 308.

<sup>6</sup> On this family of scribes who called themselves 'Plenus

Amoris,' 'Pleindamour,' or 'Fullalove,' see Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, ed. 2, pp. 21, 22. Add to the instances there given a Winchester MS. No. 32, which contains the same *Vita Godrici* as Fairfax 6, and has on a fly-leaf at the end: 'Nomen scriptoris Willelmus Plenus Amoris.' *Vita Godrici*, u. s. p. xx.

<sup>7</sup> F has a few peculiarities of its own: p. 365, note 4; p. 368, note 5; p. 373, note 9.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. cxvvi.

Moreover that these corrections were made by Ware out of his own head without recourse to other MSS. is shown by the fact that in two instances his corrections do not agree with any MS.<sup>1</sup>

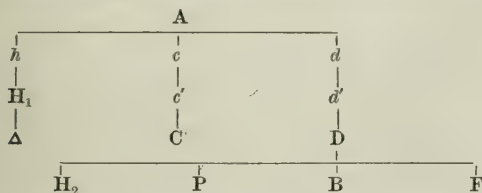
Smith (1722) collated Ware's text with D, P, and a MS. which he calls 'Merton,' but which was probably, as Hussey (Praef. p. v) suggests, Fairfax, no MS. of the Hist. Abb. existing in the Merton Library. Hence Smith's edition exhibits all the features of the D-text.

Stevenson (1841) was the first editor to base his text on H<sub>1</sub>, and it is consequently a great improvement on that of his predecessors.

Hussey (1846) practically reprinted Smith's text, though he used Stevenson's edition, and also Digby 112 for the notes. His text is a retrograde step as compared with that of Stevenson.

Moberly (1869 and 1881) reprinted Smith's text, collating it with Fairfax, from which he wrongly asserts that Smith's text is taken.

Whether the difference between the H-text and the D-text implies a double recension by Bede himself, like that which I believe to have existed in the case of the H. E., is hard to say. On the whole I do not think the differences are greater than might be accounted for by scribal variations. If this is correct, the relations of the existing MSS. might be exhibited somewhat as follows :



(I use the small letters to indicate hypothetical MSS.)

<sup>1</sup> p. 383, note 9, 'dicit' C, 'quae' Ware, true reading 'dixit' Ware; true reading 'quaeque.'  
 'didicit.' ib., note 8, 'quem' C,

intermediate between the existing MSS. and the archetype A. Of course the number of intermediate steps can only be guessed at.)

If the other view be taken that Bede himself issued two editions of the work, the only difference will be that *h* on the one hand and *c* and *d* on the other, must be carried back to two separate archetypes, instead of to the same.

### C. MSS. OF THE ANONYMOUS HISTORY OF THE ABBOTS.

MSS. of the  
Hist. Abb.  
Anon.

§ 41. These are only two in number, Harley 3020 (H) and Digby 112 ( $\delta$ ). Both have been collated for this edition.

The MSS. have been already described, and the curiously conflate character of the text of  $\delta$  explained<sup>1</sup>. In the parts of  $\delta$  which really belong to the Hist. Anon., its relation to H remains the same as before, viz. that of a transcript by a scribe who thought himself capable of improving on his original. He corrects obvious blunders<sup>2</sup>; he inserts words like 'autem,' 'quippe,' 'uero,' 'inde,' 'deinde'<sup>3</sup>, and makes other slight changes intended to improve the style<sup>4</sup>; he doctors the text where it is imperfect<sup>5</sup>, and alters the version of the Psalter used<sup>6</sup>. In one or two instances his text is superior to the *present* text of H, because he copied H before it had been tam-

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. cxxxii-cxxxv.

<sup>2</sup> p. 389, note 4; p. 390, notes 2, 3, 7; p. 391, note 1; p. 392, notes 1, 3; p. 394, note 2; p. 397, note 4; p. 398, note 1; p. 399, notes 3, 9; p. 400, notes 7, 8; p. 401, notes 1, 6, 9; p. 402, note 6; p. 403, notes 5, 6, 7, 11, 12; p. 404, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> 'deinde,' p. 397, note 1; 'autem,' p. 390, note 10; p. 391, note 4; 'quippe,' p. 394, note 7;

'uero,' p. 396, note 5; 'uide,' ib. note 6; longer insertion, p. 399, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> p. 389, note 8; p. 390, note 1; p. 396, notes 2, 7, 9; p. 397, note 2 (this is more than an alteration in style), ib. note 9; p. 398, notes 3, 5, 6; p. 400, notes 1, 2, 5, 6; p. 404, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> p. 391, notes 7, 8.

<sup>6</sup> p. 397, note 3.

pered with<sup>1</sup>. His emendations however are not always happy<sup>2</sup>, and his alterations are sometimes needless<sup>3</sup>, or worse<sup>4</sup>. He has left some blunders uncorrected<sup>5</sup>, and added a good many of his own<sup>6</sup>. Probably his attention was distracted by the work of conflation, as the errors are much more numerous than where he is simply transcribing Bede's Hist. Abb.

The Hist. Anon. was first printed by Stevenson, 1841, from H, but not very correctly or completely.

Giles (1843) reprinted Stevenson's text, Opp. vi. 416-432.

The present edition is the first in which Digby 112 has been made use of.

#### D. MSS. OF THE EPISTLE TO EGBERT.

§ 42. Of this I have only succeeded in finding two Two MSS. MSS.—Harl. 4688, and Mert. Coll. Oxon. 49. The Harleian 4688 (H). former (H) is a small folio, 29.00 × 18.50, tenth century, ff. 98. It contains, besides the letter to Egbert, Bede's exposition of the Proverbs of Solomon, the latter occupying ff. 1-88 a, the former ff. 89 a-97 a. The last leaf, f. 98, is no part of the original MS. This was a Durham book, as is shown by a slip inserted at the beginning with the inscription 'Liber Sancti Cuthberti' in a hand of the thirteenth century. It is further proved by entries in the 'Catalogi ueteres librorum eccl. cath. Dunelm' (S.S. 1838), pp. 20, 96: 'Beda super parabolas Salomonis, 11 fol.—piencior rediit.' These last words are the beginning of fol. 2 a of this MS. At a later time it belonged to Sir Thos. Tempest, Bart., fol. 1 a.

The other MS. (M) is a small quarto, 21.00 × 14.20, Merton 49 (M).

<sup>1</sup> p. 389, note 7; p. 397, notes 5; p. 401, note 8; p. 403, note 10.  
5, 6; p. 404, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> p. 397, note 8. <sup>6</sup> p. 391, note 3; p. 393, notes

<sup>3</sup> p. 393, note 3. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8; p. 394, notes 4, 5, 10;

<sup>4</sup> p. 392, note 4. 10; p. 396, notes 3, 8, 10; p. 397, note

<sup>5</sup> p. 390, note 12; p. 395, note 2, 3, 7; p. 403, notes 8, 9.

of the fifteenth century, ff. 354. It contains theological works, chiefly of Hugh of St. Victor and St. Augustine, and is written in a very small and contracted hand, very difficult to read. Ff. 285 a-301 a contain six letters of Bede, of which that to Egbert is the last, occupying ff. 296 b-301 a. This MS. was consulted by Dr. Giles for his edition of Bede's works, and annotations by him will be found on the margin; from it he published for the first time the third letter of the series 'ad Helmualdum de bissexto' (see above, Part I, p. xxxvii), the substance of which Bede afterwards incorporated in the *De Temporum Ratione* (Opp. vi. 222). The Merton MS. was the only one known to Smith (preface), though he did not follow its readings in all respects. Stevenson and Moberly simply reprinted Smith's text. The letter to Egbert was first published by Sir James Ware, Dublin, 1664, 8vo, from whose edition it was reprinted by Wharton: '*Bedaë . . . opera quaedam Theologica . . . necnon Historica,*' &c., 4to Lond. 1693. Wharton confesses in his preface that he had seen no MS. of it. There can be no doubt that Ware printed it from H. His text agrees with H in all points in which H differs from M. It may be sufficient to mention two instances; it gives the quotation at the end of § 7 in the abbreviated form of H, and it gives the date at the end (pp. 411, note 3; 423, note 4).

There can be no doubt that the text of H is on the whole very superior to that of M, as might be expected from its much greater antiquity. But in some instances M has preserved a better reading. By a comparison of the two MSS. I have been able I hope to give an improved text; but it were much to be wished that some additional MSS. might be discovered. For my knowledge of the existence of H I was indebted in the first instance to the reference in H. & S. iii. 326.



E. A TABULAR VIEW OF THE MSS. DESCRIBED OR  
ALLUDED TO IN INTRODUCTION, PART II, ACCORDING  
TO THE ALPHABETICAL ORDER OF THEIR SYMBOLS.

*MSS. of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica.*

M = Text of M-type. C = Text of C-type. CM = Conflate text.

Cd = C-text of Durham type. Cw = C-text of Winchester type.

Symbol.	Page.	Place of Deposit.	Collection, Press Mark, &c.	Date. Cent.	Type of Text.
A <sub>1</sub>	c	British Museum .	Additional 18,150	xi	M
A <sub>2</sub>	cxliii	" .	" 14,250	xiii	CM
A <sub>3</sub>	cliii	" .	" 10,949	xv	M
A <sub>4</sub>	cliii	" .	" 33,371	xii-xiii	M
A <sub>5</sub>	cvii	" .	" 25,014	xii-xiii	Cd
Ar	cxixvi	" .	Arundel 74 . . .	xv	CM
B	xc	" .	Cotton. Tiber. A. xiv.	viii	M
Bu <sub>1</sub>	cxix	" .	Burney 297 . . .	xiv	CM
Bu <sub>2</sub>	cvii	" .	" 310 . . .	xiv	Cd
C	xciii	" .	Cotton. Tiber. C. ii.	viii	C
Ca 1-7		[Cambridge MSS. described M. & L. pp. 413-416.]			
Cas 1-2	ci	Monte Casino . . .	181 and 177 . . .	xi	M
D	cv	Durham Chapter Lib.	B. ii. 35 . . .	xii	Cd
H <sub>1</sub>	xcviii	British Museum .	Harley 4978 . . .	x	M
H <sub>2</sub>	cvi	" .	" 4124 . . .	xii	Cd
H <sub>3</sub>	cxixvi	" .	" 3680 . . .	xii-xiii	CM
He	cxv	Peniarth . . . .	Hengwrt 102 . . .	xii	CM
M	lxxxix	Cambridge Univ. Lib.	Kk. v. 16 . . .	viii	M
N	lxxxvi	Namur, Bibliothèque de la Ville	II . . . . .	viii	M
O <sub>1</sub>	cxiii	Bodleian Lib., Oxford	Hatton 43 . . .	xi	C
O <sub>2</sub>	cxviii	" "	Bodley 163 . . .	xii	CMw
O <sub>3</sub>	cxvii	" "	Laud Misc. 243 .	xii	CM
O <sub>4</sub>	cxv	" "	Douce 368 . . .	xii	CM
O <sub>5</sub>	cxix	" "	Fairfax 12 . . .	xii	CM
O <sub>6</sub>	cxixiv	" "	Digby 211 . . .	xii	CM
O <sub>7</sub>	cxixvii	" "	e Musaeo 115 . .	xii-xiii	CM
O <sub>8</sub>	cxiii	" "	Bodley 712 . . .	xiv	C
O <sub>9</sub>	cviii	" "	" 302 . . .	xv	Cd
O <sub>10</sub>	cxvi	" "	Barlow 39 . . .	xiii	CM
O <sub>11</sub>	cxixiv	" "	Digby 101 . . .	xiv	CM
O <sub>12</sub>	cxixv	" "	Tanner 348 . . .	xv	CM
O <sub>13</sub>	*	" "	Rawlinson 189 . .	xiii	*

\* O<sub>13</sub> is a mere epitome. Much the same may be said of the  
Phillipps MS. 9428, now or recently in the possession of Messrs.  
Maggs, by whose courtesy I was allowed to consult it. I have not

Symbol.	Page.	Place of Deposit.	Collection, Press Mark, &c.	Date. Cent.	Type of Text.
O <sub>14</sub>	cxii	Lincoln Coll., Oxford	31 . . . . .	x ii-xiii	CM
O <sub>15</sub>	cxv	Merton " "	95 . . . . .	xiv	CM
O <sub>16</sub>	cvii	Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford	279 . . . . .	xiv	Cd
O <sub>17</sub>	cxxiv	Magdalen Coll., Oxford	105 . . . . .	xii	CM
O <sub>18</sub>	cxiv	New " "	308 . . . . .	xii	CM
O <sub>19</sub>	cxi	Balliol " "	176 . . . . .	xii	Cw
O <sub>20</sub>	cxxi	St. John's " "	99 . . . . .	xii-xiii	CM
O <sub>21</sub>	*	All Souls' " "	31 . . . . .	xv-xvi	*
P	cvi	Pembroke College, Cambridge	124 . . . . .	xii	Cd
R <sub>1</sub>	cxiv	British Museum .	Reg. 13. C. v. . .	xi-xii	CM
R <sub>2</sub>	ci	" "	" 13. B. xviii. .	xiv-xv	M
R <sub>3</sub>	*	" "	" 13. C. vii. . .	xv	"
S	cxv	" "	Stowe 104 . . .	xii	CM
W	cix	Winchester Chapter Library	3 . . . . .	x	Cw

examined O<sub>21</sub> and R<sub>3</sub>. The second column refers to the page of this Introduction where the MS. in question is described.

### MSS. of Bede's *Historia Abbatum*.

Symbol.	Place of Deposit.	Collection, Press Mark, &c.	Date. Cent.	Type of Text.
B	See above (Bu <sub>2</sub> )			D
C	British Museum . . .	Cotton, Tiber. D. iii.	xii	D
D	See above (D)			D
Δ*	Bodleian . . . . .	Digby 112 . . .	xii	H
F	" . . . . .	Fairfax 6 . . .	xiv	D
H <sub>1</sub> *	British Museum . . .	Harley 3020. . .	x	H
H <sub>2</sub>	See above (H <sub>2</sub> )			D
P	See above (P)			D

\* These MSS. are our only authorities for the text of the Hist. Abb. Anon.

### MSS. of Bede's *Epistle to Egbert*.

Symbol.	Place of Deposit.	Collection, Press Mark, &c.	Date. Cent.
H	British Museum . .	Harley 4688 . . .	x
M	Merton College, Oxford	49 . . . . .	xv

## APPENDIX I

### TO INTRODUCTION, PART I.

#### ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF BEDE'S WRITINGS.

691 × 703. DE ARTE METRICA and DE SCHEMATIBUS ET TROPIS SACRAE SCRIPTURAE.

In the little address between these two works Bede writes: 'Haec tibi dulcissime fili, et *conleuita* Cuthberte . . . excerpere curauī,' showing that it was written while Bede was a 'leuita,' *i. e.* a deacon<sup>1</sup>. Opp. vi. 78.

? 691 × 703. DE ORTHOGRAPHIA.

This is undated, but it probably belongs to the same period as the preceding<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On the use of the term 'leuita' for deacon, see Opp. i. 63; viii. 383, 384. Bede identifies the Nethinim with sub-deacons, *ib.* 375, 376, and the high priest with an archbishop, *ib.* 451. We have even 'leuitissa,' 'deaconess,' Ltft. App. Ff. II. iii. 468; cf. *ib.* I. ii. 123, 329. In Giles' Ed. the 'De Arte Metrica' is headed 'ad *Wigbertum* leuitam.' What the MS. authority for this is I do not know. The only MSS. that I have seen (S. John's Coll. Oxon, No. 150, Digby 100) have no heading; in the address at the end they read: 'conleuita Cuthberte' (*Curberte*, St. John's). Cuthbert may be the author of the letter on Bede's death. If

so, the suggestion that he was only a 'lector' at that time (above, p. lxxii) must be given up. There was a Wigbert who became abbot of Lindisfarne, Opp. Min. p. 43; and he is probably the abbot Wigbert who is mentioned in the Liber Vitae Ecel. Dun. Both MSS. prefix the following distich:

'Me lege si linguam cupias  
cognoscere Bede,  
Me quicunque capit, rusticitate caret.'

<sup>2</sup> Librum de o. alfabeti ordine distinctum. This work was used both by Alcuin and W. M. The latter says of Bede: 'qui reliquis commodius in hoc elaborauit, quia, quod illi confuse

## 703. DE TEMPORIBUS.

## 708. EPISTOLA AD PLEGWINUM APOLOGETICA DE SEX AETATIBUS SAECULI.

The dates of these two works are mutually dependent, and therefore they must be considered together. The latter is addressed to Plegwin, a monk of Hexham<sup>1</sup>, in answer to an absurd charge of heresy which had been brought against Bede 'a lasciuentibus rusticis . . . per pocula,' in connexion with the *De Temporibus*. Opp. i. 144. This, he says, was written 'ante quinquennium.' Ib. 145. And he begs that his defence may be read 'coram uenerabili Domino . . . Wilfrido antistite.' The latter must therefore fall within the period 705 × 709, during which Wilfrid recovered the See of Hexham<sup>2</sup>. (H. E. v. 19 and notes.) At the end of the *De Temporibus* Bede says: 'Tiberius dehinc quintum egit annum.' Opp. vi. 138. Tiberius III (Apsimarus) seized the throne in 698; his fifth year therefore is 702-3. At the beginning of the chapter Bede says: 'Sexta aetas continet annos praeteritos dccviii'; this is a mistake for dcciii, the v being wrongly inserted. Both these dates, viz. the fifth year of Tiberius and the date 703 A. D., occur in c. 14 of the work, Opp. vi. 130, a passage which seems to have been overlooked. This, then, is the date of the *De Temporibus*, and the Letter to Plegwin is fixed to 708.

## Before 705. VITA METRICA CUDBERCTI.

This must be earlier than 705 as it speaks of Aldfrid of Northumbria as still alive: 'nostrum regit inclitus orbem,' c. 21 *ad fin.*, Opp. Min. p. 25. The *De Temporum Ratione*, composed in 725, speaks of it as written 'ante aliquot annos.' Opp. vi. 329. In H. E. iv. 26 [28],

fecerant, ipse per alphabetum disposuit. Eum secutus Albinus [*i. e.* Alcuin] . . . Bedam in orthographia sua deflorauit, nichil ex se adiciens.' W. M. I. cxli.

<sup>1</sup> Bright, p. 429.

<sup>2</sup> We see here fresh evidence that Jarrow was in the diocese of Hexham. It is to his own diocesan that Bede is anxious to clear himself. See above, p. x.

p. 271, both the metrical and prose lives of Cuthbert are said to have been written 'ante annos plures'.

Before 716. IN APOCALYPSIN <sup>2</sup>.

This must be earlier than 716 as it is dedicated to Hwætbert as 'Frater Eusebius'—*i. e.* before he became abbot in 716 (*v. s.* pp. xiv, xv). It is earlier than the In Acta. Opp. xii. 1. 337-341.

709 × 716. IN ACTA <sup>3</sup>.

This must be later than 709 as it is dedicated 'Accae Episcopo.' Opp. xii. 1. It is earlier than the In Lucam, which again is earlier than the In Samuelem, which was written in 716. Also the preface speaks of Hwætbert as 'Frater Eusebius.' Ib. It was copied in great haste. Ib. 2.

? 709 × 716. IN EPISTOLAS CATHOLICAS <sup>4</sup>.

The Commentary on 1 John was sent with the In Acta, Opp. xii. 4, and was therefore probably composed about the same time.

709 × 716. IN LUCAM <sup>5</sup>.

See the last entry but one. The In Lucam seems to have been followed next by the In Samuelem. Opp. vii. 369; viii. 146. Therefore it probably comes towards the end of the period 709-716. It was written after the In Acta, x. 265; xii. 1, and after the In Apocalypsin, x. 267, 269.

<sup>1</sup> Alcuin is, of course, wrong in saying that the prose life was written first. *De Sanctis Ebor.* vv. 684-686. He was perhaps misled by the analogy of his own lives of Wilbrord. Cuthbert, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, sends St. Boniface a copy of Bede's lives of Cuthbert. *Mon. Mog.* p. 301. Athelstan, c. 931, gave to St. Cuthbert (the see being

then at Chester-le-Street), copy of these lives. *S. D. i.* 211. This copy is now in the Library of C. C. C., Cambridge, No. 183.

<sup>2</sup> On this cf. Werner, pp. 188, 189.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. pp. 189-194.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. pp. 200-203. There is a possible allusion to this work in *Mon. Alc.* p. 876.

<sup>5</sup> Werner, pp. 194-199.



716. IN SAMUELEM<sup>1</sup>.

Between Books iii and iv occurs the passage given above (pp. xv, xvi), with reference to Ceolfrid's departure. Therefore Books i-iii were written before and Book iv after June, 716. See the preceding entry.

## 716. DE MANSIONIBUS FILIORUM ISRAEL.

## 716. DE EO QUOD AIT ISAIAS 'ET CLAUDENTUR,' ETC.

These two Epistles were written while Bede was engaged on the *In Samuelem*, *i. e.* in 716, Opp. i. 198, 202; apparently in the interval between Books iii and iv. Ib. 203. They were written in answer to questions put by Acca.

## After 716. HISTORIA ABBATUM.

This must be later than 716 as it narrates the death of Ceolfrid and the election of Hwætbert in that year. From the fact that nothing is narrated after that date it would not be safe to argue that it must have been written soon after 716, as Bede might naturally feel a delicacy in writing about the administration of Hwætbert, who, as we saw (p. xiv), overlived him.

## After 716. IN MARCUM.

This was written after the *In Samuelem*, Opp. x. 37, which, as we have seen, was written in 716. The *In Lucam* had been written 'ante annos plurimos.' Ib. 3. Probably, therefore, it is some time later than 716.

## About 720. VITA SANCTI CUDBERTI.

This cannot be later than 721 as it is dedicated to Eadfrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne, who died in that year. On the other hand, it cannot be much earlier, as the *De Temporum Ratione*, composed in 725, speaks of it as written 'nuper.' Opp. vi. 329.

<sup>1</sup> In this work Bede's allegorical method appears in its greatest hardness; the determination to get an allegorical meaning at all hazards out of

every passage leads to much forced artificiality. Lullus asks Archbishop Ethelbert of York to send him a copy of this. Mon. Mog. p. 288; H. & S. iii. 436.

720. IN GENESIM<sup>1</sup>.

In the course of the work Bede says: 'Si enim hodierna die, uerbi gratia, per calendas Apriles esset luna septima decima.' Opp. vii. 117. In his chronological works Bede takes his examples from the actual year in which he is writing, vi. 130, 244, 249, 256. It is therefore probable that he is doing the same here; if so, this criterion would fix it to the year 720, which would suit very well. It must be before 731, as it is included in the list of his works, H. E. v. 24. It must be after 709 as it is dedicated 'antistiti Accae.' Opp. vii. 1. ('Abbati,' Opp. i. 169, is probably a mere misprint of Dr. Giles. It has misled Dr. Bright, p. 402.) The calculation of the year from the criteria was made for me by my friend Mr. T. A. Archer, the historian of the Crusades.

Before 725. DE RATIONE BISSEXTI.

This was incorporated in the De Temporum Ratione (see above, p. xxxvii), and must therefore be anterior to it. There is nothing to show by how much it preceded it. Bede, in incorporating it, merely says: 'In epistola . . . quondam dixi.' Opp. vi. 222.

Before 725. DE NATURA RERUM.

This is earlier than the De Temporum Ratione, as it is cited in the preface to that work, where it is coupled with the De Temporibus: 'duos quondam . . . libellos composui.' Opp. vi. 139. But because the two works are coupled together it would hardly be safe to assume that they were composed at the same time.

725. DE TEMPORUM RATIONE<sup>2</sup>.

That this work was written in 725 is shown by the mention of that year no less than three times in the course of it, cc. 49, 52, 58; Opp. vi. 244, 249, 256;

<sup>1</sup> Called also 'Hexameron.' editions; cf. *e.g.* Hardy, Cat.

<sup>2</sup> The Chronicle appended to this work is often found as a separate work in MSS. and i. 431-433. There is an Irish adaptation of it in Rawl. B. 502, f. 41.

and it is correctly so dated by Marianus Scotus. Fl. Wig. i. 50.

725 × 731. IN EZRAM ET NEEMIAM<sup>1</sup>.

This must be after 725 as it refers to the *De Temporum Ratione*, Opp. ix. 4, citing Opp. vi. 289, 290. It was already projected when Bede was writing the *In Genesim*, in the preface to which he says: 'Dum primo librum . . . Ezrae . . . parumper perscrutatus fuero.' Opp. vii. 2. I do not understand this as meaning that the Ezra had already been begun then, though that is the interpretation of Gehle, p. 103.

Probably before 729. DE TABERNACULO.

This was written before the *De Templo*, Opp. viii. 357, which latter falls probably about 729. See the next entry.

729 × 731. DE TEMPLO<sup>2</sup>.

In the letter to Albinus which accompanied the *Hist. Eccl.* it is spoken of as having been written 'nuper.' It was therefore probably written not long before 731; and with this agrees the allusion in the preface to temporal troubles—'praesentes rerum temporalium angores'—by which are probably meant the troubles which followed the accession of Ceolwulf in 729. Cf. *H. E.* v. 23 and notes. And, curiously enough, in the *H. E.* itself, iii. 27 *ad fin.*, this very date, 729, is spoken of as 'nuper.'

731. EPISTOLA AD ALBINUM.

This accompanied a copy of the *Hist. Eccl.*, and there-

<sup>1</sup> This work, in which the restoration of Jerusalem is treated as a type of the restoration of the sinful by repentance, seems to me very beautiful. It is brief, and consequently there is not that tendency to force minute details to yield a symbolical meaning, which was noticed in the *In*

*Samuelem*. So too, along with some things that are fanciful, there is much spiritual beauty in the *De Tabernaculo* and *De Templo*.

<sup>2</sup> This was sent by Cuthbert, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, to Lullus in answer to his request, *Mon. Mog.* pp. 289, 290.

fore must have been written on its completion in 731. It is prefixed to the text of the present edition.

### 731. HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA.

The date is given by Bede himself, H. E. v. 23 *ad fin.* Cf. v. 11 *ad fin.* and note *ad loc.*<sup>1</sup> On the difficulty connected with the mention of the Saracen defeat in v. 23, see note *ad loc.*

### 731 × 735. RETRACTATIONES IN ACTA.

That this is later than 731 is probable from the fact that it is not mentioned in the list of Bede's works, H. E. v. 24, though I have admitted above (p. xlix) that this argument is not absolutely conclusive. It was written 'plures annos' after the original Commentary on the Acts. Opp. xii. 96.

### November 5, 734. EPISTOLA AD ECGBERCTUM.

See the notes to the last section of the Epistle.

I cannot see that there are any materials for dating the following works of Bede further than that being mentioned in the H. E. they must be earlier than 731.

### DE LOCIS SANCTIS.

This is not mentioned in the list, H. E. v. 24, but it is cited *ib.* 17, where Bede says that it had been written 'dudum,' a very vague expression. I cannot see on what grounds Gehle, p. 101, fixes it definitely to 701 × 702.

### IN LIBROS REGUM QUAESTIONES XXX.

Written in answer to questions put to Bede by Nothelm.

<sup>1</sup> R. W. says: 'dcccxv. Beda . . . Anglorum historiam inchoavit, qui laudabiliter inchoatam et feliciter consummatam regi Ceolwifo praesentavit,' i. 214. It is possible that Bede may have begun the H. E. in 725; though

I know of no evidence for it. But it is more probable that the statement rests on a confusion between the H. E. and the De Temporum Ratione, with its Chronicle, which does belong to 725.

IN PROVERBIA <sup>1</sup>.

The *De Muliere Forti* often found in MSS.<sup>2</sup> and editions as a separate treatise is really only the last part of this commentary.

IN CANTICA CANTICORUM <sup>3</sup>.

The seventh book, which is a mere cento of passages extracted from St. Gregory, is sometimes found separately, *e.g.* MS. Coll. Trin. Oxon, No. 52, f. 188 b; so is the first book, under the title '*Contra Iulianum diuine gratie repugnatores*,' *e.g.* MS. Phillips, 9428.

## IN CANTICUM HABACCUC.

Dedicated to '*dilectissima in Christo soror*.' I cannot agree with Werner, p. 180, in thinking that by this an actual sister of Bede's is meant. Some abbess or nun is probably indicated.

IN LIBRUM BEATI TOBIAE <sup>4</sup>.THE MARTYROLOGY <sup>5</sup>.

The Martyrology as we have it has been so added to, that it is impossible to tell what part, if any, is really due to Bede. And there is much in it that one would willingly believe not to be Bede's—too much ecclesiastical gloating over the physical horrors of martyrdom, and legends of the purely silly kind. On the so-called poetical Martyrology, see below, p. clviii.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Werner, pp. 178, 179. St. Boniface asks Archbishop Egbert to send him this work. Mon. Mog. p. 250; H. & S. iii. 389. Hincmar of Reims also asks for it to copy. Pertz, xiii. 531. It has been wrongly printed among St. Jerome's works. Gehle, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* Camb. Univ. Lib. II. iii. 9; II. iv. 23; see Catalogue of MSS. iii. 414, 460, 461. Lansdowne MSS. No. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Werner, pp. 179, 180.

This is one of the works which Lullus asks Cuthbert to send to him. Mon. Mog. p. 289. There is a poem on it by Walafridus Strabo. Poetae Lat. Aevi Carol. ii. 665.

<sup>4</sup> Alcuin asks Ricbod, Archbishop of Trèves, to lend him a copy of this. Mon. Alc. p. 683.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Werner, pp. 146-149; Ltft. App. Ff. II. i. 232, 570, 574; D. C. A. ii. 1138.



## THE HOMILIES.

The Homilies would, of course, be written from time to time as they were required, and therefore naturally cannot be exactly dated. The criticism of the genuineness of the various homilies attributed to Bede would be a very difficult task. Of those printed by Giles I believe all to be genuine except the following: Nos. 10, 12-15, 19, 58 are spurious; No. 7, as I have shown, is a genuine homily of Bede's (No. 56), fitted with a new exordium; Nos. 11 and 15 I have also shown to be extracts from Bede's Commentaries on Mark and Luke respectively (*v. s.* pp. xlvii, xlviii).

## HYMNI.

Of the fourteen Hymns printed by Giles, Opp. i. 54-103, Nos. 1-3 are in hexameters, and deal with subjects connected with the Calendar. They are probably genuine. There are many things in them besides their subject which are characteristic of Bede—the doctrine of the six ages, pp. 60, 66, 68; the mystical interpretation of numbers, pp. 61, 62, cf. 64; the fear to keep back knowledge bestowed by God, p. 56; the exhortation to prelates to teach by example and not only by precept, and to be careful whom they ordain, pp. 64, 65. Nos. 4-13 are in iambic tetrameters. No. 4, on the correspondence of the six ages of the world with the six days of Creation, is very characteristic of Bede (see above, pp. xli, xlii), and its genuineness is expressly testified to by Alcuin: ‘*Hymnus pulcherrimus de sex dierum opere et de sex aetatibus mundi.*’ Mon. Alc. pp. 748, 749. The others are ordinary festival hymns, some of considerable merit. They may well be genuine, though there is nothing specially characteristic of Bede in them. No. 14 is in hexameters, and deals with a favourite subject of Bede's, viz. the Day of Judgement, though it is sometimes attributed to Alcuin. Instead of the conclusion ‘*Rex Deus,*’ &c., as given by

Giles, Opp. i. 103, S. D. ii. 27 gives the following lines, which, if genuine (as they have every appearance of being), are almost conclusive as to the authorship, and show that the poem was written at Acca's request, and, as he is called 'pater,' after his elevation to the episcopate in 709:

'En tua iussa sequens cecini tibi carmina flendi,  
Tu tua fac promissa, precor, sermone fideli  
Commendans precibus Christo modo, meque canentem.  
Viue Deo felix, et dic, uale, fratribus almis,  
Acca pater, trepidi et pauidi reminiscere serui.'

(There is an Anglo-Saxon version, edited for the E. E. T. S. by Dr. Lumby in 1876, which has neither termination.)

#### EPIGRAMMATA<sup>1</sup>.

The 'epigrammata' as a collection are not known to exist. Possibly the little poem in Vit. Cudb. c. 42, Opp. Min. pp. 130, 131, which Bede cites with a 'quondam dixi,' may have belonged to it. The lines which precede the 'In Apocalypsin' are called 'Epigramma Bedae.' Opp. xii. 342.

#### EPISTOLA AD WICREDAM DE AEQUINOCTIO VERNALI IUNTA ANATOLIUM.

The date given towards the end of the letter is 776 (!). Opp. i. 163. Either, therefore, the whole passage is interpolated (so Giles, Pref. p. clxxv), or the numbers are corrupt, or some later scribe has altered the number to suit the year in which he copied the work.

#### VITA SANCTI FELICIS.

This is merely a prose rendering of Paulinus' metrical Life. Cf. the reference to Paulinus' work in the Martyrology. Opp. iv. 22.

#### VITA SANCTI ANASTASII.

This was a mere correction of a bad translation from the Greek. It is not known to exist.

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the works of Bede which Lullus asked to have sent to him. Mon. Mog. p. 289.

EXCERPTS FROM ST. JEROME: 'IN ISAIAM, DANIHELEM,  
XII PROPHETAS, ET PARTEM HIEREMIAE.'

I have not met with this. Gehle (p. 60) gives references to authors who have cited it.

CAPITULA LECTIONUM ON various books of the Old Testament.

According to Gehle (pp. 62, 63) those on Genesis and Kings in the printed editions of Cologne and Basle may be genuine. The rest he pronounces spurious. I have not examined them myself. Bede seems to have projected a regular commentary on the Pentateuch. Opp. ix. 34; x. 330.

CAPITULA LECTIONUM IN TOTUM NOVUM TESTAMENTUM  
EXCEPTO EVANGELIO <sup>1</sup>.

I have not met with this.

IN APOSTOLUM QUAEUMQUE IN OPUSCULIS SANCTI AUGUSTINI EXPOSITA INVENI.

The work printed with this title and found in many MSS. is not by Bede, but by Florus Lugdunensis. The genuine work does, however, exist in MS.; one MS. is at Troyes, according to Giles, Opp. xii. pp. x-xii; another is at Monte Casino, No. 178 (see Bibliotheca Casinensis, vol. iv, under that number, where also an edition of it is promised, which, as far as I know, has not yet appeared <sup>2</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> These two works are probably referred to by Lupus, Abbot of Ferrara, in a letter to Altsig, Abbot of York, under the title 'Beda... Quaestiones in utrumque Testamentum.' H. & S. iii. 635. St. Boniface asks Archbishop Egbert to send him 'Beda super lectionarium anniuersarium.' lb. 389; Mon. Mog. p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to find that

in the twelfth century Robert de Monte, or de Torigny, Abbot of 'St. Michael in the peril of the Sea' (Mont St. Michel), discussed the authorship of two collections, which may probably be identified with the two named above. Cf. Prologus Roberti de Torinneio in Abbreuiationem Expositionis Epistolarum Apostoli secundum Augustinum, printed in

These are all the works of Bede for the genuineness of which we have the security of his own authority. To discuss the character and authorship of the various works which have been attributed to him in MSS. and editions would be an endless task, and cannot be attempted here. I mention only those few with reference to which I have something to say.

#### THE PENITENTIAL.

This is accepted as genuine by H. & S. iii. 326-334; D. C. A. ii. 1614; *Wasserschleben*, *Bussordnungen*, pp. 220-230. Werner simply shelters himself under *Wasserschleben's* authority, and does not discuss the question independently (pp. 93, 94).

Bede nowhere mentions it himself; and the fact that it is found, apparently, only in continental MSS.<sup>1</sup>, and that in some of them the name of the author is given in the genitive as 'Bedani' or 'Pethani,' might incline us to ascribe it rather to some Irish continental monk named Baedan or Baeithin. The argument from the form of the name cannot, however, be pressed, as the genitive 'Bedani'<sup>2</sup> occurs in the S. Gallen copy of the

D'Achery's edition of the works of Guibert de Nogent, p. 716, reprinted in Migne, *Pat. Lat.* ccii. Robert assigns the shorter work to Bede. The longer one he, following Cassiodorus (*De Divinis Lit.* c. 8), assigns to 'Petrus abbas Tripolitanae prouinciae,' and from it he made his own abbreviation. Cf. *Lupus* of Ferrara to Hincmar, *Epist.* 76: 'Collectaneum Bedae in Apostolum ex operibus Augustini ueritus sum dirigere, propterea quod tantus est liber, ut nec sinu celari, nec pera posset satis commode contineri. Quamquam si alterutrum fieret, formidanda

esset obuia improborum rapacitas, quam profecto pulchritudo ipsius codicis accendisset.' Migne, *Pat. Lat.* cxix. 536; Werner, pp. 185, 186.

<sup>1</sup> Two at Munich and one at Vienna. *Wasserschleben*, *u. s.* pp. 38, 220. The *De Remediis Peccatorum*, also ascribed to Bede, is found in English MSS., e.g. *Reg.* 5 E. xiii, but is a different work, *v. H. & S. u. s.*

<sup>2</sup> So MS. Oriel, No. 34, f. 153, 'explicit expositio Bedani presbyteri'; *Mon. Mog.* pp. 180, 181; cf. *Ann. Lindisf.* A. D. 664, 'Eatano abbati.' *Pertz*, xix. 504. *Pendan*, *Uttan*, *H. E.* iii. 21,

letter of Cuthbert on Bede's death (below, p. clxiv), and such forms are not uncommon, and are due to the influence of the weak Anglo-Saxon genitive 'Bedan.' In the nominative it is 'Baeda' (ib. p. clx). Nor must the evident Irish affinities of the penitential be unduly pressed, for the Irish influence on the Northumbrian Church was strong<sup>1</sup> (above, p. xxx).

A stronger argument is that in the penitential of Archbishop Egbert the author, while acknowledging his obligations to Gregory and Theodore, makes no mention of Bede; which, seeing that Bede was his own master, he could hardly fail to do, had Bede written a penitential. H. & S. iii. 418.

Another fact which points the same way is that Bede, who says so much about the work of Theodore, never even alludes to his penitential, which, considering its importance, would certainly be strange if he were himself interested in such literature<sup>2</sup>.

The penitential ascribed to Bede is a mere collection of extracts from earlier works including Theodore's; and Wasserscheleben himself, who accepts Bede's authorship, is constrained to ask why Bede should have made such a meagre compilation when Theodore's work was in existence (*u. s.* p. 39).

On the whole the arguments are against Bede's authorship, and we should be thankful to believe that Bede had had nothing to do with such a matter. The penitential literature is in truth a deplorable feature of the mediaeval

pp. 169, 170; Eappan, iv. 14. p. 234; Caeduellan, iv. 15, p. 236; Aacan, v. 19, p. 329.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Werner, pp. 93, 94.

<sup>2</sup> Contrast Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Langob.* v. 30: 'Theodorus . . . peccantium iudicia . . . mirabili et discreta consideratione descripsit.' So Sigeb. Gemblac.

*ad ann.* 674: 'Hic Theodorus scripsit poenitentialem librum. mirabili et cauta discretione distinguens modum singularum culparum.' Pertz, vi. 326. Elmhams copies both Paul and Sigebert, pp. 285-287. Cf. *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, II. xxv.



Church<sup>1</sup>. Evil deeds, the imagination of which may perhaps have dimly floated through our minds in our darkest moments, are here tabulated and reduced to system. It is hard to see how any one could busy himself with such literature and not be the worse for it.

DE TONITRUIS,

Opp. iv. 343-348, is a most contemptible work, and clearly spurious.

DE MINUTIONE SANGUINIS.

Less obviously spurious, and might possibly be by Bede. Ib. 349-352 ; cf. H. E. v. 3.

DE SCHISMATIBUS.

Mentioned in Giles's second Life. Opp. I. clxii. This is probably a mere mistake of scribe or printer for De Schematibus, on which see above, p. cxlv.

CUCULUS, SIVE VERIS ET HIEMIS CONFLICTUS.

A hexameter poem, a sort of eclogue—unlike any of Bede's other works. Opp. i. 35-37. It may be genuine. But in Dümmler, *Poetae Lat. Aevi Caroling.* i. 270, it is printed among Alcuin's works ; and this is probably right<sup>2</sup>.

PASSIO SANCTI IUSTINI MARTYRIS.

A hexameter poem. Certainly spurious. Opp. i. 38-49.

MARTYROLOGIUM POETICUM.

A hexameter poem. Certainly spurious. It mentions the death of Wilfrid II. who died in 744 or 745. Ib. 50-53. Werner, however, accepts it as genuine, treating the verses on Wilfrid as an interpolation (pp. 102, 146).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bright, p. 96 ; D. C. B. iii. 367, iv. 932.

<sup>2</sup> It is a slight confirmation of this that 'Cuculus' is one of

'the pet names given by Alcuin to his disciples.' H. & S. iii. 508, 509.

LIBER SCINTILLARUM . . . DIVERSARUM SCIENTIARUM.

This is really by Defensor of Ligugé. See D. C. B. s. v. Defensor.

PSALTERIUM BEDAE,

'dulcissimi uersus collecti de singulis psalmis quod Psalterium eiusdem patris nominatur<sup>1</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> This is from a MS. now and cited by Alcuin, Mon. Alc. Cologne Cathedral, No. 106, a pp. 748, 749. (I owe the reference to M. & L.) MS. originally sent by Alcuin to Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg,

## APPENDIX II

### TO INTRODUCTION, PART I.

#### DE OBITU BAEDAE.

DILECTISSIMO in Christo collectori Cuthwino Cuthbertus  
condiscipulus in Deo aeternam salutem.

Munusculum quod misisti multum libenter accepi<sup>1</sup>.  
multumque gratanter litteras tuae deuotae eruditionis  
legi, in quibus, quod maxime desiderabam, missas uide-  
licet et oraciones sacrosanctas pro Deo dilecto patre ac  
magistro Baeda a uobis diligenter celebrari repperi. Unde  
delectat magis pro eius caritate, quam fretus ingenio<sup>2</sup>.  
paucis sermonibus dicere, quo ordine migraret<sup>3</sup> a saeculo.  
cum etiam hoc te desiderasse et poposcisse<sup>4</sup> intellexi.  
Grauatus est quidem<sup>5</sup> infirmitate et maxime<sup>6</sup> creberrimi  
anhelitus, sed tamen pene sine aliquo dolore<sup>7</sup>, ante diem  
autem<sup>8</sup> resurrectionis dominice, id est fere duabus ebdo-  
madibus; et sic postea letus et gaudens, graciasque agens  
omnipotenti Deo omni die et nocte, immo horis omnibus  
usque ad diem Ascensionis dominicae, id est VII. Id.  
Mai<sup>9</sup> uitam ducebat, et nobis suis discipulis cottidie lec-  
ciones dabat, et quidquid reliquum fuit<sup>10</sup> diei in psalmorum  
cantu, prout potuit, se<sup>11</sup> occupabat; totam uero<sup>12</sup> noctem  
letus in oracionibus<sup>13</sup> et graciaram accione Deo ducere  
studebat<sup>14</sup> nisi tantum<sup>15</sup> modicus somnus impediret:

<sup>1</sup> suscepi edd.      <sup>2</sup> quantum fruor ing. edd.      <sup>3</sup> migravit edd.  
<sup>4</sup> poscere edd.      <sup>5</sup> quidem est edd.      <sup>6</sup> inf. maxima edd.  
<sup>7</sup> anh. sine dolore tamen edd.      <sup>8</sup> autem om. edd.      <sup>9</sup> VII Kal.  
Iunii edd.      <sup>10</sup> erat edd.      <sup>11</sup> prout potuit, se om. edd.      <sup>12</sup> totam  
quoque edd.      <sup>13</sup> in laetitia edd.      <sup>14</sup> actione peruigil ducebat  
edd.      <sup>15</sup> quantum edd.

itemque<sup>1</sup> autem euigilans statim consueta scripturarum modulamina ruminabat, extensisque<sup>2</sup> manibus Deo gratias agere non est oblitus<sup>3</sup>. Vere fateor quia neminem unquam alium oculis meis uidi nec auribus audiui, tam diligenter gratias Deo uiuo referre<sup>4</sup>. O uere beatus uir! canebat autem<sup>5</sup> sententiam sancti<sup>6</sup> Pauli apostoli dicentis ‘horrendum est incidere in manus Dei uiuentis.’ Hebr. x. 31. et multa alia de sancta scriptura, in quibus nos a somno animae exsurgere precogitando ultimam horam amonebat: et in nostra quoque lingua, ut erat doctus in nostris carminibus, dicens de terribili exitu animarum e corpore:

Fore then neidfaerae naenig uiuurthit  
thone snotturra than him tharf sie  
to ymb hycggannae aer his hin iongae  
huaet his gastae godaes aeththa yflaes  
aefter deothdaege doemid uueorthae.

Quod ita Latine sonat: ‘ante necessarium exitum prudentior quam opus fuerit nemo existit, ad cogitandum uidelicet, antequam hinc proficiscatur anima, quid boni uel mali egerit, qualiter post exitum iudicanda fuerit.’ Cantabat etiam antiphonas ob nostram consolationem et suam<sup>7</sup>, quarum una est: ‘O rex gloriae, Domine uirtutum, qui triumphator hodie super omnes celos ascendisti, ne derelinquas nos orphanos, sed mitte promissum Patris in nos, Spiritum ueritatis<sup>8</sup>. Alleluia.’ Cum<sup>9</sup> uenisset autem ad illud uerbum, ‘ne derelinquas nos orphanos,’ prorupit in lacrimas et multum flebat<sup>10</sup>. Et post horam cepit repetere quae incoauerat. Et sic tota die faciebat<sup>11</sup>, et nos quidem<sup>12</sup> audientes haec<sup>13</sup> luximus cum illo, et fleuimus<sup>14</sup>; altera uice legimus, altera plorauimus, immo<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> itemque *om.* edd.<sup>2</sup> consueta repetiuit et expansis edd.<sup>3</sup> non desiuit edd.<sup>4</sup> uere . . . referre *om.* edd.<sup>5</sup> autem *om.*<sup>6</sup> beati edd.<sup>7</sup> sui edd.<sup>8</sup> orphanos usque ueritatisMS. <sup>9</sup> et cum *omitting* autem edd.<sup>10</sup> fleuit edd.<sup>11</sup> et sic. . . faciebat *om.* edd.<sup>12</sup> quidem *om.* edd.<sup>13</sup> haec aud. edd.<sup>14</sup> et fleuimus *om.* edd.<sup>15</sup> immo semper edd.

cum fletu legimus. In tali leticia quinquagesimales dies usque ad diem praefatum deduximus. Et ille multum gaudisus est<sup>1</sup>, et Deo gratias referebat<sup>2</sup>, quia sic meruisset infirmari. Et<sup>3</sup> saepe dicebat: ‘flagellat Deus omnem filium quem recipit,’ et sententiam<sup>4</sup> Ambrosii: ‘non sic uixi, ut me pudeat inter uos uiuere; sed nec mori timeo, quia bonum Dominum<sup>5</sup> habemus.’ In istis autem diebus dua opuscula memoriae digna, exceptis lectionibus, quas cottidie<sup>6</sup> accepimus ab eo, et cantu psalmodum, facere studuit; id est a capite sancti euangelii Iohannis usque ad eum locum in quo dicitur, ‘sed haec quid sunt inter tantos?’ in<sup>7</sup> nostram linguam ad utilitatem ecclesiae Dei conuertit, et de libris<sup>8</sup> Isidori episcopi excerptiones quasdam, dicens: ‘nolo ut pueri mei mendacium legant, et in hoc post meum obitum<sup>9</sup> sine fructu laborent.’ Cum uenisset autem tertia feria ante ascensionem Domini coepit uehementius egrotare<sup>10</sup> in anhelitu, et modicus tumor in suis<sup>11</sup> pedibus apparuit. Totum tamen<sup>12</sup> illum diem docebat, et hilariter dictabat, et nonnumquam inter alia dixit: ‘discite cum festinatione; quia nescio quamdiu subsistam, et si post modicum tollat me Factor meus.’ Nobis tamen<sup>12</sup> uidebatur ne forte exitum suum<sup>13</sup> bene sciret; et sic noctem in gratiarum actione peruigil duxit. Et mane inlucescente, id est quarta feria, praecepit diligenter scribi quae coeperamus; et hoc fecimus<sup>14</sup> usque ad terciam horam. A tertia autem hora ambulauimus cum reliquiis sanctorum, ut consuetudo illius diei poscebat. Et unus<sup>15</sup> erat ex nobis cum illo, qui dixit illi: ‘adhuc<sup>16</sup> capitulum unum de libro, quem dictasti<sup>17</sup>, deest, et uidetur

<sup>1</sup> gaudebat edd.      <sup>2</sup> Deoque gr. agebat edd.      <sup>3</sup> referebat et edd.      <sup>4</sup> et multa alia de sancta scriptura, sententiam quoque sancti edd.      <sup>5</sup> Deum edd.      <sup>6</sup> cottidie *om.* edd.      <sup>7</sup> studebat, euangelium scilicet sancti Ioh. in edd.      <sup>8</sup> libris rotarum [*lege notarum*] edd.      <sup>9</sup> ob. meum edd.      <sup>10</sup> -ri edd.      <sup>11</sup> suis *om.* edd.      <sup>12</sup> autem edd.      <sup>13</sup> uid. quod suum ex. edd.      <sup>14</sup> factum edd.      <sup>15</sup> unus uero edd.      <sup>16</sup> magister dilectissime *add* edd.      <sup>17</sup> de libro . . . dictasti *om.* edd.



mihi<sup>1</sup> difficile tibi<sup>2</sup> esse plus te interrogare'; at ille inquit, 'facile est<sup>3</sup>; accipe tuum calamum, et tempera, festinanterque<sup>4</sup> scribe.' Et ille hoc<sup>5</sup> fecit. A nona hora<sup>6</sup> dixit mihi: 'quaedam preciosa in mea capsella habeo, id est piperum, oraria, et incensa; sed curre uelociter, et adduc<sup>7</sup> presbiteros nostri monasterii ad me, ut et ego munuscula, qualia mihi<sup>8</sup> Deus donauit, illis distribuam<sup>9</sup>.' Et hoc cum tremore feci; et praesentibus illis locutus est ad eos et unumquemque<sup>10</sup>, monens et obsecrans pro eo missas diligenter et orationes facere; et illi libenter respondere<sup>11</sup>. Lugebant autem, et flebant omnes, maxime autem in uerbo quod dixerat, quia aestimarent quod faciem eius amplius non multo in hoc saeculo essent<sup>12</sup> uisuri. Gaudebant autem de eo quod<sup>13</sup> dixit: 'tempus est, si sic Factori meo uideatur, ut ad eum modo absolutus ex carne ueniam, qui me, quando non eram, ex<sup>14</sup> nihilo formauit. Multum tempus uixi, beneque<sup>15</sup> mihi pius Iudex uitam meam praeuidit. Tempus absolutionis meae prope est, etenim anima mea desiderat regem meum Christum in decore suo uidere<sup>16</sup>.' Sic et alia multa<sup>17</sup> utilitatis causa ad aedificationem nostram<sup>18</sup> locutus in letitia diem ultimum<sup>19</sup> usque ad uesperum duxit. Et praefatus puer, nomine Uuilberche, adhuc<sup>20</sup> dixit: 'magister dilecte, restat adhuc una sententia non<sup>21</sup> descripta.'

Cf. Act. xx.

37, 38.

Cf. 2 Tim.

iv. 6.

Cf. Is.

xxxiii. 17.

<sup>1</sup> tibi edd.      <sup>2</sup> tibi om. edd.      <sup>3</sup> fac. est inquit edd.      <sup>4</sup> et fest. edd.      <sup>5</sup> quod ille edd.      <sup>6</sup> ad nonam horam edd.      <sup>7</sup> adduc after monasterii edd.      <sup>8</sup> mihi om. edd.      <sup>9</sup> diuites autem in hoc saeculo aurum, argentum, et alia quaeque pretiosa dare student; ego autem cum multa caritate et gaudio fratribus meis dabo, quod Deus dederat add edd.      <sup>10</sup> et allocutus est unumqu. edd.      <sup>11</sup> facere quod . . . spoponderunt edd.      <sup>12</sup> quia amp. fac. suam in hoc saec. non essent edd.      <sup>13</sup> quia edd.      <sup>14</sup> tempus est ut reuertar ad eum qui me fecit, qui me creauit, qui me ex edd.      <sup>15</sup> que om. edd.      <sup>16</sup> tempus resolutionis meae instat, quia cupio dissolui et esse cum Christo edd.      <sup>17</sup> multa alia edd.      <sup>18</sup> utilitatis . . . nostram om. edd.      <sup>19</sup> ultimum om. edd.      <sup>20</sup> nomine . . . adhuc om. edd.      <sup>21</sup> adhuc u. s. m. d. non est edd.

Ioh. xix.  
39.

At ille, 'bene,' inquit, 'scribe<sup>1</sup>.' Et<sup>2</sup> post modicum dixit puer : 'modo<sup>3</sup> descripta est.' At ille, 'bene,' inquit, 'consummatum est, ueritatem dixisti<sup>4</sup>; accipe meum caput in manus tuas, quia multum me delectat sedere ex aduerso loco sancto meo, in quo orare solebam, ut et ego sedens Patrem meum inuocare possim<sup>5</sup>.' Et sic in paupamento suae casulae decantans : 'gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto' et cetera, ultimum e corpore exhalauit spiritum. Atque ut sine dubio credendum est quod pro eo quia hic semper deuotissimus in Dei laudibus laborauerat, ad gaudia desideriorum celestium anima eius ab angelis portaretur<sup>6</sup>. Omnes autem qui audiere uel uidere obitum Baedani patris nostri<sup>7</sup>, numquam se uidisse<sup>8</sup> alium in<sup>9</sup> tam magna deuocione atque tranquillitate uitam suam<sup>10</sup> finisse dicebant. Quia, sicut audisti, quousque anima eius<sup>11</sup> in corpore fuit, 'gloria Patri' et alia<sup>12</sup> quaedam ad gloriam Dei<sup>13</sup> cecinit, et expansis manibus Deo<sup>14</sup> gratias agere non cessabat. Scire autem debes<sup>15</sup> quia adhuc multa narrari et scribi possunt<sup>16</sup> de eo, sed nunc<sup>17</sup> breuitatem sermonis ineruditio meae linguae facit : attamen cogito, Deo adiuuante, ex tempore plenius de eo scribere quae oculis uidi, et auribus audiui<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> at inquit scribe cito edd.      <sup>2</sup> et om. edd.      <sup>3</sup> sententia add edd.      <sup>4</sup> uer. dix. cons. est edd.      <sup>5</sup> possim inu. edd.

<sup>6</sup> sancto, cum Spiritum Sanctum nominasset, spiritum e c. exh. ult. et sic regna migravit ad caelestia edd.      <sup>7</sup> beati patris obitum edd.

<sup>8</sup> ullum add edd.      <sup>9</sup> in om. edd.      <sup>10</sup> suam om. edd.      <sup>11</sup> eius om. edd.      <sup>12</sup> spiritualia add edd.      <sup>13</sup> ad gl. Dei om. edd.

<sup>14</sup> Deo uiuo et uero edd.      <sup>15</sup> scito autem frater carissime edd.

<sup>16</sup> quod multa narrare possim edd.      <sup>17</sup> nunc om. edd.      <sup>18</sup> attamen . . . audiui om. edd.

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

- P. **xlv** note, col. 1, l. 17, for 'Pecthelm' read 'Pethelm.'
- Ib.* l. 25, after 'uidimus' add 'and v. 14, *ad init.*, "noui autem ipse."'
- P. **li** note, col. 1, l. 15 from bottom, dele the note of interrogation.
- P. **cvi**, l. 6 from bottom, 'Decretum,' add note: 'This is probably the Decree of Gregory I in the Synod of 595; R. P. p. 114.'
- P. **cxi** note, col. 1, l. 1, for 'dont-' read 'dond-.'
- P. **clxi**, ll. 12 ff. Professor York Powell refers me to the following parallel from Salomon and Saturn, ed. Kemble, p. 167:
- Ne mæg mon foryldan ænige hwile  
ðone déoran sið, ac he hine ádréogan sceal.
- No man may put off for any time  
The dear journey, but he must endure it.
- P. **8**, note 2, for 'A' read 'A<sub>1</sub>.'
- P. **9**, l. 7, for 'Oceani' read '*Oceani*.' The first three words of the chapter are probably from Oros. i. 2, 76.
- P. **31**, l. 8 from bottom, for 'Merci' read 'Mercii.'
- P. **39**, l. 6, for '*praedicat*' read '*praedicat*.'
- P. **42**, ll. 18 ff. The passage ought to have been printed thus:  
'*rexit annos XIII, menses VI, et dies X. Qui . . . admonitus . . . Augustinum et alios plures cum eo monachos timentes Dominum praedicare uerbum Dei genti Anglorum.*' The italicised words are from Lib. Pont. ed. Duchesne, i. 312.
- P. **70**, l. 4 from bottom, for 'presbiter' read 'presbyter.'
- P. **73**, l. 6, read '*XIII annos, menses VI, et dies X.*' From the old Life of Gregory, § 32; cf. Lib. Pont. u. s.
- Ib.* ll. 21 ff., read '*Erat . . . natione Romanus a patre Gordiano genus . . . non solum nobile, sed et religiosum ducens. . . Sed . . . nobilitatem religionis,*' &c. From Lib. Pont. u. s.; Old Life, § 1.

- P. 74, last two lines, read '*domum suam monasterium.*' From Lib. Pont. u. s.
- P. 78, ll. 28 ff., read '*Fecit . . . Gregorius ut in ecclesiis sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli super corpora eorum missae celebrarentur.*' From Lib. Pont. u. s.
- P. 79, ll. 4 ff., read '*Sepultus . . . corpore in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli ante secretarium die quarto Iduum Martiarum, quandoque . . . resurrecturus in gloria.*' From Lib. Pont. u. s., and Old Life, § 32. The epitaph which follows is also in Lib. Pont. l. c.
- Ib. l. 25, to end of p. 80. This is all based on the Old Life, §§ 9-11. and should have been printed thus: '*Nec silentio . . . admonitus . . . nostrae gentis . . . Dicunt . . . aduenientibus . . . uidisse . . . pueros . . . candidi corporis, . . . forma . . . quod tam . . . gentis illius. Responsum est . . . Angli . . . At ille . . . angelicam . . . nomen . . . de qua . . . Deiri . . . At ille . . . de ira . . . et ad . . . Rex . . . illius quomodo . . . Aelli . . . At ille . . . ait: Alleluia laudem Dei . . . illis . . . ad pontificem . . . pontifex . . . Romani . . . pontificatus,*' &c.
- P. 86, l. 19, for '*Aedilberteum*' read '*Aedilberetum.*'
- P. 88, ll. 26 ff., read '*Hic est Bonifatius . . . a Focate principe . . . templum Romae quod Pantheon . . . in quo . . . fecit ecclesiam . . . omnium martyrum Christi.*' From Lib. Pont. i. 317.
- P. 95, left margin, for '*xxviii. 26*' read '*xxviii. 20.*'
- P. 107, ll. 1, 2. This chapter is based to some extent on the Old Life, § 16. Read '*illi . . . exulanti apud Redualdum regem Anglorum.*'
- Ib. ll. 17 ff., read '*Cum persequente . . . Aedilfrido qui ante eum regnavit, . . . pecuniam,*' &c.
- P. 109, ll. 6 ff., read '*te futurum . . . promittat . . . in gente Anglorum . . . promittere, . . . responderet . . . num ei . . . Cum hoc . . . signum,*' &c.
- P. 111, left margin, read '*cf. Act. xvii. 18-20.*'
- P. 123, note 1, before '*W*' insert '*C.*'
- P. 145, bottom line, for '*stramime*' read '*stramine.*'
- P. 163, l. 4 from bottom, for '*Anglorum*' read '*Anglorum<sup>9</sup>.*'
- P. 184, l. 20, for '*Pasca*' read '*Pascha.*'
- P. 200, l. 2, add in margin the reference '*2 Pet. ii. 21.*'
- P. 243, l. 6, for '*sepius*' read '*saepius.*'
- P. 273, l. 6 from bottom, left margin, for '*xix. 19*' read '*xix. 18.*'

- P. 301, l. 18, for 'Britaniis' read 'Brittaniis.'
- P. 336, l. 18, right margin, for 'i. 20' read 'i. 29.'
- P. 351, bottom line, left margin, for 'xxix. 4' read 'xxix. 5.'
- P. 371, l. 9, left margin, add 'Dial. ii. 3 *ad fin.*'
- P. 411, left margin, for 'Ps. xeviii. 7, 8' read 'Ps. xeviii. 6, 7.'
- P. 412, l. 4 from bottom, add on right margin the reference 'H. E.  
i. 29.'
- P. 424, l. 8, after 'O<sub>7</sub>' add 'O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar.'
- P. 428, l. 23, for 'Bu<sup>2</sup>' read 'Bu<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>.'
- P. 429, bottom line, add 'Wendover has also this reading, i. 158.'

For the references to the Old Life and to Lib. Pont. I am mainly indebted to Mr. Wilbur C. Abbott, of Cornell University, U.S.A.





BAEDAE.  
HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA  
GENTIS ANGLORUM  
ETC.



# HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE

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<sup>1</sup> In nomine Sanctae Trinitatis, Patris scilicet et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Incipit Praefatio N. At the end of preface: explicit praefatio incipiunt capitula, M. N. C.; after which C. adds: haec continentia (*sic*) in libro primo ecclesiasticae historiae gentis anglorum.

<sup>2</sup> For the various readings of the capitula, see the headings of the chapters as given in the text.

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<sup>1</sup> After the capitula of Book I: expliciuunt capitula, incipit ipse liber, M. N. Incipit liber primus ecclesiasticae historiae gentis anglorum, C.



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XVIII. Ut Honorius, qui Iusto in episcopatum Dorouernensis ecclesiae successit, ab eodem papa Honorio pallium et litteras acceperit . . . . .	120
XIX. Ut primo idem Honorius et post Iohannes litteras genti Scottorum pro pascha simul et pro Pelagiana heresi miserit . . . . .	122
XX. Ut occiso Aeduine Paulinus Cantiam rediens Hrofensis ecclesiae praesulatum suscepit <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	124

<sup>1</sup> After the text of Book I: explicit liber primus incipit secundus. Haec continentur in libro secundo historiae ecclesiasticae gentis anglorum, M. So, inserting liber before secundus, B. Finit. incipiunt capitula libri secundi. Haec continentur in l. s. eccl. hist. g. a. C. Explicit liber primus incipit II historiae. Capitula secundi libri historiae gentis angl. N.

<sup>2</sup> After the capitula of Book II: expliciunt capitula libri secundi. incipit liber secundus historiae ecclesiasticae gentis anglorum, lege feliciter, M. So, inserting ipse before liber, B. Expl. cap. incipit lib. sec. eccl. hist. g. a. C. So, omitting eccl. N.

CAPITULA LIBRI III<sup>1</sup>.

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I. Ut primi successores Æduini regis et fidem suae gentis prodiderint, et regnum porro Osuald christianissimus rex utrumque restaurauerit . . . . .	127
II. Ut de ligno crucis, quod idem rex contra barbaros pugnaturus erexerat, inter innumera sanitatum miracula, quidam a dolentis brachii sit langore curatus . . . . .	128
III. Ut idem rex postulans de gente Scottorum antistitem acceperit Aidanum, eidemque in insula Lindisfarnensi sedem episcopatus donauerit . . . . .	131
IV. Quando gens Pictorum fidem Christi perceperit . . . . .	133
V. De uita Aidani episcopi . . . . .	135
VI. De religione ac pietate miranda Osualdi regis . . . . .	137
VII. Ut provincia Occidentalium Saxonum uerbum Dei, praedicante Birino, susceperit; et de successoribus eius Agilbercto et Leutherio . . . . .	139
VIII. Ut rex Cantuariorum Earconberct idola destrui praeceperit; et de filia eius Ercongota et propinqua Aedilbergae, sacratis Deo uirginibus . . . . .	142
IX. Ut in loco, in quo occisus est rex Osuald, crebra sanitatum miracula facta; utque ibi primo iumentum cuiusdam uiantis ac deinde puella sit paralitica curata . . . . .	144
X. Ut pulvis loci illius contra ignem ualuerit . . . . .	146
XI. Ut super reliquias eius lux caelestis tota nocte steterit; et ut per eas sint daemoniaci curati . . . . .	147
XII. Ut ad tumbam eius sit puerulus a febre curatus . . . . .	150
XIII. Ut in Hibernia sit quidam per reliquias eius a mortis articulo reuocatus . . . . .	152
XIV. Ut, defuncto Paulino, Ithamar pro eo Hrofensis ecclesiae prae-sulatum susceperit; et de humilitate mirabili regis Osuini, qui ab Osuiu crudeli caede peremptus est . . . . .	154
XV. Ut episcopus Aidan nautis et tempestatem futuram praedixerit, et oleum sanctum, quo hanc sedarent, dederit . . . . .	157
XVI. Ut idem admotum ab hostibus urbi regiae ignem orando amouerit . . . . .	158
XVII. Ut apposta ecclesiae, cui idem adcumbens obierat, ardente cetera domu, flammis absumi nequiuert; et de interna uita eius . . . . .	159
XVIII. De uita uel morte religiosi regis Sigbercti . . . . .	162
XIX. Ut Furseus apud Orientales Anglos monasterium fecerit; et de uisionibus uel sanctitate eius, cui etiam caro post mortem incorrupta testimonium perhibuerit . . . . .	163
XX. Ut, defuncto Honorio, pontificatu sit functus Deusdedit; et qui tempore illo Orientalium Anglorum, qui Hrofensis ecclesiae fuerint antistites . . . . .	169
XXI. Ut provincia Mediterraneorum Anglorum sub rege Peada christiana sit facta . . . . .	ib.
XXII. Ut Orientales Saxones fidem, quam dudum abiecerant, sub rege Sigbercto, praedicante Ceddo receperint . . . . .	171

<sup>1</sup> After the text of Book II: explicit liber secundus. incipit liber tertius, haec continentur in libro tertio historiae ecclesiasticae gentis anglorum capitula, M. B. So, omitting capitula, N. Finit. incipiunt capitula libri (i.e. libelli) tertii, C.

CAP.	PAG.
XXIII. Ut idem episcopus Cedd locum monasterii construendi ab Oidilualdo rege accipiens orationibus et ieiuniis Domino consecrauerit; et de obitu ipsius . . . . .	174
XXIV. Ut prouincia Merciorum, occiso rege Penda, fidem Christi susceperit; et Osuiu, pro adepta uictoria, possessiones et territoria Deo ad construenda monasteria dederit . . . . .	177
XXV. Ut quaestio sit mota de tempore paschae aduersus eos, qui de Scottia uenerant . . . . .	181
XXVI. Ut Colman nictus domum redierit; et Tuda pro illo episcopatu sit functus; qualisque illis doctoribus fuerit habitus ecclesiae . . . . .	189
XXVII. Ut Egberet, uir sanctus de natione Anglorum, monachicam in Hibernia uitam duxerit . . . . .	191
XXVIII. Ut defuncto Tuda, Uilfrid in Gallia, Ceadda apud Occidentales Saxones, in prouinciam Nordanhymbrorum sint ordinati episcopi . . . . .	194
XXIX. Ut Uighard presbyter ordinandus in archiepiscopum Romam de Brittania sit missus; quem remissa mox scripta papae apostolici ibidem obisse narrauerint . . . . .	196
XXX. Ut Orientales Saxones tempore mortalitatis ad idolatriam reuersi, sed per instantiam Iarumanni episcopi mox sint ab errore correcti <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	199

CAPITULA LIBRI IV<sup>2</sup>.

I. Ut defuncto Deusdedit, Uighard ad suscipiendum episcopatum Romam sit missus; sed illo ibidem defuncto, Theodorus archiepiscopus ordinatus, et cum Hadriano abbate sit Britanniam missus . . . . .	201
II. Ut Theodoro cuncta peragante, Anglorum ecclesiae cum catholica ueritate, litterarum quoque sanctarum coeperint studiis inui; et ut Putta pro Damiano Hrofensis ecclesiae sit factus antistes . . . . .	204
III. Ut Ceadda, de quo supra dictum est, prouinciae Merciorum sit episcopus datus, et de uita et obitu et sepultura eius . . . . .	206
IV. Ut Colman episcopus, relicta Brittania, duo monasteria in Scottia, unum Scottis, alterum Anglis, quos secum adduxerat, fecerit . . . . .	213
V. De morte Osuiu et Egbereti regum, et de synodo facta ad locum Herutforda, cui praesidebat archiepiscopus Theodorus . . . . .	214
VI. Ut deposito Uynfrido, Sæxuulf episcopatum eius acceperit, et Earconuald Orientalibus Saxonibus sit episcopus datus . . . . .	218
VII. Ut in monasterio Bericinensi, ubi corpora sanctimonialium feminarum poni deberent, caelesti sit luce monstratum . . . . .	219
VIII. Ut in eodem monasterio puerulus moriens uirginem, quae se erat secutura, clamauerit; utque alia de corpore egressura, iam particulam futurae lucis aspexerit . . . . .	220

<sup>1</sup> After the capitula of Book III: expliciunt capitula, incipit ipse liber, M. and probably B., but the first two words are lost. So, omitting ipse, N. Incipit liber tertius eccl. hist. gentis anglorum, C.

<sup>2</sup> At the end of the text of Book III: liber tertius historiae ecclesiasticae gentis anglorum explicat. incipit liber quartus. haec continentur in libro quarto historiae ecclesiasticae gentis anglorum capitula, M. So, reading incip. kap. lib. IIII, B. N as M as far as continentur; then: in illo de historia Anglorum. The end of Book III is lost in C, which reads: incipiunt capila (*sic*) libri quarti.

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IX. Quae sint ostensa caelitus signa, cum et ipsa mater congregationis illius e mundo transiret . . . . .	221
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XI. Ut rex eiusdem prouinciae Sebba in monachica uitam conuersione finierit . . . . .	225
XII. Ut episcopatum Occidentalium Saxonum pro Leutherio Haeddi, episcopatum Hrofensis ecclesiae pro Putta Cuichelm, et pro ipso Gefmund acceperit; et qui tunc Nordanhymbrorum fuerint episcopi . . . . .	227
XIII. Ut Uilfrid episcopus prouinciam Australium Saxonum ad Christum conuerterit <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	230
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XV [XVII]. De synodo facta in campo Hæthfelda, praesidente archiepiscopo Theodoro . . . . .	238
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XX [XXII]. Ut uincula cuiusdam captiui, cum pro eo missae cantarentur, soluta sint . . . . .	ib.
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XXVII [XXIX]. Ut idem iam episcopus obitum suum proxime futurum Heribercto anchoritae praedixerit . . . . .	274
XXVIII [XXX]. Ut corpus illius post XI annos sepulturae sit corruptionis immune repperit; nec multo post successor episcopatus eius de mundo transierit . . . . .	276
XXIX [XXXI]. Ut quidam ad tumbam eius sit a paralysi sanatus . . . . .	278
XXX [XXXII]. Ut alter ad reliquias eius nuper fuerit ab oculi langore curatus <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	279

<sup>1</sup> v. note 1, p. 230; note 10, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> After the capitula of Book IV: incipit ipse liber, M. Incipit ipse lib. IIII, B. Expliciunt capitula, incipit liber, N. Incipit liber quartus eccl. hist. C.

CAPITULA LIBRI V<sup>1</sup>.

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V. Ut item puerum comitis orando a morte reuocauerit . . .	288
VI. Ut clericum suum cadendo contritum, aequè orando ac benedicendo a morte reuocauerit . . .	289
VII. Ut Caedualia rex Occidentalium Saxonum baptizandus Romam uenerit; sed et successor eius Ini eadem beatorum apostolorum limina deuotus adierit . . .	292
VIII. Ut Theodoro defuncto archiepiscopatus gradum Berctuald suscepit; et inter plurimos, quos ordinauit, etiam Tobiam uirum doctissimum Hrofensi ecclesiae fecerit antistitem . . .	294
IX. Ut Ecgberet uir sanctus ad praedicandum in Germaniam uenire noluerit, nec ualuerit; porro Uictberet aduenerit quidem, sed quia nec ipse aliquid profecisset, rursum in Hiberniam, unde uenerat, redierit . . .	296
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XI. Ut uiri uenerabiles Suidberet in Britanniis, Uilbrord Romae sint in Fresiam ordinati episcopi . . .	301
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XVI. Quae in eodem libro de loco dominicae natiuitatis, passionis, et resurrectionis commemorauerit . . .	317
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XIX. Ut Coinred Merciorum et Offa Orientalium Saxonum rex in monachico habitu Romae uitam finierint; et de uita uel obitu Uilfridi episcopi . . .	321
XX. Ut religioso abbati Hadriano Albinus, Uilfrido in episcopatum Acca successerit . . .	330
XXI. Ut Ceolfriid abbas regi Pictorum architectos ecclesiae, simul et epistolam de catholico pascha uel de tonsura miserit . . .	332

<sup>1</sup> At the end of the text of Book IV: Liber quartus explicit. incipit liber quintus, M. So, adding kapitula, B. Expl. lib. IIII. haec continentur in libro quinto hist. eccl. gentis anglorum, N. Incipiunt capitula libri quinti, C.



# clxxviii *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Capitula.*

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<sup>1</sup> At the end of the capitula of Book V; incipit ipse liber. lege felix, M. Incipit liber quintus, lege felix, N. Expl. kapitula. incip. lib. V. B. Incipit liber quintus eccl. hist. gentis anglorum, C.

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DESIDERANTISSIMO ET REUERENTISSIMO PATRI  
ALBINO, BAEDA CHRISTI FAMULUS SALUTEM

GRATANTISSIME suscepi munuscula tuae dilectionis, quae per uenerabilem fratrem nostrum Nothelmu[m] presbyterum mittere dignatus es, et maxime litteras. quibus me iam secunda uice in ecclesiastica gentis nostrae historia, ad quam me scribendam iamdudum instigaueras, creber adiuuare atque instituere curasti. Propter quod et ipse tibi rectissime eandem historiam, mox ut consummare potui, ad transcribendum remisi. Sed et aliud, quod te partim desiderare comperi, uolumen tibi uice remunerationis aequae ad transcribendum destinaui, uidelicet illud, quod de structura templi Salomonis atque allegorica eius interpretatione nuper edidi. Teque, amantissime pater, supplex obsecro, ut pro mea fragilitate cum his, qui tecum sunt, famulis Christi apud pium Iudicem sedulus intercedere memineris; sed et eos, ad quos eadem nostra opuscula peruenire feceris, hoc idem facere monueris. Bene uale, semper amantissime in Christo pater optime.



GLORIOSISSIMO<sup>1</sup> REGI CEOLUULFO

BAEDA FAMULUS CHRISTI ET PRESBYTER



HISTORIAM gentis Anglorum ecclesiasticam, quam nuper edideram, libentissime tibi desideranti, rex, et prius ad legendum ac probandum transmisi, et nunc ad transscribendum ac plenius ex tempore meditandum<sup>2</sup> retransmitto; satisque studium tuæ sinceritatis amplector, quo non solum audiendis scripturae sanctae uerbis aurem sedulus accommodas, uerum etiam noscendis priorum gestis siue dictis, et maxime nostrae gentis uirorum inlustrium, curam uigilanter impendis. Siue enim historia de bonis bona referat, ad imitandum bonum auditor sollicitus instigatur<sup>3</sup>; seu mala commemoret de prauis, nihilominus religiosus ac pius auditor siue lector deuotando quod noxium est ac peruersum, ipse sollertius ad exsequenda ea, quae bona ac Deo digna esse cognouerit, accenditur. Quod ipsum tu quoque uigilantissime deprehendens, historiam memoratam in notitiam tibi simul et eis, quibus te regendis diuina praecepit<sup>4</sup> auctoritas, ob generalis curam salutis latius propalari desideras.

Dedication  
to Ceolwulf,  
King of the  
Northum-  
brians.

Bede's  
motive in  
writing.

<sup>1</sup> In nomine Sanctae Trinitatis, Patris scilicet et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Incipit Praefatio N. *The Preface and the Capitula of Book I have been lost in B. The first page of M has been much rubbed and is in some places illegible.*

<sup>2</sup> meditaturum C, and this is also the reading of Sim. Dun. ii. 42; meditandum uel meditaturum O.

<sup>3</sup> -tor, altered to -tur C. N.

<sup>4</sup> concessit C.

His  
authorities.

Ut autem in his, quae scripsi, uel tibi, uel ceteris auditoribus siue lectoribus huius historiae occasionem dubitandi subtraham, quibus haec maxime auctoribus didicerim, breuiter intimare curabo.

Albinus.

Auctor ante omnes atque adiutor opusculi huius Albinus abba reuerentissimus, uir per omnia doctissimus, extitit; qui in ecclesia Cantuariorum a beatae memoriae Theodoro archiepiscopo et Hadriano abbate, uiris uenerabilibus atque eruditissimis, institutus, diligenter omnia, quae in ipsa Cantuariorum prouincia, uel etiam in contiguis eidem regionibus a discipulis beati papae Gregorii gesta fuere, uel monumentis litterarum, uel seniorum traditione cognouerat; et ea mihi de his, quae memoria digna uidebantur, per religiosum

Nothelm.

Lundoniensis ecclesiae presbyterum Nothelmum, siue litteris mandata, siue ipsius Nothelmi<sup>1</sup> uiua uoce referenda, transmisit. Qui uidelicet Nothelmus postea<sup>2</sup> Romam ueniens, nonnullas ibi beati Gregorii papae simul et aliorum pontificum epistulas, | perscrutato

f. i. b.

Documents  
from the  
Roman  
archives.

eiusdem sanctae ecclesiae Romanae scrinio, permissu eius, qui nunc ipsi ecclesiae praeest Gregorii pontificis, inuenit, reuersusque nobis nostrae historiae inserendas cum consilio praefati Albini reuerentissimi patris adtulit. A principio itaque uoluminis huius usque ad tempus, quo gens Anglorum fidem Christi percepit, ex priorum maxime scriptis hinc inde collectis ea, quae promeremus, didicimus. Exinde autem usque ad tempora praesentia, quae in ecclesia Cantuariorum per discipulos beati papae Gregorii, siue successores eorum, uel sub quibus regibus gesta sint, memorati abbatibus Albini industria, Nothelmo, ut diximus, perferente, cognouimus. Qui etiam prouinciae Orientalium simul et Occidentalium Saxonum, nec non et Orientalium Anglorum atque Nordanhymbrorum, a quibus praesulibus, uel quorum tempore regum gratiam euangelii

Earlier  
writers.

<sup>1</sup> nothelmum C.

<sup>2</sup> postquam C.



perceperint, nonnulla mihi ex parte prodiderunt. Denique hortatu praecipue ipsius Albini, ut hoc opus adgredi auderem, prouocatus sum. Sed et Danihel reuerentissimus Occidentalium Saxonum episcopus, qui nunc usque superest, nonnulla mihi de<sup>1</sup> historia ecclesiastica prouinciae ipsius, simul et proxima illi Austrarium Saxonum, nec non et Uectae insulae litteris mandata declarauit. Qualiter uero per ministerium Ceddi et Ceadda religiosorum Christi sacerdotum, uel prouincia Merciorum ad fidem Christi, quam non nouerat, peruenerit, uel prouincia Orientalium Saxonum fidem, quam olim exsufflauerat, recuperauerit, qualis etiam ipsorum patrum uita uel obitus extiterit, diligenter a fratribus monasterii, quod ab ipsis conditum Læstingaeu<sup>2</sup> cognominatur, agnouimus. Porro in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum, quae fuerint gesta ecclesiastica, partim ex scriptis uel traditione priorum, partim reuerentissimi abbatis Esi relatione conperimus. At uero in prouincia Lindissi<sup>3</sup>, quae sint gesta erga fidem Christi, quaeue successio sacerdotalis extiterit, uel litteris reuerentissimi antistitis Cynibereti<sup>4</sup> uel aliorum fidelium uirorum uiua uoce didicimus. Quae autem in Nordanhymbrorum prouincia, ex quo tempore fidem Christi perceperunt, usque ad praesens per diuersas regiones in ecclesia sint acta, non uno quolibet auctore, |

Daniel,  
Bishop of  
the West  
Saxons.

The monks  
of Lasting-  
ham.

Abbot Esi.

Bishop  
Cynibert.

f. 2 a. sed fidei innumerorum testium, qui haec scire uel meminisse poterant, adsertione cognoui, exceptis his, quae per me ipsum nosse poteram. Inter quae notandum, quod ea, quae de sanctissimo patre et antistite Cudbercto<sup>5</sup>, uel in hoc uolumine, uel in libello gestorum ipsius conscripsi, partim ex eis, quae de illo prius a fratribus ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis scripta repperi, adsumsi, simpliciter fidem historiae, quam legebam,

Personal  
knowledge.

An earlier  
life of  
Cuthbert.

<sup>1</sup> de om. M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> luest. N.

<sup>3</sup> -disi N.

<sup>4</sup> -berhti C

cyniberieti N<sup>1</sup>; cunibereti N<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> -bercto C; -bericto N<sup>1</sup>

-berto N<sup>2</sup>.

accommodans, partim uero ea, quae certissima fidelium uirorum adtestatione per me ipse cognoscere potui, sollerter adicere curauī. Lectoremque suppliciter obsecro, ut, siqua in his, quae scripsimus, aliter quam se ueritas habet, posita reppererit<sup>1</sup>, non hoc nobis imputet, qui, quod uera lex historiae est, simpliciter ea, quae fama uulgante collegimus, ad instructionem posteritatis litteris mandare studuimus<sup>2</sup>.

Bede asks  
for the  
prayers of  
his readers.

Praeterea omnes, ad quos haec eadem historia peruenire potuerit nostrae nationis, legentes siue audientes, suppliciter precor, ut pro meis infirmitatibus et mentis et corporis apud supernam clementiam saepius interuenire meminerint; et in suis quique prouinciis hanc mihi suae remunerationis uicem rependant, ut, qui de singulis prouinciis siue locis sublimioribus, quae memoratu digna atque incolis grata credideram, diligenter adnotare curauī, apud omnes fructum piaē intercessionis inueniam.

<sup>1</sup> -rīret C.

<sup>2</sup> *The preface ends here in the following MSS., which (unless mutilated at the end, as is the case with C. O<sub>5</sub>. R<sub>1</sub>.) have the following paragraph: 'praeterea . . . inueniam' at the end of the work: C. W. D. O<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>4</sub>. O<sub>6</sub>. O<sub>8-12</sub>. O<sub>11</sub>. H<sub>2</sub>. R<sub>1</sub>. [A<sub>2</sub>. Bu<sub>1</sub>.] Bu<sub>2</sub>. P. [Ca<sub>2-4</sub>. Ca<sub>6-7</sub>.] The paragraph occurs here in the following MSS.: M. N. H<sub>1</sub>. [H<sub>3</sub>.] A. A<sub>3</sub>. R<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>7</sub>. [Ca<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>. The following MSS. are mutilated both at the beginning and end: B. O<sub>2</sub>.*

# BAEDAE

## HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA

### GENTIS ANGLORUM

#### LIBER PRIMUS.

#### CAP. I.

*De situ Britanniae uel Hiberniae, et priscis earum incolis.*

f. 3 a.  
 lin.  
 list. Nat.  
 c. 30.  
 ildas,  
 2.  
 olinus.  
 xxii.  
 rosius.  
 2.  
 lin. u. s.  
 ros. u. s.
 

*Brittania Oceani insula, cui quondam Albion nomen fuit, inter septentrionem et occidentem locata est, Germaniae, Galliae, Hispaniae, maximis Europae partibus, multo interuallo aduersa. Quae per milia passuum DCCC in Boream longa, latitudinis habet milia CC, exceptis dumtaxat prolixioribus diuersorum promonteriorum tractibus, quibus efficitur, ut circuitus eius quadragies octies LXXV milia compleat. Habet a meridie Galliam Belgicam, cuius proximum litus transmeantibus aperit ciuitas, quae dicitur Rutubi portus, a gente Anglorum nunc corrupte Reptae. <sup>1</sup>estir uocata, interposito mari a Gessoriaco Morynorum gentis litore proximo, traiectum milium L, siue, ut quidam scripsere, stadiorum CCCCL <sup>2</sup>. A tergo autem, unde Oceano infinito patet, Orcadas insulas habet.*

 Descrip-  
 tion of  
 Britain.

Opima frugibus atque arboribus insula, et alendis

<sup>1</sup> -ter N.

<sup>2</sup> So C. H<sub>1</sub> ; cccl M. B. N.

Its  
products,

apta pecoribus ac iumentis ; uineas etiam quibusdam in locis germinans ; sed et auium ferax terra marique generis diuersi ; fluuiis quoque multum piscosis ac fontibus praeclara copiosis, et quidem praecipue issicio<sup>1</sup> | abundat, et anguilla. Capiuntur autem saepe<sup>2</sup> f. 3 b. et uituli marini, et delphines, nec non et balenae ; exceptis uariorum generibus concyliorum ; in quibus sunt et musculae, quibus inclusam saepe margaritam<sup>3</sup> omnis quidem coloris<sup>4</sup> optimam inueniunt, id est et rubicundi, et purpurei, et iacintini, et prasini, sed maxime candidi. Sunt et cocleae satis superque abundantes, quibus tinctura coccinei coloris conficitur, cuius rubor pulcherrimus nullo umquam solis ardore, nulla ualet pluuiarum iniuria pallescere ; sed quo uetustior, eo solet esse uenustior. Habet fontes salinarum, habet et fontes calidos, et ex eis fluuios balnearum calidarum omni aetati et sexui per distincta loca iuxta suum cuique modum accommodos. *Aqua* Hexaeme-  
enim, ut sanctus Basilius dicit, *feruidam qualitatem* ron, Hom.  
*recipit, cum per certa quaedam metalla transcurrit, et* iv. 6.  
*fit non solum calida, sed et ardens.* Quae etiam  
*uenis metallorum, aeris, ferri, et plumbi, et argenti,*  
*fecunda, gignit et lapidem gagatem plurimum optimum-* Solinus.  
*que ; est autem nigrogemmeus<sup>5</sup>, et ardens igni admotus,* c. xxii.  
*incensus serpentes fugat, adtritu calefactus adplicita*  
*detinet, aequae ut succinum.* Erat et ciuitatibus quondam Gildas.  
XX et VIII<sup>6</sup> nobilissimis insignita, praeter castella § 3.  
innumera, quae et ipsa muris turribus, portis, ac seris<sup>7</sup>  
erant instructa firmissimis.

Et quia prope sub ipso septentrionali<sup>8</sup> uertice mundi iacet, lucidas aestate noctes habet ; ita ut medio saepe tempore noctis in quaestionem ueniat intuentibus, utrum crepusculum adhuc permaneat uespertinum, an iam

Plin.  
Hist. Nat.  
ii. 77.

<sup>1</sup> esoece, written over issicio N.    <sup>2</sup> saepe M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> margaretam M<sup>1</sup>.  
<sup>4</sup> coloris om. M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>5</sup> niger B.    <sup>6</sup> anes wana prittigum,  
i. e. xxix AS.    <sup>7</sup> saeris M ; serris C.    <sup>8</sup> -le M<sup>1</sup>.

aduenerit matutinum, utpote nocturno sole non longe Its climate.  
 sub terris ad orientem boreales per plagas redeunte;  
 unde etiam plurimae longitudinis habet dies aestate,  
 sicut et noctes contra in bruma, sole nimirum tunc  
 Lybicas in partes secedente, id est horarum X et VIII;  
 plurimae item breuitatis noctes aestate, et dies habet  
 in bruma, hoc est sex solummodo aequinoctialium ho-  
 rarum; cum in Armenia, Macedonia, Italia, ceterisque  
 eiusdem lineae regionibus longissima dies<sup>1</sup> siue nox XV,  
 breuissima VIII conpleat horas.

f. 4 a. Haec in praesenti, iuxta numerum librorum, quibus Five languages in use in Britain.  
 lex diuina scripta est, | quinque gentium linguis, unam  
 eandemque summae ueritatis et uerae sublimitatis  
 scientiam scrutatur<sup>2</sup>, et confitetur, Anglorum uidelicet.  
 Bretonum<sup>3</sup>, Scottorum, Pictorum et Latinorum, quae  
 meditatione scripturarum ceteris omnibus est facta  
 communis.

In primis autem haec insula Brettones solum, a The Britons.  
 quibus nomen<sup>4</sup> accepit, incolas habuit; qui de tractu  
 Armoricano<sup>5</sup>, ut fertur, Britanniam aduecti, australes  
 sibi partes illius uindicarunt.

Et cum plurimam insulae partem, incipientes ab The Picts.  
 Austro, possedissent, contigit gentem Pictorum de  
 Scythia, ut perhibent, longis nauibus non multis  
 Oceanum ingressam, circumagente flatu uentorum,  
 extra fines omnes Britanniae Hiberniam peruenisse,  
 eiusque septentrionales oras intrasse, atque inuenta ibi  
 gente Scottorum, sibi quoque in partibus illius sedes  
 petisse, nec inpetrare potuisse. Est autem Hibernia  
 insula omnium post Britanniam maxima, ad occidentem  
 quidem Britanniae sita; sed sicut contra Aquilonem ea  
 breuior, ita in meridiem se trans illius fines plurimum  
 protendens, usque contra Hispaniae septentrionalia,  
 quamuis magno aequore interiacente peruenit. Ad

<sup>1</sup> dies om M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> scrutetur M.<sup>3</sup> brit- N; and so usually.<sup>4</sup> et nomen N.<sup>5</sup> armonicano M. H<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>7</sub>.



hanc ergo<sup>1</sup> usque peruenientes nauigio Picti, ut diximus, petierunt in ea sibi quoque sedes et habitationem donari. Respondebant Scotti, quia non ambos eos caperet insula, ‘sed possumus,’ inquiunt, ‘salubre uobis dare consilium, quid agere ualeatis. Nouimus insulam aliam esse non procul a nostra contra ortum solis, quam saepe lucidioribus diebus de longe aspicere solemus. Hanc adire si uultis, habitabilem uobis facere ualetis; uel, siqui<sup>2</sup> restiterit, nobis auxiliariis utimini.’ Itaque petentes Britanniam Picti, habitare per septentrionales insulae partes coeperunt, nam austrina Brettones occupauerant<sup>3</sup>. Cumque uxores Picti non habentes peterent a Scottis, ea solum conditione dare consenserunt, ut ubi res ueniret<sup>4</sup> in dubium, magis de feminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent; quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse seruatum.

The Scots.

Procedente autem tempore, Britannia post Brettones et Pictos tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit; qui duce Reuda de Hibernia progressi, uel amicitia uel ferro sibimet inter eos sedes, quas hactenus habent, uindicarunt; a quo uidelicet duce usque hodie Dalreudini<sup>5</sup> uocantur, nam lingua eorum daal<sup>6</sup> partem significat.

Descrip-  
tion of  
Ireland.

Hibernia autem et latitudine sui status, et salubritate | ac serenitate aerum multum Britanniae praestat, f. 4 b. ita ut raro ibi nix plus quam triduana remaneat; nemo propter hiemem aut faena secet aestate, aut stabula fabricet iumentis; nullum ibi reptile uideri soleat, nullus uiuere serpens ualeat; nam saepe<sup>7</sup> illo de Britannia adlati serpentes, mox ut, proximante terris nauigio, odore aeris illius adtacti fuerint, intereunt; quin potius omnia pene, quae de eadem insula

<sup>1</sup> ergo om. M<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>2</sup> For siqui M has *ſ*, i. e. quae.    <sup>3</sup> -runt M<sup>1</sup>.

C<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> perueniret M.    <sup>5</sup> daalreutbini N<sup>1</sup>; -reutdini N<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> dal C.    <sup>7</sup> saepe om. M<sup>1</sup>.

sunt, contra uenenum ualent. Denique uidimus, quibusdam a serpente percussis, rasa folia codicum, qui de Hibernia fuerant<sup>1</sup>, et ipsam rasuram aquae inmissam ac potui datam, talibus protinus totam uim ueneni grassantis, totum inflati corporis absumsisse ac sedasse tumorem. Diues lactis ac mellis insula, nec Its products. uinearum expers, piscium uolucrumque, sed et ceruorum caprearumque uenatu insignis. Haec autem proprie patria Scottorum est; ab<sup>2</sup> hac egressi, ut diximus, tertiam in Britannia<sup>3</sup> Brettonibus et Pictis gentem addiderunt.

Est autem sinus maris permaximus, qui antiquitus The Firth of Clyde. gentem Brettonum a Pictis<sup>4</sup> secernebat, qui ab occidente in terras longo spatio erumpit, ubi est ciuitas Brettonum munitissima usque hodie, quae uocatur Alcluith<sup>5</sup>; ad cuius uidelicet sinus partem septentrionalem Scotti, quos diximus, aduenientes sibi locum patriae fecerunt.

## CAP. II.

*Ut Britanniam primus Romanorum Gaius Iulius adierit.*

Fertull.  
idu. Iud.  
iii.  
  
Prosus,  
i. 7.  
  
b. vi. q. Uerum eadem *Brittania Romanis* usque ad Gaium Invasions of Julius Caesar. Iulium Caesarem *inaccessa* atque incognita fuit; qui *anno ab Urbe condita DCXCIII*, ante uero incarnationis dominicae tempus anno LX<sup>mo</sup>, functus gradu consulatus cum *Lucio Bibulo*, dum contra *Germanorum Gallorumque gentes*, qui *Hreno tantum flumine dirimebantur*, bellum gereret, *uenit ad Morianos*<sup>6</sup>, unde in *Brittanium* proximus et breuissimus transitus est; et nauibus *honerariis atque actuariis circiter*<sup>7</sup> octoginta praeparatis, in *Brittanium* transuchitur, ubi acerba<sup>8</sup> primum pugna *fatigatus*, deinde aduersa tempestate correptus, plurimam

<sup>1</sup> fuerunt C. B<sup>2</sup>; om. N<sup>1</sup>; uenerant N<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> ut ab M.

<sup>3</sup> -niam M<sup>1</sup> (?).

<sup>4</sup> fictis C.

<sup>5</sup> alcluth B<sup>1</sup>; altelut N.

<sup>6</sup> i. ponticos, i. bononienses, gloss in D.

<sup>7</sup> circiter before

honerariis M. N. B. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>8</sup> acerua M. C<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>2</sup>.

classis partem, et non paruum numerum militum, equitum uero pene omnem disperdidit. Regressus in Galliam, legiones in hiberna<sup>1</sup> dimisit, ac DC<sup>uas</sup> naues utriusque commodi fieri imperauit; quibus iterum in Britanniam primo uere transuectus, dum ipse in hostem cum exercitu pergit, naues in anchoris stantes tempestate correptae uel conlissae inter se, uel arenis inlissae ac dissolutae sunt; ex quibus XL perierunt, ceterae cum magna difficultate reparatae<sup>2</sup> sunt. | Caesaris equitatus<sup>3</sup> primo congressu a f. 5 a. Brittanis uictus, ibique Labienus<sup>4</sup> tribunus occisus est. Secundo proelio cum magno suorum discrimine uictos Brittanos in fugam uertit. Inde ad flumen Tamensim profectus. In huius ulteriore ripa Cassobellauno duce immensa hostium multitudo consederat, ripamque fluminis ac pene totum sub aqua uadum acutissimis sudibus praestruxerat; quarum uestigia sudium ibidem usque hodie uisuntur, et uidetur inspectantibus, quod singulae earum ad modum humani femoris grossae, et circumfusae plumbo immobiliter erant<sup>5</sup> in profundum fluminis infixae. Quod ubi a Romanis deprehensum ac uitatum est, barbari legionum impetum non ferentes, siluis sese abdidere<sup>6</sup>, unde crebris eruptionibus Romanos grauiter ac saepe lacerabant. Interea Trinouantum firmissima ciuitas cum Androgio duce, datis XL<sup>7</sup> obsidibus, Caesari sese dedit. Quod exemplum secutae, urbes aliae complures in foedus Romanorum uenerunt. Hisdem demonstrantibus, Caesar oppidum Cassobellauni<sup>8</sup> inter duas paludes situm, obtentu insuper siluarum munitum, omnibusque rebus confertissimum tandem graui pugna cepit<sup>9</sup>. Exin Caesar a Brittanis reuersus in Galliam; postquam legiones in hiberna<sup>10</sup> misit, repentinis<sup>11</sup> bellorum tumultibus undique circumuentus et conflictatus est.

Orosius  
vi. 10.

<sup>1</sup> hibernia C<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>1</sup>; hibernare C<sup>2</sup>; hybernia H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> -ta M.

<sup>3</sup> aequi- M.

<sup>4</sup> lauienus M.

<sup>5</sup> altered to herent B.

<sup>6</sup> obdidere M. <sup>7</sup> XL om. M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> crasso- C<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> coepit M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> hibernia C. M<sup>2</sup>; hiberniam H<sub>1</sub>. D.

<sup>11</sup> repentinus M.

## CAP. III.

*Ut eandem secundus Romanorum Claudius adiens, Orcadas etiam insulas Romano adiecerit imperio; sed et Uespasianus ab eo missus Uectam quoque insulam Romanis subdiderit.*

- ib. vii. 6. Anno autem ab Urbe condita DCCXCVIII<sup>1</sup> Claudius imperator ab Augusto quartus, cupiens<sup>2</sup> utilem reipublicae ostentare principem, bellum ubique et uictoriam undecumque quaesiuit. Itaque expeditionem in Britanniam mouit, quae excitata in tumultum propter non redhibitos transfugas uidebatur; transuectus in insulam est, quam neque ante Iulium Caesarem, neque post eum quisquam adire ausus fuerat, ibique sine ullo<sup>3</sup> proelio ac sanguine intra paucissimos dies plurimam insulae partem in deditionem recepit. Orcadas etiam insulas ultra Britanniam in oceano positas, Romano adiecit imperio, ac sexto, quam profectus erat, mense Romam rediit, filioque suo Britannici nomen inposuit. Hoc autem<sup>4</sup> bellum quarto imperii sui anno compleuit, qui est annus ab incarnatione Domini XLVI; quo etiam anno fames grauissima per Syriam facta est, quae in Actibus Apostolorum per prophetam Agabum praedicta<sup>5</sup> esse memoratur.
- £ 5 b. | Ab eodem Claudio Uespasianus, qui post Neronem  
 Eutrop. vii. 13. imperauit, in Britanniam missus, etiam Uectam insulam, Invasion of Britain by Claudius.  
 Oros. vii. 6. Britanniae proximam a meridie, Romanorum dicioni subiugauit; quae habet ab oriente in occasum XXX circiter milia passuum, ab austro in boream XII, in orientalibus suis partibus mari sex milium, in occidentalibus trium, a meridiano Britanniae littore<sup>6</sup> distans.
- ib. vii. 14. Succedens autem Claudio in imperium Nero, nihil omnino in re militari<sup>7</sup> ausus est. Unde inter alia Romani regni detrimenta innumera, Britanniam pene amisit; nam duo sub eo<sup>8</sup> nobilissima oppida illic capta atque subuersa sunt.

Vespasian sent to Britain.

<sup>1</sup> vii N.<sup>2</sup> cupiens se Oros.<sup>3</sup> ullo om. M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>4</sup> etiam N.<sup>5</sup> -dicata C.<sup>6</sup> littore om. M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>7</sup> -re M.<sup>8</sup> hoc Eutr.

## CAP. IV.

*Ut Lucius Brittanorum rex, missis ad Eleutherum papam litteris,  
Christianum se fieri petierit.*

Conversion  
of Lucius,  
King of  
Britain.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini C<sup>mo</sup>L<sup>mo</sup>VI<sup>to</sup> Marcus Oros.  
Antoninus Uerus XIII<sup>us</sup> ab Augusto regnum cum Aurelio vii. 15.  
Commodo fratre suscepit; quorum temporibus cum  
Eleuther uir sanctus pontificatui Romanae ecclesiae  
praeesset, misit ad eum Lucius Brittaniarum rex Liber  
epistolam, obsecrans, ut per eius mandatum Christianus Pontif.  
efficeretur; et mox effectum piae postulationis con- i. 136.  
secutus est; susceptamque fidem Brittani usque in  
tempora Diocletiani principis inuiolatam integramque  
quieta<sup>1</sup> in pace seruabant.

## CAP. V.

*Ut Seuerus receptam Britanniae partem uallo a cetera distinxerit.*

Severus in  
Britain.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini CLXXXVIII<sup>us</sup> Seuerus, Oros.  
genere Afer Tripolitanus ab oppido Lepti, XVII<sup>us</sup> ab vii. 17.  
Augusto imperium adeptus X et VII<sup>2</sup> annis tenuit. Hic  
natura saeuus, multis semper bellis lacessitus, fortissime  
quidem rempublicam, sed laboriosissime rexit. Victor  
ergo ciuiliū bellorum, quae ei grauissima occurrerant,  
in Britannias defectu pene omnium sociorum trahitur.  
Ubi magnis grauibusque proeliis saepe gestis receptam  
partem insulae a ceteris indomitis gentibus, non muro,  
ut quidam aestimant, sed uallo distinguendam putauit.  
Murus etenim de lapidibus, uallum uero, quo ad  
repellendam uim hostium castra muniuntur, fit de  
cespitibus, quibus circumcisis, e terra uelut murus  
exstruitur altus supra terram. ita ut in<sup>3</sup> ante sit fossa,  
de qua leuati sunt cespites, supra quam sudes de lignis

His fortifi-  
cation.

<sup>1</sup> quieta om. M. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> XVIII Oros.

<sup>3</sup> in om. M.



fortissimis praefiguntur. Itaque Seuerus magnam fossam firmissimumque uallum, crebris insuper turribus communitum, a mari ad mare duxit. Ibi apud Eboracum oppidum morbo obiit. Reliquit duos filios, Bassianum et Getam; quorum Geta hostis publicus iudicatus interiit, Bassianus, Antonio cognomine adsumpto, regno potitus est.

## CAP. VI.

*De imperio Diocletiani<sup>1</sup>, et ut Christianos persecutus sit.*

Oros.  
vii. 25.  
f. 6 a.

Anno incarnationis dominicae CCLXXXVI Diocletianus | XXXIII ab Augusto imperator ab exercitu electus annis XX fuit, Maximianumque cognomento Herculium socium creauit imperii. Quorum tempore Corausius<sup>2</sup> quidam, genere quidem infimus, sed consilio et manu promptus<sup>3</sup>, cum ad obseruanda Oceani litora, quae tunc Franci et Saxones infestabant, positus, plus in perniciem quam in profectum<sup>4</sup> reipublicae ageret, ereptam praedonibus praedam nulla ex parte restituendo dominis, sed sibi soli uindicando; accendens<sup>5</sup> suspicionem, quia ipsos quoque hostes ad incursandos fines artificii negligentia permetteret; quam ob rem a Maximiano<sup>6</sup> iussus occidi purpuram sumsit, ac Britannias occupauit; quibus sibi per VII annos fortissime uindicatis ac retentis, tandem fraude Allecti socii sui interfectus est. Allectus postea ereptam Carausio insulam per triennium tenuit; quem Asclipiodotus praefectus praetorio obpressit, Britanniamque post X annos recepit.

Carausius  
Emperor in  
Britain.

Allectus.

Interea Diocletianus in oriente, Maximianus<sup>7</sup> Herculius in occidente uastari ecclesias, affligi, interficique Christianos, decimo post Neronem loco praeceperunt; quae persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque in-

Persecution under  
Diocletian.

<sup>1</sup> dioclitiani C, and so always; de impio deocliciano N., cf. A.S. <sup>2</sup> Car- C. N. <sup>3</sup> prumptus M. <sup>4</sup> sic B. N. Oros.; -uectum M. C. <sup>5</sup> sic Oros.; acce'n'dens M. B.; accedens C. N. <sup>6</sup> maxiano M<sup>1</sup>. <sup>7</sup> maXi M.

manior fuit; nam per X annos incendiis ecclesiarum, pro-  
 scriptionibus innocentum, caedibus martyrum incessabiliter cf. Gildas.  
§ 9.  
 acta<sup>1</sup> est. Denique etiam Britanniam tum plurima  
 confessionis Deo deuotae gloria sublimauit.

## CAP. VII.

*Passio sancti Albani<sup>2</sup> et sociorum eius, qui eodem tempore pro  
 Domino sanguinem fuderunt.*

Passion of  
 St. Alban.

Siquidem in ea passus est sanctus Albanus<sup>3</sup>, de  
 quo presbyter Fortunatus<sup>4</sup> in Laude uirginum, cum  
 beatorum martyrum, qui de toto orbe ad Dominum  
 uenirent, mentionem faceret, ait:

Carm.  
 VIII. iii  
 155.

Albanum<sup>3</sup> egregium fecunda Britannia profert.

Qui uidelicet Albanus<sup>3</sup>, paganus adhuc, cum per-  
 fidorum principum mandata aduersum Christianos  
 saeuirent, clericum quendam persecutores fugientem  
 hospitio recepit; quem dum orationibus continuis ac  
 uigiliis die noctuque studere conspiceret, subito diuina  
 gratia respectus, exemplum fidei ac pietatis illius<sup>5</sup>  
 coepit aemulari, ac salutaribus eius exhortationibus  
 paulatim edoctus, relictis idolatriae tenebris, Chris-  
 tianus integro ex corde factus est. Cumque praefatus  
 clericus aliquot diebus apud eum hospitaretur, peruenit  
 ad aures nefandi principis confessorem Christi, cui  
 necdum fuerat locus martyrii deputatus, penes Alba-  
 num latere. Unde statim iussit milites eum dili-  
 gentius inquirere. Qui cum ad tugurium martyris  
 peruenissent, mox se sanctus Albanus pro hospite ac f. 6 b.  
 magistro suo, ipsius habitu, id est caracalla, qua uestie-  
 batur, indutus, militibus exhibuit, atque ad iudicem  
 uinctus perductus est.

<sup>1</sup> aucta C.

<sup>2</sup> albini N<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> albinus, -inum, <sup>i</sup>-anus N.

<sup>4</sup> furt. M; furt. N<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> illius om. M<sup>1</sup>.

Contigit autem iudicem ea hora, qua ad eum Albanus adducebatur, aris adsistere, ac daemonibus hostias offerre. Cumque uidisset Albanum, mox ira succensus nimia, quod se ille ultro pro hospite, quem susceperat, militibus offerre, ac <sup>1</sup> discrimini dare praesumsisset, ad simulacra daemonum, quibus adsistebat, eum iussit pertrahi: ‘Quia rebellem,’ inquit, ‘ac sacrilegum celare quam militibus reddere maluisti, ut contemtor diuum meritam blasphemiae suae poenam lueret, quaecumque illi debebantur supplicia, tu soluere habes, si a cultu nostrae religionis discedere temtas.’ At sanctus Albanus, qui se ultro persecutoribus fidei Christianum esse prodiderat, nequaquam minas principis metuit; sed accinctus armis militiae spiritalis, palam se iussis illius parere nolle pronuntiabat. Tum iudex: ‘Cuius,’ inquit, ‘familiae uel generis es?’ Albanus respondit: ‘Quid ad te pertinet, qua sim stirpe genitus? sed si ueritatem religionis audire desideras, Christianum iam me esse, Christianisque officiis uacare cognosce.’ Ait iudex: ‘Nomen tuum quaero, quod sine mora mihi insinua.’ At <sup>2</sup> ille: ‘Albanus,’ inquit, ‘a parentibus uocor, et Deum uerum ac uiuum, qui uniuersa creauit, adoro semper, et colo.’ Tum iudex repletus iracundia dixit: ‘Si uis perennis uitae felicitate perfrui, diis magnis sacrificare ne differas.’ Albanus respondit: ‘Sacrificia haec, quae a uobis redduntur daemonibus, nec auxiliari subiectis possunt, nec supplicantium sibi desideria uel uota complere. Quin immo, quicumque his sacrificia simulacris obtulerit, aeternas inferni poenas pro mercede recipiet.’

His auditis, iudex nimio furore commotus, caedi sanctum Dei confessorem a tortoribus praecepit, autumans se uerberibus, quam uerbis non poterat, cordis eius emollire constantiam. Qui cum tormentis afficeretur acerrimis, patienter haec pro Domino, immo

<sup>1</sup> quem . . . ac *om.* N<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> -bit M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>3</sup> et M.

gaudenter ferebat. At ubi iudex illum<sup>1</sup> tormentis superari, uel a cultu Christianae religionis reuocari non posse persensit, capite eum plecti iussit.

Cumque ad mortem duceretur, peruenit ad flumen, quod muro et harena, ubi feriendus erat, meatu | rapi- f. 7 a.  
dissimo diuidebatur; uiditque ibi non paruam hominum multitudinem utriusque sexus, condicionis diuersae et aetatis, quae sine dubio diuinitatis instinctu ad obsequium beatissimi confessoris ac martyris uocabatur, et ita fluminis ipsius occupabat pontem, ut<sup>2</sup> intra uesperam transire uix posset. Denique cunctis pene egressis, iudex sine obsequio in ciuitate substiterat. Igitur sanctus Albanus, cui ardens inerat deuotio mentis ad martyrium ocus peruenire, accessit ad torrentem, et dirigens ad caelum oculos, illico siccato alueo, uidit undam suis cecidisse ac uiam dedisse uestigiis. Quod cum inter alios etiam ipse carnifex, qui eum percussurus erat, uidisset, festinauit ei, ubi ad locum destinatum<sup>3</sup> morti uenerat, occurrere, diuino nimirum admonitus instinctu, proiectoque ense, quem strictum tenuerat, pedibus eius aduoluitur<sup>4</sup>, multum desiderans, ut cum martyre, uel pro martyre, quem pereutere iubebatur, ipse potius mereretur percuti.

Dum ergo is ex persecutore factus esset collega ueritatis et fidei, ac iacente ferro esset inter carnifices iusta cunctatio, montem cum turbis reuerentissimus Dei confessor ascendit; qui oportune laetus<sup>5</sup>, gratia decentissima, quingentis fere passibus ab harena<sup>6</sup> situs est, uariis herbarum floribus depictus, immo usque quaque uestitus; in quo nihil repente arduum, nihil praeceps, nihil abruptum, quem lateribus longe lateque deductum in modum aequoris natura conplanat, dignum uidelicet eum, pro insita sibi specie uenustatis, iam olim reddens, qui beati martyris cruore dicaretur.

<sup>1</sup> illum *om.* M<sup>1</sup>; torm. illum M<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> et M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> dist- M.

<sup>4</sup> aduoluitur *om.* B.

<sup>5</sup> lectus N.

<sup>6</sup> herena M<sup>1</sup>.

In huius ergo uertice sanctus Albanus dari sibi a Deo aquam rogauit, statimque, incluso meatu, ante pedes eius fons perennis exortus est, ut omnes agnoscerent etiam torrentem martyri obsequium detulisse; neque enim fieri poterat, ut in arduo montis cacumine martyr aquam, quam in fluuio non reliquerat, peteret, si hoc opportunum esse non uideret. Qui uidelicet fluuius, ministerio persoluto, deuotione completa, officii testimonium relinquens, reuersus est ad naturam. Decollatus<sup>1</sup> itaque martyr fortissimus ibidem accepit coronam uitae, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se. Sed ille, qui piis ceruicibus impias intulit manus, gaudere super mortuum non est permissus; | namque oculi eius in terram una cum beati martyris capite deciderunt.

Decollatus<sup>2</sup> est ibi etiam tum miles ille, qui antea superno nutu correptus, sanctum Dei confessorem ferire recusauit; de quo nimirum constat, quia, etsi fonte baptismatis non est ablutus, sui tamen est sanguinis lauacro mundatus<sup>3</sup>, ac regni caelestis dignus factus ingressu. Tum iudex, tanta miraculorum caelestium nouitate percussus, cessari<sup>4</sup> mox a persecutione praecepit, honorem referre incipiens caedi sanctorum, per quam eos opinabatur prius a Christianae fidei posse deuotione cessare. Passus est autem beatus Albanus<sup>5</sup> die .X. Kalendarum Iuliarum iuxta ciuitatem Uerolamium, quae nunc a gente Anglorum Uerlamacaestir<sup>6</sup> siue Uaeclingacaestir<sup>7</sup> appellatur, ubi postea, redeunte temporum Christianorum serenitate, ecclesia est mirandi operis atque eius martyrio condigna extructa. In quo uidelicet loco usque ad hanc diem curatio infirmorum, et frequentium operatio uirtutum celebrari non desinit.

Passi sunt ea tempestate *Aaron et Iulius Legionum*

<sup>1</sup> decolatus M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> decolatus M<sup>1</sup>. C.      <sup>3</sup> sui . . . mundatus om. N<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> cesari M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>5</sup> albinus N.      <sup>6</sup> -caester C. N.  
<sup>7</sup> -caester C. B<sup>2</sup>; ueclinguacaester N.



*urbis ciues, aliique utriusque sexus diuersis in locis* Gildas, §§ 10, 11.  
*perplures, qui diuersis cruciatibus torti, et inaudita*  
*membrorum discerptione lacerati, animas ad supernae*  
*ciuitatis gaudia perfecto agone miserunt.*

## CAP. VIII.

*Ut, hac cessante persecutione, ecclesia in Britanniis aliquantulum, usque*  
*ad tempora Arrianæ uesaniae, pacem habuerit.*

The British  
Church at  
peace.

AT ubi turbo persecutionis quieuit, progressi in ib. §§ 11, 12.  
 puplicum fideles Christi, qui se tempore discriminis  
*siliis ac desertis abditis speluncis occulerant, renouant*  
*ecclesias ad solum usque destructas, basilicas sanctorum*  
*martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt, ac ueluti uic-*  
*tricia signa passim propalant, dies festos celebrant, sacra*  
*mundo corde atque ore conficiunt. Mansitque haec in*  
*ecclesiis Christi, quae erant in Brittania, pax usque ad*  
*tempora Arrianæ uesaniae, quae, corrupto orbe toto,*  
*hanc etiam insulam extra orbem tam longe remotam.*  
*ueneno sui infecit erroris; et hac quasi uia pesti-*  
*lentie trans oceanum patefacta, non mora, omnis se*  
*lues herescos<sup>1</sup> cuiusque, insulae noui semper aliquid* cf. Act. xvii. 21.  
*audire gaudenti, et nil certi firmiter obtinenti infudit.*

Death of  
Constanti-  
us, and  
succession  
of Constan-  
tine.

His temporibus Constantius, qui uiuente Diocletiano Oros. vii. 25.  
*Galliam Hispanianque<sup>2</sup> regebat<sup>3</sup>, uir summae mansue-*  
*tudinis et ciuilitatis, in Brittania morte<sup>4</sup> obiit. Hic*  
*Constantinum filium ex concubina Helena creatum im-* Entr. x. 2.  
*peratorem Galliarum reliquit. Scribit autem Eutropius,* f. 8 a.  
*quod Constantinus in Brittania | creatus imperator, patri*  
*in regnum successerit: cuius temporibus Arriana*  
*heresis exorta, et in Nicena synodo<sup>5</sup> detecta atque*  
*damnata, nihilominus exitiabile perfidiae suae uirus.*  
*ut diximus, non solum orbis totius, sed et insularum*  
*ecclesiis aspersit.*

<sup>1</sup> haereos M<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> -niasque C.

<sup>3</sup> gerebat C.

<sup>4</sup> mortem

Oros. <sup>i</sup> <sup>i</sup>  
<sup>5</sup> netena senodo N.

## CAP. IX.

*Ut, regnante Gratiano, Maximus in Britannia imperator creatus, cum magno exercitu Galliam redierit.*

Oros. vii.  
34.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini CCCLXXVII. Gratianus XL<sup>1</sup> ab Augusto post mortem Valentis sex annis imperium tenuit, quamvis iamdudum antea cum patruo Valente et cum Valentiniano fratre regnaret. Qui cum adflictum et<sup>2</sup> pene conlapsum reipublicae statum uideret, Theodosium<sup>3</sup> Hispanum uirum restituendae reipublicae necessitate apud Syrmium purpura induit. Orientisque et Thraciae<sup>4</sup> simul praefecit imperio. Qua tempestate Maximus<sup>5</sup> uir quidem strenuus et probus, atque Augusto<sup>6</sup> dignus, nisi contra sacramenti fidem per tyrannidem emersisset, in Britannia<sup>7</sup> inuitus propemodum ab exercitu imperator creatus, in Galliam transiit. Ibi<sup>8</sup> Gratianum Augustum subita incursione perterritum, atque in Italiam transire meditantem, dolis circumuentum interfecit, fratremque eius Valentinianum Augustum Italia expulit. Valentinianus in orientem fugiens, a Theodosio paterna pietate susceptus, mox etiam imperio restitutus est; clauso uidelicet intra muros Aquileiae, capto atque occiso ab eis Maximo tyranno.

Maximus  
Emperor in  
Britain.

ib. vii. 35.

## CAP. X.

*Ut, Arcadio regnante, Pelagius Bretto contra gratium Dei superba bella suscepit.*

Oros. vii.  
36.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini CCCXCIII Arcadius filius Theodosii cum fratre Honorio, XLIII ab Augusto regnum suscipiens, tenuit annos XIII. Cuius temporibus Pelagius Bretto contra auxilium gratiae superbae uenena suae perfidiae longe lateque dispersit,

Rise of Pelagianism.

<sup>1</sup> grat. XL. om. N.    <sup>2</sup> ac Oros.    <sup>3</sup> Thed- M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> Traciae M<sup>1</sup>.  
<sup>5</sup> Maximus om. N.    <sup>6</sup> Augustu M.    <sup>7</sup> -niam C. B. N.    <sup>8</sup> ubi Oros.

utens cooperatore *Iuliano* de Campania, quem dudum *Prosper*  
*amissi episcopatus intemperans cupido exagitabat*; quibus *Aquit.*  
 sanctus *Augustinus*, sicut et ceteri patres orthodoxi,  
 multis sententiarum catholicarum milibus responde-  
 runt, nec eorum tamen dementiam corrigere ualebant;  
 sed, quod grauius est, correpta eorum uesania magis  
 augescere contradicendo, quam fauendo ueritati uoluit  
 emundari<sup>1</sup>. Quod pulchre uersibus heroicis *Prosper*  
 rethor insinuat, cum ait:

‘Contra *Augustinum* narratur serpere quidam  
 Scriptor, quem dudum lior<sup>2</sup> adurit edax.  
 Quis caput obscuris contextum utcumque cauernis  
 Tollere humo miserum propulit anguiculum?  
 Aut hunc fruge sua aequorei paueri *Britanni*,  
 Aut hic Campano gramine corda tumet.’

*Epigr.*  
*p. 193.*  
*ed. 1711*

## CAP. XI.

*Ut, regnante Honorio, Gratianus et Constantinus in Brittania tyranni  
 creati; et mox prior in Brittania, secundus in Gallia sint interenti.*

*Gratianus  
 and Con-  
 stantinus  
 emperors  
 in Britain.*

Anno ab incarnatione Domini CCCCVII, tenente *Oros. vii.*  
*imperium Honorio Augusto*, filio *Theodosii*<sup>3</sup> minoris, *36.*  
 | loco ab *Augusto* X-LIIII<sup>4</sup>, ante biennium *Romanæ*<sup>5</sup> *f. 8 b.*  
*inruptionis*, quae per *Halaricum* regem *Gothorum* facta *ib. 40.*  
*est*, cum gentes *Halatorum*, *Sueuorum*<sup>6</sup>, *Vandalorum*,  
*multaeque cum his aliae, protritit Francis, transito Hreno*<sup>7</sup>,  
*totas per Gallias saeuirent, apud Brittanias Gratianus*  
*municeps*<sup>8</sup> tyrannus creatur, et occiditur. Huius loco *Con-*  
*stantinus*<sup>9</sup> ex infima<sup>10</sup> militia propter solam spem nominis  
*sine merito uirtutis eligitur; qui continuo, ut inuasit*  
*imperium, in Gallias transiit. Ibi saepe a barbaris in-*  
*certis foederibus inlusus, detrimento magis*<sup>11</sup> *reipublicae*  
*fuit; unde mox, iubente Honorio, Constantius comes* *ib. 42.*

<sup>1</sup> emendari C. B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> libor C<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>3</sup> -dosio M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> for  
 quarto N. has quanto altered to quinto.      <sup>5</sup> romae M.      <sup>6</sup> sue-  
 borum C.      <sup>7</sup> rheno C.      <sup>8</sup> municeps eiusdem insulae Oros.  
<sup>9</sup> -tius M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>10</sup> infima M.      <sup>11</sup> magno C. B<sup>2</sup>. W (on erasure). D.

ib. 40.  
ib. 42. *in Galliam cum exercitu profectus, apud Arelatem ciuitatem eum clausit, cepit, occidit; Constantemque filium eius, quem ex monacho Cuesarem fecerat, Gerontius comes suus apud Uiennam interfecit.*

Fracta est autem Roma a Gothis anno milesimo CLXIII suae<sup>1</sup> conditionis, ex quo tempore Romani in Brittania regnare cessarunt, post annos ferme CCCC-LXX, ex quo Gaius Iulius Caesar eandem insulam adiit. Habitabant autem intra uallum, quod Seuerum trans insulam fecisse commemorauimus, ad plagam meridianam, quod ciuitates, farus<sup>2</sup>, pontes, et stratae ibidem factae usque hodie testantur; ceterum ultiores Britanniae partes, uel eas etiam, quae ultra Brittaniam sunt, insulas iure dominandi possidebant.

Rome  
taken by  
the Goths.

## CAP. XII.

*Ut Brettones a Scottis uastati Pictisque, Romanorum auxilia quaesierint, qui secundo uenientes murum trans insulam fecerint; sed hoc confestim a praefatis hostibus interrupto, maiore sint calamitate depressi.*

Gildas,  
§ 14. *Exin Brittania in parte Brettonum, omni armato milite, militaribus copiis uniuersis, tota floridae iuuentutis alacritate spoliata, quae tyrannorum temeritate abducta nusquam ultra domum rediit, praedae tantum patuit, utpote omnis bellici usus prorsus ignara; denique subito duabus gentibus transmarinis uehementer saeuis, Scottorum a circio, Pictorum ab aquilone, multos stupet gemitque per annos. Transmarinas autem dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Brittaniam essent positae; sed quia a parte Brettonum erant remotae, duobus sinibus maris interiacentibus, quorum unus ab orientali mari<sup>3</sup>, alter ab occidentali, Britanniae terras longe lateque inrumpit, quamuis ad se inuicem pertingere non possint. Orientalis habet in medio sui urbem Giudi<sup>4</sup>, occidentalis supra se, hoc est ad dexteram sui,*

Irruptions  
of the Picts  
and Scots.

<sup>1</sup> suae om. M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> faros N; fores B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> mare M.

<sup>4</sup> guidi N; iudi C<sup>2</sup>.

habet urbem Alcluith<sup>1</sup>, quod lingua eorum significat petram Cluith<sup>2</sup>; est enim iuxta fluuium nominis illius.

The Britons  
invoke the  
aid of  
Rome.

*Ob harum ergo infestationem gentium Brettones legatos Romam cum epistulis mittentes, | lacrimosis precibus auxilia flagitabant, subiunctionemque continuam, dummodo hostis imminens longius arceretur, promittebant. Quibus mox<sup>3</sup> legio destinatur armata, quae, ubi insulam aduecta, et congressa est cum hostibus, magnam eorum multitudinem sternens, ceteros sociorum finibus expulit; eosque interim a dirissima depressione liberatos, hortata est instruere inter duo maria trans insulam murum, qui arcendis hostibus posset esse praesidio; sicque domum cum triumpho magno reuersa est. At insulani murum, quem iussi fuerant, non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus construentes, utpote nullum tanti operis artificem habentes, ad nihil utilem statuunt. Fecerunt autem eum inter duo freta uel sinus, de quibus diximus, maris, per milia passuum plurima; ut, ubi aquarum munitio deerat, ibi praesidio ualli fines suos ab hostium inruptione defenderent. Cuius operis ibidem facti, id est ualli latissimi et altissimi, usque hodie certissima uestigia cernere licet. Incipit autem duorum ferme milium spatio a monasterio Aebbercurnig<sup>4</sup> ad occidentem in loco, qui sermone Pictorum Peanfahel<sup>5</sup>, lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun<sup>6</sup> appellatur; et tendens contra occidentem terminatur iuxta urbem Alcluith<sup>7</sup>.*

Gildas.  
§§ 15. 16.  
f. 9 a.

Second  
British  
Embassy to  
Rome.

Uerum priores inimici, ut Romanum militem abissee<sup>ib. §§ 16. 17.</sup> conspexerant, mox aduecti nauibus inrumpunt terminos. caeduntque omnia, et<sup>8</sup> quasi maturam segetem obuia quac-

<sup>1</sup> acluit C.    <sup>2</sup> cluit C. B. N.    <sup>3</sup> mox om. M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> ebber- H<sub>2</sub>; aebercurnei B<sup>1</sup>; -nig B<sup>2</sup>; aebercurnit, altered to aubercurnie N.

<sup>5</sup> sic M. B<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>2</sup>; -faeld B<sup>2</sup>; -uahel C; pecimfahel N<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> -tuun C;

pegneltuun N.    <sup>7</sup> alcluit C; alcluit N.    <sup>8</sup> et om. M.



*que metunt, calcant, transeunt; unde rursum mittuntur Romam legati, flebili uoce auxilium inplorantes, ne penitus miseru patria deleteretur, ne nomen Romanae provinciae, quod apud eos tam diu claruerat, exterarum gentium improbitate obrutum uilesceat. Rursum mittitur legio, quae inopinata tempore autumnu adueniens, magnas hostium strages dedit, eosque, qui euadere poterant, omnes trans maria fugauit, qui prius anniuersarias praedas trans maria nullo obsistente cogere solebant.*

ib. § 18.

*Tum Romani denuntiauere Brettonibus non se ultra ob eorum defensionem tam laboriosis expeditionibus posse fatigari; ipsos potius monent arma corripere, et certandi cum hostibus studium subire, qui non aliam ob causam, quam si ipsi inertia soluerentur, eis possent esse fortiores. Quin etiam, quia et hoc sociis, quos derelinquere cogebantur, aliquid commodi adlaturum putabant, murum a mari<sup>1</sup> ad mare recto*  
*f. 9 b. tramite | inter urbes, quae ibidem ob metum hostium factae fuerant, ubi et Seuerus quondam uallum fecerat, firmo de lapide conlocarunt; quem uidelicet murum haecenus famosum<sup>2</sup> atque conspicuum, sumtu<sup>3</sup> puplico priuatoque, adiuncta secum Brittanorum manu, construebant, VIII pedes latum, et XII altum, recta ab oriente in occasum linea, ut usque hodie intuentibus clarum est; quo mox condito dant fortia segni populo monita, praebent instituendorum exemplaria armorum. Sed et in litore oceani ad meridiem, quo<sup>4</sup> naues eorum habebantur<sup>5</sup>, quia et inde barbarorum inruptio timebatur, turres per interualla ad prospectum maris conlocant, et ualedicunt sociis tanquam ultra non reuersuri.*

The  
Romans  
finally  
abandon  
Britain.

ib. § 19.

*Quibus ad sua remeantibus, cognita Scotti Pictique reditus denegatione, redeunt confestim ipsi, et solito confidentiores facti, omnem aquilonalem extremamque insulae partem pro indigenis ad murum usque capessunt. Sta-*

Misery of  
the Britons.

<sup>1</sup> mare M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> formosum N.<sup>3</sup> sumto M.<sup>4</sup> qua Gild.<sup>5</sup> -bant N.

tuitur ad hanc in edito<sup>1</sup> arcis acies segnis, ubi trementi corde stupida die noctuque morcebat. At contra non cessant uncinata hostium tela; ignavi propugnatores miserrime de muris tracti solo adlidebantur. Quid plura? relictis ciuitatibus ac muro fugiunt, disperguntur. Insequitur hostis, adcelerantur strages cunctis crudeliores prioribus. Sicut enim agni a feris, ita miseri ciues discerpuntur ab hostibus; unde<sup>2</sup> a mansionibus ac possessiunculis suis eiecti<sup>3</sup>, imminens sibi famis periculum latrocinio ac rapacitate mutua temperabant, augentes<sup>4</sup> externas domesticis motibus clades, donec omnis regio totius cibi sustentaculo, excepto uenandi solacio, uacuaretur.

## CAP. XIII.

Ut, regnante Theodosio minore, cuius tempore<sup>5</sup> Palladius ad Scottos in Christum credentes missus est, Brittones ab Aetio consule auxilium flagitantes non impetrauerint.

Mission of  
Palladius  
to the  
Irish.

ANNO dominicae incarnationis CCCCXXIII, Theodosius iunior post Honorium XLV ab Augusto regnum suscipiens, XX et VI annis tenuit; cuius anno imperii VIII Palladius ad<sup>6</sup> Scottos in Christum credentes a pontifice Romanae ecclesiae Celestino primus mittitur episcopus. Anno autem regni eius XXIII, Aetius uir inlustis, qui et patricius fuit, tertium<sup>7</sup> cum Simmacho gessit consulatum<sup>8</sup>. Ad hunc pauperculae Brettonum reliquiae mittunt epistulam, cuius hoc principium est: 'Aetio ter consuli gemitus Brittanorum;' et in processu epistulae ita suas calamitates explicant: 'Repellunt barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad barbaros; inter haec oriuntur duo genera funerum, | aut iugulamur, aut mergimur.' Neque haec tamen agentes quicquam ab illo auxilii impetrare quierunt, utpote qui grauissimis

Prosper  
Aquit.

Gildas.  
§ 20.

Appeal of  
the Britons  
to Aetius.

f. 10 a.

<sup>1</sup> aedito M<sup>1</sup>. C; -tu M<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> inde N. C.

<sup>3</sup> iecti M.

<sup>4</sup> agentes C.

<sup>5</sup> temporibus C.

<sup>6</sup> in M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> tertio M.

<sup>8</sup> consulatum M<sup>1</sup>.

Marcel-  
linus  
Comes.

eo tempore bellis cum *Blaedla*<sup>1</sup> et *Attila* regibus *Hunorum* erat occupatus; et quamvis anno ante hunc proximo *Blaedla*<sup>1</sup> *Attilae* fratris sui sit interemtus *insidiis*, *Attila* tamen ipse adeo intolerabilis reipublicae remansit hostis, ut *totam pene Europam*, *excisis in-uasisque ciuitatibus atque castellis*, conroderet. Quin et hisdem temporibus *fumes Constantinopolim* inuasit; nec mora *pestis secuta* est; sed et *plurimi* eiusdem *urbis muri cum LVII turribus conruerunt*; multis quoque *ciuitatibus conlapsis, fumes et aerum pestifer odor*<sup>2</sup> *plura hominum milia iumentorumque deleuit*.

## CAP. XIV.

*Ut Brettones fame famosa coacti, barbaros suis e finibus pepulerint; nec mora, frugum copia, luxuria, pestilentia, et exterminium gentis secutum sit.*

Gildas,  
§ 20.

INTEREA Brettones *fames* sua<sup>3</sup> praefata magis magisque adficiens, ac famam suae *malitiae* posteris diuturnam<sup>4</sup> relinquens, multos eorum coegit uictas infestis praedonibus dare manus, alios uero numquam, quin potius confidentes in diuinum, ubi humanum cessabat auxilium, de ipsis montibus, speluncis, ac saltibus continue rebellabant; et tum primum inimicis, qui per multos annos praedas in terra agebant, strages dare coeperunt.

The Britons  
repel their  
enemies.

ib. § 21. Reuertuntur ergo inpudentes grassatores *Hiberni domus*<sup>5</sup>, post non longum tempus reuersuri; *Picti* in extrema parte insulae tunc primum et deinceps quieuerunt, praedas tamen nonnumquam exinde et contritiones de Brettonum gente agere non cessarunt.

Cessante autem uastatione hostili, tantis frugum copiis insula, quantas nulla retro aetas meminit, affluere coepit; cum quibus et luxuria crescere, et hanc continuo omnium lues scelerum comitari adcelerauit; crudelitas

Return of  
prosperity.  
Consequent  
demoralisa-  
tion.

<sup>1</sup> bledla C; blaeda Marc.    <sup>2</sup> ardor M<sup>2</sup> on erasure.    <sup>3</sup> om. C; illa B<sup>2</sup> on erasure.    <sup>4</sup> diurnam M.    <sup>5</sup> ad hibernas domos Gild.; with hiberni domos, domum, as vv. ll.

praecipue, et odium ueritatis, amorque mendacii, ita ut, siquis eorum mitior et ueritati aliquatenus propior uideretur, in hunc quasi Britanniae subuersorem omnium odia telaque sine respectu contorquerentur. Et non solum haec saeculares uiri, sed etiam ipse grex Domini eiusque pastores egerunt; ebrietati, animositati, litigio, contentioni, inuidiae, ceterisque huiusmodi facinoribus sua colla, abiecto leui iugo Christi, subdentes. Interea subito corruptae mentis homines acerba<sup>1</sup> pestis corripuit, quae in breui tantam eius multitudinem strauit, ut ne sepeliendis quidem mortuis uiui sufficerent; sed ne morte quidem suorum, nec timore | mortis hi, qui f. 10 b. supererant, a morte animae, qua peccando sternebantur, reuocari poterant. Unde non multo post acrior gentem peccatricem ultio diri sceleris secuta est. Initum namque est consilium, quid agendum, ubi<sup>2</sup> quaerendum esset praesidium ad euitandas uel repellendas tam feras tamque creberrimas gentium aquilonalium inruptiones; placuitque omnibus cum suo rege ib. § 23. Uurtigerno, ut Saxonum gentem de transmarinis partibus in auxilium uocarent; quod Domini nutu dispositum esse constat, ut ueniret contra improbos malum, sicut euidentius rerum exitus probauit.

Gildas,  
§ 22.  
cf. Matth  
xi. 29.

The Britons  
call in the  
Saxons.

## CAP. XV.

*Ut inuitata Britanniam gens Anglorum, primo quidem aduersarios longius eiecerit; sed non multo post, iuncto cum his foedere, in socios arma uerterit.*

The coming  
of the  
Saxons.

ANNO ab incarnatione Domini CCCCXLVIII<sup>3</sup> Marcianus cum Valentiniano XLVI ab Augusto regnum adeptus, VII annis tenuit. Tunc Anglorum siue Saxonum gens, inuitata a rege praefato, Britanniam tribus longis nauibus aduehitur, et in orientali parte

Gildas,  
§ 23.

<sup>1</sup> acerua M. C. B<sup>1</sup>. N.

<sup>2</sup> quid M.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>3</sup> CCCCLXVIII N.

*insulae, iubente eodem rege, locum manendi, quasi pro patria pugnatura, re autem uera hanc expugnatura, suscipit*<sup>1</sup>. Inito ergo certamine cum hostibus, qui ab aquilone ad aciem uenerant, uictoriam sumserunt Saxones. Quod ubi domi nuntiatum est, simul et insulae fertilitas, ac segnitia Brettonum; mittitur confestim illo classis *prolixior*, armatorum ferens manum fortio-rem, quae praemissae adiuncta cohorti inuincibilem fecit exercitum. Susceperunt ergo, qui aduenerant<sup>2</sup>, donantibus Brittanis, locum habitationis inter eos, ea condicione, ut hi pro patriae pace et salute contra aduersarios militarent, illi militantibus debita stipendia conferrent.

Aduenerant autem de tribus Germaniae populis fortioribus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis, Iutis. De Iutarum<sup>3</sup> origine sunt Cantuarii<sup>4</sup> et Uictuarii<sup>4</sup>, hoc est ea gens, quae Uectam tenet insulam, et ea, quae usque hodie in prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum Iutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Uectam. De Saxonibus, id est ea regione, quae nunc Antiquorum<sup>5</sup> Saxonum cognominatur, uenere Orientales Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones. Porro de Anglis, hoc est de illa patria, quae Angulus dicitur, et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter prouincias Iutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Mercii, tota Nordanhymbrorum progenies, id est illarum gentium, quae ad Boream Humbri<sup>6</sup> fluminis inhabitant, ceterique Anglorum populi sunt orti. Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum  
f. 11 a. primi duo fratres Hengist<sup>7</sup> et Horsa; | e quibus Horsa postea occisus in bello a Brettonibus, hactenus in orientalibus Cantiae partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne. Erant autem filii Uictgils<sup>8</sup>,

Saxons,  
Angles,  
Jutes.

<sup>1</sup> suscepit C. N. B<sup>2</sup>. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> -runt C. M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> iotarum N.

<sup>4</sup> -ri M; contuari N; uectuarii B<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> -quiorum N.

<sup>6</sup> hymbri N<sup>1</sup>; umbri N<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> heangist C.

<sup>8</sup> uictgilsli C. B.



cuius pater Uitta<sup>1</sup>, cuius pater Uecta, cuius pater Uoden<sup>2</sup>, de cuius stirpe multarum prouinciarum regium genus originem duxit.

They turn  
against the  
Britons.

Non mora ergo, confluentibus certatim in insulam gentium memoratarum cateruis, grandescere populus coepit aduenarum, ita ut ipsis<sup>3</sup> quoque, qui eos aduocauerant, indigenis<sup>4</sup> essent terrori. Tum subito inito ad tempus foedere cum Pictis, quos longius iam bellando pepulerant, in socios<sup>5</sup> arma uertere incipiunt. Et primum quidem annonas sibi eos *affluentius* ministrare cogunt, quaerentesque *occasionem* diuortii, *protestantur, nisi profusior* sibi alimentorum copia daretur, *se cuncta insulae loca rupto foedere* uastaturos. Neque aliquanto segnius *minas effectibus* *prosequuntur*. Si-  
quidem, ut breuiter dicam, *accensus* manibus paganorum *ignis, iustas de sceleribus* populi Dei *ultiones* expetiit, non illius inpar, qui quondam a Chaldaeis succensus, Hierosolymorum<sup>6</sup> moenia, immo aedificia cuncta consumsit. Sic enim et hic agente impio uictore, immo disponente iusto Iudice, proximas *quasque ciuitates agrosque* depopulans, ab *orientali mari usque ad occidentale*, nullo prohibente, suum continuauit incendium, totamque prope *insulae pereuntis superficiem* obtexit. Ruebant aedificia publica simul et priuata, passim sacerdotes inter *altaria* trucidabantur, praesules cum populis sine ullo respectu honoris, ferro pariter et *flammis* absumebantur; nec erat, qui crudeliter interemtis *sepulturae* traderet. Itaque nonnulli de  
miserandis reliquiis in montibus comprehensi, *aceruatim* iugulabantur; alii *fame confecti*<sup>7</sup> procedentes manus hostibus dabant, pro accipiendis alimentorum subsidiis aeternum subituri *seruitium, si tamen non continuo* trucidarentur; alii *transmarinas regiones* dolentes pete-

Gildas,  
§ 24.

ib. § 25

<sup>1</sup> uita N.

<sup>2</sup> wođen B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> ipsi M.

<sup>4</sup> indegenis M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> socius M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> hierusolimorum C.

<sup>7</sup> conuecti C.

*bant ; alii perstantes in patria trepidi pauperem uitam in montibus, siluis, uel rupibus arduis suspecta semper mente agebant.*

## CAP. XVI.

*Ut Brettones primam de gente Anglorum uictoriam dace Ambrosio, Romano homine, sumserint.*

Gildas,  
§ 25.

f. 11 b.

ib. § 26.

AT ubi hostilis exercitus exterminatis dispersisque insulae indigenis<sup>1</sup>, domum reuersus est, coeperunt et illi paulatim uires animosque resumere, emergentes de latibulis, quibus abditi fuerant, et unanimo consensu auxilium | caeleste precantes, ne usque ad internicionem usquequaque deleantur. Utebantur eo tempore duce Ambrosio Aureliano, uiro modesto, qui solus forte Romanae gentis praefatae tempestati superfuerat, occisis in eadem parentibus regium nomen et insigne ferentibus. Hoc ergo duce uires capessunt Brettones, et uictores prouocantes ad proelium, uictoriam ipsi Deo fauente suscipiunt. Et ex eo tempore nunc ciues, nunc hostes uincebant, usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, quando non minimas eisdem hostibus strages dabant, XL<sup>mo</sup> circiter et II<sup>III</sup><sup>o</sup> anno aduentus eorum in Britanniam. Sed haec postmodum.

The Britons  
victorious  
under Am-  
brosius  
Aurelia-  
nus.

## CAP. XVII.

*Ut Germanus episcopus cum Lupo Britanniam nauigans, et primo maris, et postmodum Pelagianorum tempestatem diuina uirtute sedauerit.*

ANTE paucos sane aduentus eorum annos heresis Pelagiana per Agricolam inlata, Seueriani episcopi Pelagiani filium, fidem Britanniarum feda peste commaculauerat. Uerum Britanni, cum neque suscipere dogma peruersum gratiam Christi blasphemando ullatenus uellent, neque uersutiam nefariae persuasionis refutare uerbis certando sufficerent, inueniunt

The Britons  
ask help  
of the  
Gallican  
Bishops  
against the  
Pelagians.

<sup>1</sup> indigenis M<sup>1</sup>.

salubre consilium, ut a *Gallicanis* antistitibus auxilium belli spiritalis inquirant. *Quam ob causam collecta magna synodo* quaerebatur in commune, qui illie ad succurrendum *fidei* mitti deberent; atque omnium iudicio electi sunt apostolici sacerdotes *Germanus Autisidorensis*<sup>1</sup> et *Lupus Trecasenae ciuitatis episcopi*, qui ad confirmandam fidem gratiae caelestis *Brittannias* uenirent. Qui cum *prompta deuotione preces* et iussa sanctae ecclesiae suscepissent, intrant *oceanum* et usque ad *medium itineris*, quo a *Gallico sinu* *Brittannias* usque tenditur, secundis flatibus *navis* tuta uolabat. Tum subito occurrit pergentibus *inimica uis daemonum*, qui tantos talesque uiros ad recuperandam tendere populorum salutem inuiderent; concitant<sup>2</sup> procellas, caelum diemque nubium nocte subducunt; uentorum furores uela non sustinent; cedebant ministeria uicta nautarum; ferebatur nauigium oratione, non uiribus; et casu dux ipse uel pontifex fractus corpore, lassitudine<sup>3</sup> ac sopore resolutus est. Tum uero, quasi repugnatore cessante, tempestas excitata conualuit, et iam nauigium superfusus fluctibus mergebatur. Tum beatus *Lupus* omnesque turbati excitant seniorelem elementis furentibus obponendum; qui periculi inmanitate constantior, Christum inuocat, et adsumto<sup>4</sup> in nomine sanctae Trinitatis leui aquae spargine fluctus saeuientes obprimit, | collegam commonet, hortatur uniuersos, oratio uno ore et clamore profunditur; adest diuinitas, fugantur inimici, tranquillitas serena subsequitur, uenti e contrario ad itineris ministeria reuertuntur, decursisque breui spatiis pelagi<sup>5</sup>, optati littoris quiete potiuntur. Ibi conueniens ex diuersis partibus multitudo excepit sacerdotes, quos uenturos etiam uaticinatio aduersa praedixerat. Nuntiabant enim sinistri spiritus, quod timebant, qui imperio sacerdotum dum ab<sup>6</sup> obsessis cor-

Vita Germani  
auctore  
Constantio,  
Lib. i. c.  
19.

ib. c. 22.

f. 12 a.

<sup>1</sup> altiodori C. W<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> concitabant C.

<sup>3</sup> corporis las-

situdine, sopore r. e. Const.

<sup>4</sup> adsumto oleo Const.; aquae

is Bede's own addition.

<sup>5</sup> pelagi M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> de N.

*poribus detruduntur, et tempestatis ordinem, et pericula, quae intulerant, fatebantur, uictosque se eorum meritis et imperio non negabant.*

ib. c. 23.

*Interea Britanniarum insulam apostolici sacerdotes raptim opinione, praedicatione, uirtutibus impleuerunt; diuinusque per eos sermo cotidie non solum in ecclesiis, uerum etiam per triuia, per rura praedicabatur; ita ut passim et fideles<sup>1</sup> catholici firmarentur, et deprauati uiam correctionis agnoscerent. Erat illis apostolorum instar et gloria et auctoritas per conscientiam, doctrina per litteras, uirtutes ex meritis. Itaque regionis uniuersitas in eorum sententiam prompta transierat. Latebant abditi sinistrae persuasionis auctores, et more maligni spiritus, gemebant perire sibi populos euadentes; ad extremum, diuturna meditatione concepta, praesumunt inire conflictum. Procedunt conspicui diuitiis, ueste fulgentes, circumdati adsentatione multorum; discrimenque certaminis subire maluerunt, quam in populo, quem subuerterant, pudorem taciturnitatis incurrere, ne uiderentur se ipsi silentio damnauisse. Illic plane immensa multitudo etiam cum coniugibus ac liberis excita conuenerat, aderat populus expectator<sup>2</sup>, futurus et iudex, adstabant partes dispari condicione dissimiles; hinc diuina fides<sup>3</sup>, inde humana praesumptio; hinc pietas<sup>4</sup>, inde superbia<sup>5</sup>: inde Pelagius auctor, hinc Christus. Primo in loco beatissimi sacerdotes praebuerunt aduersariis copiam disputandi, quae sola nuditate uerborum diu inaniter et aures occupauit, et tempora; deinde antistites uenerandi torrentes eloquii sui cum apostolicis et euangelicis imbribus profuderunt; miscbatur sermo proprius cum diuino, et adsertiones molestissimas lectionum testimonia sequebantur. Conuincitur uanitas, perfidia confutatur; ita ut ad singulas uerborum obiectiones errare se, dum respondere nequii, fateretur;*

Their  
success.<sup>1</sup> fide Const.<sup>2</sup> -tur M. C. B; et fut. M; spectator futurus.

et iudex Const.

<sup>3</sup> auctoritas Const.<sup>4</sup> fides Const.;inde . . . pietas om. B<sup>1</sup>.<sup>5</sup> perfidia Const.

*populus arbiter uix manus continet, iudicium tamen clamore testatur.*

## CAP. XVIII.

*Ut idem filiam tribuni caecam inluminauerit, ac deinde ad sanctum Albanum<sup>1</sup> perueniens, reliquias ibidem et ipsius acceperit, et beatorum apostolorum siue aliorum martyrum posuerit.*

Germanus  
heals a  
blind girl.

TUM<sup>2</sup> subito quidam tribuniciae<sup>3</sup> potestatis cum coniuge procedit in medium, filiam X annorum caecam curandam sacerdotibus offerens, quam illi aduersariis offerri praeceperunt; sed hi conscientia puniente deterriti, iungunt cum parentibus preces, et curationem paruulae a sacerdotibus deprecantur; qui inclinatos animo aduersarios intuentes, orationem breuiter fundunt, ac deinde Germanus plenus Spiritu Sancto inuocat Trinitatem; nec mora, adherentem lateri suo capsulam cum sanctorum reliquiis collo auulsam manibus comprehendit, eamque in conspectu omnium puellae oculis adplicauit, quos statim euacuatos tenebris lumen ueritatis impleuit. Exultant parentes, miraculum populus contremescit; postquam diem ita ex animis omnium suasio iniqua deleta est. ut sacerdotum doctrinam sitientibus desiderijs sectarentur.

f. 12 b.  
Const.  
Vit.  
Germ.  
Lib. 1,  
c. 24.

They visit  
the tomb of  
St. Alban.

Comprensa itaque peruersitate damnabili, eiusque auctoribus confutatis, atque animis omnium fidei puritate compositis, sacerdotes beatum Albanum martyrem, acturi<sup>4</sup> Deo per ipsum gratias, petierunt, ubi Germanus omnium apostolorum diuersorumque martyrum secum reliquias<sup>5</sup> habens, facta oratione, iussit reuelli sepulchrum, pretiosa ibidem munera conditurus; arbitrans oportunum, ut membra sanctorum ex diuersis regionibus collecta, quos pares meritis receperat caelum, sepulchri quoque unius teneret hospitium. Quibus depositis honorifice atque sociatis, de loco ipso, ubi beati martyris effusus erat sanguis, massam

ib. c. 25.

<sup>1</sup> Albinum N<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> cum Const.

<sup>3</sup> -cae M<sup>1</sup>; -tiae B.

<sup>4</sup> auctori C. B<sup>1</sup>. W<sup>1</sup>; aucturi B<sup>2</sup>; auctore H<sub>1</sub>; auctori Deo p. i. g. acturi Const.

<sup>5</sup> reliquias 'secum' M.



*pulveris secum portaturus abstulit, in qua apparebat, cruore<sup>1</sup> servato, rubuisse martyrum aedem, persecutore pallente. Quibus ita gestis, innumera hominum eodem die ad Dominum turba conversa est.*

## CAP. XIX.

*Ut idem causa infirmitatis ibidem detentus, et incendia domorum orando restinxerit, et ipse per visionem a suo sit langore curatus.*

ib. c. 26.

UNDE dum redeunt, insidiator inimicus, casualibus laqueis praeparatis, Germani pedem lapsus occasione contriuit, ignorans merita illius, sicut Iob beatissimi, afflictione corporis propaganda; et dum aliquandiu uno in loco infirmitatis necessitate teneretur, in uicina<sup>2</sup>, qua manebat, casula<sup>3</sup> exarsit incendium; quod consumtis domibus, quae illic palustri harundine tegebantur, ad eum habitaculum, in quo idem iacebat, flabris stimulantibus ferebatur. Concursus omnium ad antistitem conuolauit, ut elatus<sup>4</sup> manibus periculum, quod imminabat, euaderet; quibus increpatis moueri se fidei praesumptione non passus est. At multitudo omnis desperatione perterrita obuam currit<sup>5</sup> incendio. Sed ut Dei potentia manifestior appareret, quicquid custodire temptauerat turba, consumitur; quod uero | iacens et infirmus defenderat, reserato<sup>6</sup> hospitio sancti uiri, expauescens flamma transiliuit, ultra citraque desaeuiens; et inter globos flammantis incendii incolume tabernaculum, quod habitator inclusus seruabat, emicuit. Exultat<sup>7</sup> turba miraculo, et uictam se diuinis uirtutibus gratulatur. Excubabat diebus ac noctibus ante tugurium pauperis uulgus sine numero; hi animas curare<sup>8</sup>, hi cupientes corpora.

Further miracles.

f. 13 a.

ib. c. 27.

Referri nequeunt, quae Christus operabatur in famulo, qui uirtutes faciebat infirmus; et cum debilitati suae nihil remedii<sup>9</sup> pateretur adhiberi, quadam nocte candentem niueis

<sup>1</sup> crore M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> uicina Const.    <sup>3</sup> casuale Const.    <sup>4</sup> eleuatis Const.    <sup>5</sup> occurrit Const.    <sup>6</sup> reseruato B. N<sup>2</sup>; reseruatur. Hospitium Const.    <sup>7</sup> -tabat H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>8</sup> -ri Const.    <sup>9</sup> -dii om. M<sup>1</sup> at end of line.

uestibus uidit sibi adesse personam, quae manu extensa iacentem uideretur adtollere, eumque consistere firmis uestigiis imperabat. Post quam horam ita, fugatis doloribus, recepit pristinam sanitatem, ut, die reddito, itineris laborem subiret intrepidus.

## CAP. XX.

*Ut idem episcopi Bretonibus in pugna auxilium caeleste tulerint, sicque domum reuersi sint.*

The Saxons  
and Picts  
make war  
on the  
Britons.

*INTEREA Saxones Pictique bellum aduersum Bretones iunctis uiribus susceperunt, quos eadem necessitas in castra contraxerat; et cum trepidi partes suas pene in pares iudicarent, sanctorum antistitum auxilium petierunt; qui promissum maturantes aduentum, tantum pauentibus fiduciae contulerunt, ut accessisse<sup>1</sup> maximus crederetur exercitus. Itaque apostolicis ducibus Christus militabat in castris. Aderant etiam quadragesimae<sup>2</sup> uenerabiles dies, quos religiosiores reddebat praesentia sacerdotum, in tantum, ut cotidianis praedicationibus instituti, certatim populi ad gratiam baptismatis conuolarent. Nam maxima exercitus multitudo undam lauacri salutaris expetiit, et ecclesia ad diem resurrectionis dominicae frondibus contexta componitur, atque in expeditione campestri instar ciuitatis aptatur. Madidus baptismo procedit exercitus, fides feruet in populo, et conterrito<sup>3</sup> armorum praesidio, diuinitatis expectatur auxilium. Institutio uel forma castitatis<sup>4</sup> hostibus nuntiatur, qui uictoriam quasi de inermi exercitu<sup>5</sup> praesumentes<sup>6</sup>, adsumta alacritate festinant; quorum tamen aduentus exploratione cognoscitur.*

Const.  
Vit.  
Germ.  
Lib. I,  
c. 28.

Germanus  
leads the  
Britons.

*Cumque, emensa sollemnitate paschali, recens de lauacro pars maior exercitus arma capere et bellum parare temtaret, Germanus ducem se proelii profitetur, eligit expeditos, circumiecta percurrit, et e regione, qua hostium*

<sup>1</sup> accersisse B.    <sup>2</sup> XL M.    <sup>3</sup> uel contempto C, on margin;  
and this is the reading of Const.; conterrito altered to contempto D.  
<sup>4</sup> castrorum Const.    <sup>5</sup> -tui M.    <sup>6</sup> -rumentes M'.

f. 13 b.

sperabatur aduentus, uallem circumdatam mediis<sup>1</sup> montibus intuetur. Quo in loco nouum componit exercitum ipse dux agminis. | Et iam aderat ferox hostium multitudo, quam adpropinquare intuebantur in insidiis constituti. Tum subito Germanus signifer uniuersos admonet, et praedicat<sup>2</sup>, ut uoci suae uno clamore respondeant; securisque hostibus, qui se insperatos adesse confiderent, alleluiam tertio repetitam sacerdotes exclamabant. Sequitur una uox omnium, et elatum<sup>3</sup> clamorem repperusso aere montium conclusa multiplicant; hostile agmen terrore prosternitur, et super se<sup>4</sup> non solum rupes circumdatas, sed etiam ipsam caeli machinam contremescunt, trepidationique iniectae uix sufficere pedum pernicitas credebatur. Passim fugiunt, arma prociunt, gaudentes uel nuda corpora eripuisse discrimini; plures etiam timore praecipites flumen, quod transierant, deuorauit. Ultionem suam innocens exercitus intuetur, et uictoriae concessae otiosus spectator efficitur. Spolia colliguntur exposita, et caelestis palmae gaudia miles religiosus amplectitur. Triumphant pontifices hostibus fusis sine sanguine; triumphant uictoria fide obtenta, non uiribus.

The  
Hallelujah  
Victory.

Composita itaque insula securitate multiplici, superatisque hostibus uel inuisibilibus<sup>5</sup>, uel carne conspicuis, reditum moliuntur pontifices. Quibus tranquillam nauigationem et merita propria et intercessio beati martyris Albani parauerunt, quietosque eos suorum desideriis felix carina restituit.

## CAP. XXI.

Ut, renascentibus uirgultis Pelagianae pestis, Germanus cum Seuero Britanniam reuersus, prius claudio iuueni incessum, deinde et populo Dei, condemnatis siue emendatis haereticis, gressum recuperarit fidei.

ib. Lib. ii.  
c. i.

NEC multo interposito tempore nuntiatur ex eadem insula Pelagianam peruersitatem iterato paucis auctoribus

Renascence  
of Pelagian-  
ism.

<sup>1</sup> editis Const.    <sup>2</sup> -cit Const.    <sup>3</sup> eleuatum C. B<sup>2</sup>. D, and this is the reading of Const.

<sup>4</sup> et ruisse super se Const.

<sup>5</sup> uisibilibus M. B<sup>1</sup>. H<sub>1</sub>. W<sup>1</sup>.

Germanus  
revisits  
Britain.

*dilatari; rursusque ad beatissimum uirum preces sacerdotum omnium deferuntur, ut causam Dei, quam prius obtinuerat<sup>1</sup>, tutaretur. Quorum petitioni festinus obtemperat. Namque adiuncto sibi Seuero, totius sanctitatis uiro, qui erat discipulus beatissimi patris Lupi Trecesenorum episcopi, et tunc Treuiris ordinatus episcopus, gentibus primae Germaniae uerbum praedicabat, mare conscendit, et consentientibus elementis, tranquillo nauigio Britannias petit<sup>2</sup>.*

Const.  
Vit.  
Germ.  
Lib. ii.  
c. 2.

A miracle.

*Interea sinistri spiritus peruolantes totam insulam Germanum uenire inuitis uaticinationibus nuntiabant; in tantum, ut Elafius<sup>3</sup> quidam, regionis illius primus, in occurso sanctorum sine ulla manifesti nuntii relatione properaret, exhibens secum filium, quem in ipso flore adulescentiae debilitas dolenda damnauerat. Erat enim arescentibus nervis contracto poplite, cui per siccitatem cruris usus uestigii negabatur<sup>4</sup>. Hunc Elafium<sup>3</sup> prouincia tota subsequitur; ueniunt sacerdotes, occurrit inscia multitudo, confestim benedictio et sermonis diuini doctrina | profunditur. f. 14 a. Recognoscunt populum in ea, qua reliquerat, credulitate durantem; intellegunt culpam esse paucorum, inquirunt auctores, inuentosque condemnant<sup>5</sup>. Cum<sup>6</sup> subito ib. c. 4. Elafius<sup>3</sup> pedibus<sup>7</sup> aduoluitur sacerdotum, offerens filium, cuius necessitatem ipsa debilitas etiam sine precibus adlegebat; fit communis omnium dolor, praecipue sacerdotum, qui conceptam misericordiam ad diuinam clementiam contulerunt; statimque adolescentem beatus Germanus sedere compulit, adtrectat poplitem debilitate curuatum<sup>8</sup>, et per tota infirmitatis spatia medicabilis dextera percurrit, salubremque tactum sanitas festina subsequitur. Ariditas sucum, nerui officia receperunt, et in conspectu omnium filio incolumitas<sup>9</sup>, patri filius restituitur. Implentur*

<sup>1</sup> obten- M<sup>1</sup>. C.

<sup>2</sup> petiit M. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> elabius, -bium N.

<sup>4</sup> sic M. H<sub>1</sub>. Const; -bantur C. B. N.

<sup>5</sup> damnant B<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> altered to tum B.

<sup>7</sup> manibus Const.

<sup>8</sup> curbatum M<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> incolumis C. B<sup>2</sup>.

populi stupore miraculi, et in pectoribus omnium fides catholica inculcata firmatur. Praedicatio deinde ad plebem de praevocationis emendatione conuertitur; omniumque sententia prauitatis auctores, qui erant expulsi insula, sacerdotibus adducuntur ad mediterranea deferendi, ut et regio absolutione, et illi emendatione fruerentur. Factumque<sup>1</sup> est, ut in illis locis multo ex eo tempore<sup>2</sup> fides intemerata perduraret.

Itaque, compositis omnibus, beati sacerdotes ea, qua uenerant, prosperitate redierunt. Porro Germanus post haec ad Rauennam pro pace Armoricanæ gentis supplicaturus aduenit, ibique a Ualentiniano et Placidia matre ipsius summa reuerentia susceptus, migravit ad Christum. Cuius corpus honorifico agmine, comitantibus uirtutum operibus, suam defertur ad urbem. Nec multo post Ualentinianus ab Aetii patricii, quem occiderat, satellitibus<sup>3</sup> interimitur, anno imperii Marciani VI<sup>o</sup>, cum quo simul Hesperium concidit regnum.

Death of  
Germanus.

## CAP. XXII.

*Ut Brettones, quiescentibus ad tempus exteris, ciuilibus sese bellis contriuerint, simul et maioribus flagitiis submerserint.*

INTEREA Britanniae<sup>4</sup> cessatum quidem est parumper ab externis, sed non a ciuilibus bellis. Manebant terminia ciuitatum ab hoste derutarum ac desertarum; pugnabant contra inuicem, qui hostem euaserant<sup>5</sup>, ciues. Attamen recente adhuc memoria calamitatis et cladis inflictæ seruabant utcumque reges, sacerdotes, priuati, et optimates suum quique ordinem. At illis decedentibus, cum successisset actus tempestatis illius nescia, et praesentis solum serenitatis statum experta, ita cuncta ueritatis ac iustitiae moderamina concussa ac subuersa sunt, ut earum non dicam uestigium, sed ne memoria

Civil wars  
and demoralisation of  
the Britons.

<sup>1</sup> que om M.

<sup>2</sup> etiam nunc Const.

<sup>3</sup> satelibus M.

<sup>4</sup> 'nia' M. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> -runt M<sup>1</sup>.



*quidem*, praeter in paucis et ualde paucis ulla *appareret*.  
 | Qui inter alia inenarrabilium scelerum facta, quae f. 14 b.  
*historicus*<sup>1</sup> eorum Gildus flebili sermone describit, et  
 hoc addebant, ut numquam genti Saxonum siue Anglorum,  
 secum Brittanniam incolenti, uerbum fidei  
 praedicando committerent. Sed non tamen diuina Rom. xi. 2.  
 pietas plebem suam, quam praesciuit, deseruit, quin  
 multo digniores genti memoratae praecones ueritatis,  
 per quos crederet<sup>2</sup>, destinauit.

## CAP. XXIII.

*Ut sanctus papa Gregorius Augustinum cum monachis ad praedicandum  
 genti Anglorum mittens, epistula quoque illos exhortatoria, ne a laborando  
 cessarent, confortauerit.*

SIQUIDEM anno ab incarnatione Domini DLXXXII  
 Mauricius ab Augusto LIIII imperium suscipiens XX  
 et I annis tenuit. Cuius anno regni X. Gregorius, uir  
 doctrina et actione praecipuus, pontificatum Romanae<sup>3</sup>  
 et apostolicae sedis sortitus rexit annos XIII, menses  
 VI, et dies X. Qui diuino admonitus instinctu anno  
 LIIII eiusdem principis, aduentus uero Anglorum in  
 Brittanniam anno circiter CL, misit seruum Dei Augustinum  
 et alios plures cum eo monachos timentes  
 Dominum praedicare uerbum Dei genti Anglorum.  
 Qui cum iussis pontificalibus obtemperantes memoratum  
 opus adgredi coepissent, iamque<sup>4</sup> aliquantulum  
 itineris confecissent, perculsi timore inertis, redire domum  
 potius, quam barbaram, feram, incredulamque  
 gentem, cuius ne linguam quidem nossent, adire cogitabant,  
 et hoc esse tutius communi<sup>5</sup> consilio decernebant.  
 Nec mora, Augustinum, quem eis episcopum ordinandum,  
 si ab Anglis susciperentur, disposuerat. domum remittunt,  
 qui a beato Gregorio humili supplicatu obtineret,  
 ne tam periculosam, tam laboriosam,

Gregory sends Augustine and others to convert the English, A. D. 596.

They turn faint-hearted.

<sup>1</sup> -eis M<sup>l</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> -rent B.      <sup>3</sup> romae M<sup>l</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> itaque C. D.  
<sup>5</sup> omnium N.

tam incertam peregrinationem adire deberent. Quibus ille exhortatorias mittens litteras, in opus eos uerbi, diuino confisos auxilio, proficisci suadet. Quarum uidelicet litterarum ista est forma :

*Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei seruis Domini nostri.*

Gregory encourages them to proceed, July 23, 596.

*Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab his, quae coepta sunt, cogitatione retrorsum redire, summo studio, dilectissimi filii, oportet, ut opus bonum, quod auxiliante Domino coepistis, impleatis. Nec labor uos ergo itineris, nec maledicorum hominum linguae deterreant ; sed omni instantia, omnique feruore, quae inchoastis, Deo auctore peragite ; scientes, quod laborem magnum maior aeternae retributionis gloria sequitur. Remeanti autem Augustino praeposito uestro, quem et abbatem uobis constituimus, in omnibus humiliter oboedite ; scientes hoc uestris animabus per omnia profuturum, quicquid a uobis fuerit in eius admonitione completum. Omnipotens Deus sua uos gratia protegat, et uestri laboris fructum in aeterna me patria uidere concedat ; quatinus etsi uobiscum | laborare nequeo, simul in gaudio retributionis inueniar, quia laborare scilicet uolo. Deus uos incolumes custodiat, dilectissimi filii.*

*Data die X Kalendarum Augustarum, imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno XIII, post consulatum eiusdem domini nostri anno XIII, indictione XIII<sup>1</sup>.*

## CAP. XXIV.

*Ut Arelatensi episcopo epistulam pro eorum susceptione miserit.*

MISIT etiam tunc isdem uenerandus pontifex ad Etherium<sup>2</sup> Arelatensem archiepiscopum<sup>3</sup>, ut Augustinum Brittaniam pergentem benigne susci-peret, litteras, quarum iste est textus :

<sup>1</sup> XIII M. H.  
the line, perhaps by M<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> aeth- N.

<sup>3</sup> In M. archi- is added above

*Reuerentissimo et sanctissimo fratri Etherio<sup>1</sup> coepiscopo Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei.*

Commen-  
datory  
letter to  
Etherius,  
July 23, 596.

*Licet apud sacerdotes habentes Deo placitam caritatem religiosi uiri nullius commendatione indigeant; quia tamen aptum scribendi se tempus ingessit, fraternitati uestrae nostra mittere scripta curauimus; insinuantes latorem praesentium Augustinum seruum Dei, de cuius certi sumus studio, cum aliis seruis Dei, illic nos pro utilitate animarum auxiliante Domino direxisse; quem necesse est, ut sacerdotali studio sanctitas uestra adiuuare, et sua ei solacia praebere festinet. Cui etiam, ut promptiores ad suffragandum possitis<sup>2</sup> existere, causam uobis iniunximus subtiliter indicare; scientes quod, ea cognita, tota uos propter Deum deuotione ad solaciandum, quia res exigit, commodetis. Candidum praeterea presbyterum, communem filium, quem ad gubernationem patrimonioli ecclesiae nostrae transmisimus, caritati uestrae in omnibus commendamus. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reuerentissime frater.*

*Data die X<sup>3</sup> Kalendarum Augustarum, imperante domino<sup>4</sup> nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo<sup>5</sup> Augusto, anno XIII, post consulatum eiusdem domini nostri anno XIII. indictione XIII.*

## CAP. XXV.

*Ut ueniens Britanniam Augustinus<sup>6</sup> primo in insula Tanato regi Cantuariorum praedicarit; et sic accepta ab eo licentia, Cantiam praedicaturus intrauerit.*

Augustine  
lands in  
Kent, A. D.  
597.

ROBORATUS ergo confirmatione beati patris Gregorii. Augustinus cum famulis Christi, qui erant cum eo. rediit<sup>7</sup> in opus uerbi, peruenitque Britanniam. Erat eo tempore rex Aedilberct<sup>8</sup> in Cantia<sup>9</sup> potentissimus.

<sup>1</sup> patri aeth- N.      <sup>2</sup> positis M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>3</sup> in M. -x. is inserted above the line.      <sup>4</sup> domini M.      <sup>5</sup> piissimo M, and so frequently.

<sup>6</sup> agustinus C, and so usually.      <sup>7</sup> redit M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>8</sup> aedilberich N; aedilbercht C, but here, and constantly, it is possible that the bar of the ð is by a later hand, the original reading being d.      <sup>9</sup> cancia N.

qui ad confinium usque Humbrae fluminis maximi, quo meridiani et septentrionales Anglorum populi dirimuntur, fines imperii tetenderat. Est autem ad orientalem Cantiae plagam Tanatos insula non modica, id est magnitudinis iuxta consuetudinem aestimationis Anglorum, familiarum DC<sup>rum</sup>, quam a continenti terra secernit fluuius Uantsumu<sup>1</sup>, qui est latitudinis circiter trium stadiorum, et duobus tantum in locis est transmeabilis; utrumque enim caput protendit in mare. In hac ergo adplicuit seruus Domini Augustinus, et socii eius, uiri, ut ferunt, ferme XL. Acceperunt autem, praecipiente beato papa Gregorio, de gente Francorum interpretes; et mittens ad Aedilberctum<sup>2</sup> mandauit se | uenisse de Roma, ac nuntium ferre optimum, qui sibi obtemperantibus aeterna in caelis gaudia, et regnum sine fine cum Deo uiuo et uero futurum sine ulla dubietate promitteret. Qui, haec audiens, manere illos in ea, quam adierant, insula, et eis necessaria ministrari, donec uideret<sup>3</sup>, quid eis faceret, iussit. Nam et antea fama ad eum Christianae religionis peruenerat, utpote qui et uxorem habebat Christianam de gente Francorum regia, uocabulo Bercta<sup>4</sup>; quam ea condicione a parentibus acceperat, ut ritum fidei ac religionis suae cum episcopo, quem ei adiutorem fidei dederant, nomine Liudhardo, inuiolatum seruare licentiam haberet.

Post dies ergo uenit ad insulam rex, et residens sub diuo, iussit Augustinum cum sociis ad suum ibidem aduenire colloquium. Cauerat enim<sup>5</sup>, ne in aliquam domum ad se introirent, uetere usus augurio, ne superuentu suo, siquid malificae artis habuissent, eum superando deciperent. At illi non daemónica, sed diuina uirtute praediti, ueniebant crucem pro uexillo

Reception  
by Ethel-  
bert of  
Kent.

<sup>1</sup> sic M. N. B<sup>1</sup>; uuantsemu B<sup>2</sup>; uuantsamu C.

N; aedilberctum B<sup>2</sup>(?); aedilberchtum C. v. s.

<sup>2</sup> -berictum

<sup>3</sup> uiderit M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> berchta C.

<sup>5</sup> autem C.

ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini Saluatoris in tabula depictam, laetantiasque canentes pro sua simul et eorum, propter quos et ad quos uenerant, salute aeterna, Domino supplicabant. Cumque ad iussionem regis residentes uerbum ei uitae una cum omnibus, qui aderant, eius comitibus praedicarent, respondit ille dicens: ‘Pulchra sunt quidem<sup>1</sup> uerba et promissa, quae adfertis; sed quia noua sunt et incerta, non his possum adsensum tribuere, relictis eis, quae tanto tempore cum omni Anglorum gente seruaui. Uerum quia de longe huc peregrini uenistis, et, ut ego mihi uideor perspexisse, ea, quae uos uera et optima credebatis, nobis quoque communicare desiderastis, nolumus molesti esse uobis; quin potius benigno uos hospitio recipere, et, quae uictui sunt uestro necessaria, ministrare curamus; nec prohibemus, quin omnes, quos potestis, fidei uestrae religionis praedicando societis<sup>2</sup>.’ Dedit ergo eis mansionem in ciuitate Doruuernensi, quae imperii sui totius erat metropolis. eisque, ut promiserat, cum administratione uictus temporalis licentiam quoque praedicandi non abstulit. Fertur autem, quia adpropinquantes ciuitati, more suo cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Iesu Christi hanc laetantiam consona uoce modularentur: ‘Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a ciuitate ista, et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus. Alleluia<sup>3</sup>.’

## CAP. XXVI.

*Ut idem in Cantia primitiuae ecclesiae et doctrinam sit imitatus, et uitam, atque in urbe regis sedem episcopatus acceperit.*

[ AT ubi datam sibi mansionem intrauerant, coe- f. 16 a.  
perunt apostolicam primitiuae ecclesiae uitam imitari;  
orationibus uidelicet assiduis, uigiliis ac ieiuniis ser-

<sup>1</sup> quidem sunt C. B<sup>2</sup>. W.

<sup>2</sup> sic H<sub>1</sub>. B<sup>2</sup>; sociatis M. C. B<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> O, gives the musical notation for this litany.

Settlement  
in Canter-  
bury.

Mode of  
Life.



uiendo. uerbum uitae, quibus poterant, praedicando, cuncta huius mundi uelut aliena spernendo, ea tantum, quae uictui necessaria uidebantur, ab eis, quos docebant. accipiendo, secundum ea, quae docebant, ipsi per omnia uiuendo, et paratum ad patiendum aduersa quaeque, uel etiam moriendum pro ea, quam praedicabant, ueritate animum habendo. Quid mora? Crediderunt nonnulli et baptizabantur, mirantes simplicitatem innocentis uitae, ac dulcedinem doctrinae eorum caelestis. Erat autem prope ipsam ciuitatem ad orientem ecclesia in honorem sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Brittaniam incolerent, in qua regina, quam Christianam fuisse praediximus, orare consuebat. In hac ergo et ipsi primo conuenire, psallere, orare, missas facere, praedicare, et baptizare coeperunt; donec, rege ad fidem conuerso, maiorem praedicandi per omnia, et ecclesias fabricandi uel restaurandi licentiam acciperent.

At ubi ipse etiam inter alios delectatus uita mundissima sanctorum, et promissis eorum suauissimis, quae uera esse miraculorum quoque multorum ostensione firmauerant, credens baptizatus est, coepere plures cotidie<sup>1</sup> ad audiendum uerbum confluere, ac, relicto gentilitatis ritu, unitati se sanctae Christi ecclesiae credendo sociare. Quorum fidei et conuersioni<sup>2</sup> ita congratulatus esse rex perhibetur, ut nullum tamen cogeret ad Christianismum; sed tantummodo credentes artiori dilectione, quasi conciuēs sibi regni caelestis, amplecteretur. Didicerat enim a doctoribus auctoribusque suae salutis seruitium Christi uoluntarium, non coacticiū esse debere. Nec distulit, quin etiam ipsi doctoribus suis locum sedis eorum gradui congruum in Doruerni metropoli sua donaret, simul et necessarias in diuersis speciebus possessiones conferret.

Baptism of  
Ethelbert.

<sup>1</sup> cot. inserted above the line in M, perhaps by M<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> conuersioni M<sup>1</sup>.

## CAP. XXVII.

*Ut idem episcopus factus Gregorio papae, quae sint Britanniae gesta mandarit, simul et necessariis eius responsa petens acceperit.*

Augustine  
consecrated by  
Etherius,  
A. D. 597.

INTEREA uir Domini Augustinus uenit Arelas, et ab archiepiscopo eiusdem ciuitatis Aetherio<sup>1</sup>, iuxta quod iussa sancti patris Gregorii acceperant, archiepiscopus genti Anglorum ordinatus est; reuersusque Britanniam misit continuo Romam Laurentium presbyterum et Petrum monachum, qui beato pontifici Gregorio gentem Anglorum fidem Christi suscepisse, ac se episcopum factum esse referrent; simul et de eis, quae necessariae uidebantur, quaestionibus eius consulta flagitans. Nec mora, congrua | quaesitui<sup>2</sup> responsa recepit; quae f. 16 b. etiam huic historiae nostrae commodum duximus indere.

Gregory's  
replies to  
Augustine's  
questions.

*I. Interrogatio beati Augustini episcopi<sup>3</sup> Cantuariorum ecclesiae: De episcopis, qualiter cum suis clericis conuersentur, uel de his, quae fidelium oblationibus accedunt altario; quanta debeant fieri portiones et qualiter episcopus agere in ecclesia debeat?*

1. On the  
relations of  
a bishop to  
his clergy.

*Respondit Gregorius papa urbis Romae<sup>4</sup>: Sacra scriptura testatur, quam te bene nosse dubium non est, et specialiter beati Pauli ad Timotheum epistulae, in quibus i Tim. i. eum erudire studuit, qualiter in domo Dei conuersari<sup>15</sup> debuisset. Mos autem sedis apostolicae est ordinatis episcopis praecepta tradere, ut omni stipendio, quod accedit, quattuor debeant fieri portiones; una uidelicet episcopo et familiae propter hospitalitatem atque susceptionem, alia clero, tertia pauperibus, quarta ecclesiis reparandis. Sed quia tua fraternitas monasterii regulis erudita, seorsum fieri non debet a clericis suis in ecclesia Anglorum, quae auctore Deo nuper adhuc ad fidem perducta<sup>5</sup> est, hanc debet conuersationem instituere, quae initio nascentis ecclesiae fuit patribus nostris; in quibus nullus eorum ex his,*

<sup>1</sup> etherio C.      <sup>2</sup> quaestui C. B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>3</sup> C. ends the rubric at episcopi, construing the words cant. eccl. with what follows; so D. omitting episcopi.      <sup>4</sup> urbis r. om. C. D.      <sup>5</sup> adducta M. H<sub>1</sub>.

Act. iv. 32. 34. cf. ii. 44, 45. quae possidebant, aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant eis omnia communia.

Siqui uero sunt clerici extra sacros ordines constituti, qui se continere non possunt, sortiri uxores debent, et stipendia sua exterius accipere; quia et de hisdem patribus, de quibus praefati sumus, nouimus scriptum, quod diuidebatur singulis, prout cuique opus erat. De eorum quoque stipendio cogitandum atque prouidendum est, et sub ecclesiastica regula sunt tenendi, ut bonis moribus uiuant, et canendis psalmis inuigilent, et ab omnibus illicitis et cor et linguam et corpus Deo auctore conseruent. Communi autem uita uiuentibus iam de faciendis portionibus, uel exhibenda hospitalitate, et adimplenda misericordia nobis quid erit loquendum? Cum omne, quod superest, in causis piis ac religiosis erogandum est, Domino magistro omnium docente: 'Quod superest, date<sup>1</sup> elemosinam, et ecce omnia munda sunt uobis.'

Luc. xi. 41.

II. Interrogatio Augustini: Cum una sit fides, sunt ecclesiarum diuersae consuetudines, et altera consuetudo missarum in sancta Romana ecclesia, atque altera in Galliarum tenetur?

Respondit Gregorius papa: Nouit fraternitas tua Romanae ecclesiae consuetudinem, in qua se meminit nutritam. Sed mihi placet ut<sup>2</sup>, siue in Romana, siue in Galliarum, seu in qualibet ecclesia aliquid inuenisti, quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quae adhuc | ad fidem noua est, institutione praecipua, quae de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quae pia, quae religiosa, quae recta sunt, elige; et haec quasi in fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone.

2. On diversities of ritual.

III. Interrogatio Augustini: Obsecro, quid pati debeat, siquis<sup>3</sup> aliquid de ecclesia<sup>4</sup> furtu abstulerit?

<sup>1</sup> datae M.    <sup>2</sup> ut om. M.    <sup>3</sup> siquid M.    <sup>4</sup> de eccles. om. C., it is in A.S.

3. On thefts  
from  
churches.

*Respondit Gregorius: Hoc tua fraternitas ex persona furis pensare potest, qualiter ualeat corrigi. Sunt enim quidam, qui habentes subsidia furtum perpetrant, et sunt alii, qui hac in re ex inopia delinquant; unde necesse est, ut quidam damnis, quidam uero uerberibus, et quidam districtius, quidam autem lenius<sup>1</sup> corrigantur. Et cum paulo districtius agitur, ex caritate agendum est, et non ex furore; quia ipsi hoc praestatur, qui corrigitur, ne gehennae ignibus tradatur. Sic enim nos fidelibus tenere disciplinam debemus, sicut boni patres carnalibus filiis solent, quos et pro culpis uerberibus<sup>2</sup> feriunt, et tamen ipsos, quos doloribus adfligunt, habere heredes quaerunt; et quae possident, ipsis seruant, quos irati insequi uidentur. Haec ergo caritas in mente tenenda est, et ipsa modum correctionis dictat, ita ut mens extra rationis regulam omnino nihil faciat. Addes etiam, quomodo ea, quae furtu de ecclesiis<sup>3</sup> abstulerint, reddere debeant. Sed absit, ut ecclesia cum augmento recipiat, quod de terrenis rebus uidetur amittere, et lucra de uanis quaerere.*

*IIII. Interrogatio Augustini: Si debeant duo germani fratres singulas sorores accipere, quae sunt ab illis longa progenie<sup>4</sup> generatae?*

4, 5. On prohibited  
degrees of  
marriage.

*Respondit Gregorius: Hoc fieri modis omnibus licet; nequaquam enim in sacris eloquiis inuenitur, quod huic capitulo contradicere uideatur.*

*V. Interrogatio Augustini: Usque ad quotam generationem fideles debeant cum propinquis sibi coniugio copulari? et nouereis et cognatis si liceat copulari coniugio?*

*Respondit Gregorius: Quaedam terrena lex in Romana república permittit, ut siue frater et soror, seu duorum fratrum germanorum, uel duarum sororum filius et filia misceantur. Sed experimento didicimus ex tali coniugio sobolem non posse succrescere. Et sacra lex prohibet cognationis turpitudinem reuelare. Unde necesse est, ut iam*

<sup>1</sup> lenius M.

<sup>2</sup> ferferibus M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> furtu de eccl. om. B.

<sup>4</sup> -niae M. B<sup>1</sup>.

*tertia uel quarta generatio fidelium licenter sibi iungi debeat; nam secunda, quam praediximus, a se omni modo debet abstinere. Cum nouerca autem miscere graue est facinus, quia et in | lege scriptum est: 'Turpitudinem patris tui non reuelabis.' Neque enim patris turpitudinem filius reuelare potest. Sed quia scriptum est: 'Erunt duo in carne una,' qui turpitudinem nouercae, quae una caro cum patre fuit, reuelare praesumserit, profecto patris turpitudinem reuelauit. Cum cognata quoque miscere prohibitum est, quia per coniunctionem priorem caro fratris fuerit<sup>1</sup> facta. Pro qua re etiam Iohannes Baptista capite truncatus est, et sancto martyrio consummatus, cui non est dictum, ut Christum negaret, et pro Christi confessione occisus est; sed quia isdem Dominus noster Iesus Christus dixerat: 'Ego sum ueritas'; quia pro ueritate Iohannes occisus est, uidelicet et pro Christo sanguinem fudit.*

*Quia uero sunt multi in Anglorum gente, qui, dum adhuc in infidelitate essent, huic nefundo coniugio dicuntur admixti, ad fidem uenientes admonendi sunt, ut se abstineant, et graue hoc esse peccatum cognoscant<sup>2</sup>. Tremendum Dei iudicium timeant, ne pro carnali dilectione<sup>3</sup> tormenta aeterni cruciatus incurrant. Non tamen pro hac re sacri corporis ac sanguinis Domini communione priuandi sunt, ne in eis illa ulcisci uideantur, in quibus se per ignorantiam ante lauacrum baptismatis adstrinxerunt. In hoc enim tempore sancta ecclesia quaedam per feruorem corrigit, quaedam per mansuetudinem tolerat, quaedam per considerationem dissimulat, atque ita portat et dissimulat, ut saepe malum, quod aduersatur, portando et dissimulando conpescat. Omnes autem, qui ad fidem ueniunt, admonendi sunt, ne tale aliquid audeant perpetrare. Siqui autem perpetrauerint<sup>4</sup>, corporis et sanguinis Domini communione priuandi sunt; quia, sicut in his, qui per ignorantiam fecerunt, culpa aliquatenus toleranda*

<sup>1</sup> fuerat M. H<sub>1</sub>.<sup>2</sup> agnoscant M<sup>l</sup>.<sup>3</sup> delectatione C.<sup>2</sup> H<sub>1</sub>.<sup>4</sup> -runt C<sup>l</sup>. N.



*est, ita in his fortiter insequenda, qui non metuunt sciendo peccare.*

VI. *Interrogatio Augustini: Si longinquitas itineris magna interiacet, ut episcopi non facile ualeant conuenire, an debeat sine aliorum episcoporum praesentia episcopus ordinari?*

6. On consecration by a single bishop.

*Respondit Gregorius: Et quidem in Anglorum ecclesia, in qua adhuc solus tu episcopus inueniris, ordinare episcopum non aliter nisi sine episcopis potes. Nam quando de Galliis<sup>1</sup> episcopi ueniunt, qui in ordinatione episcopi testes adsistant? Sed fraternitatem tuam ita uolumus episcopos ordinare, ut ipsi sibi episcopi longo intervallo minime disiungantur<sup>2</sup>, quatinus nulla sit necessitas, ut in ordinatione episcopi pastores quoque alii, quorum praesentia ualde est utilis, facile debeant conuenire. Cum igitur auctore Deo ita fuerint episcopi in propinquis sibi locis ordinati, per omnia episcoporum ordinatio sine adgregatis tribus | uel quattuor episcopis fieri non debet. Nam f. 18 a. in ipsis rebus spiritalibus, ut sapienter et mature disponantur, exemplum trahere a rebus etiam carnalibus possumus. Certe enim dum coniugia in mundo celebrantur, coniugati quique conuocantur, ut qui in uia iam coniugii praecesserunt, in subsequentis quoque copulae gaudio misceantur. Cur non ergo et in hac spiritali ordinatione, qua per sacrum ministerium homo Deo<sup>3</sup> coniungitur, tales conueniant, qui uel in prouectu<sup>4</sup> ordinati episcopi gaudeant, uel pro eius custodia omnipotenti Deo preces pariter fundant?*

VII. *Interrogatio Augustini: Qualiter debemus cum Galliarum atque Brittaniarum<sup>5</sup> episcopis agere?*

7. On Augustine's relations to the Bishops of Gaul.

*Respondit Gregorius: In Galliarum episcopis nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus; quia ab antiquis praedecessorum<sup>6</sup> meorum temporibus pallium Arelatensis episcopus accepit, quem nos priuare auctoritate percepta minime*

<sup>1</sup> sic H<sub>1</sub>. B<sup>2</sup>; Gallis M. B<sup>1</sup>. C.    <sup>2</sup> -guntur M.    <sup>3</sup> dei C. N. M. above the line; deo H<sub>1</sub>. D.    <sup>4</sup> profectu C<sup>1</sup>. N. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>5</sup> brittaniarumque M.    <sup>6</sup> prodec- B<sup>1</sup>.

debemus. Si igitur contingat, ut fraternitas tua ad Galliarum prouinciam transeat, cum eodem Arelatense episcopo debet agere, qualiter, siqua sunt in episcopis uitia, corrigantur. Qui si forte in disciplinae<sup>1</sup> uigore tepidus existat, tuæ fraternitatis zelo accendendus est. Cui etiam epistulas fecimus, ut cum tuæ sanctitatis praesentia in Galliis, et ipse tota mente subueniat, et quae sunt Creatoris nostri iussioni contraria, ab episcoporum moribus conpescat. Ipse autem extra auctoritatem propriam episcopos Galliarum iudicare non poteris; sed suadendo, blandiendo, bona quoque opera eorum imitationi monstrando, prauorum mentes ad sanctitatis studia reforma: quia scriptum est in lege: ‘Per alienam messem transiens falcem mittere non debet, sed manu spicas conterere et manducare.’ Falcem enim iudicii mittere non potes in ca segete, quae alteri uidetur esse commissa; sed per affectum boni operis frumenta dominica uitiorum suorum paleis expolia, et in ecclesiae corpore monendo et persuadendo, quasi mandendo conuerte. Quicquid uero ex auctoritate agendum est, cum praedicto Arelatense episcopo agatur, ne praetermitti possit hoc, quod antiqua patrum institutio inuenit. Britanniarum uero omnes episcopos tuæ fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, peruersi auctoritate corrigantur.

VIII. Interrogatio Augustini: Si pregnans mulier debeat baptizari? aut postquam genuerit, post quantum tempus possit ecclesiam intrare? aut etiam, ne morte praecoccupetur, quod genuerit, post quot dies hoc liceat sacri baptismatis sacramenta percipere? aut post quantum temporis huic uir suus possit in | carnis copulatione coniungi? aut, si menstrua consuetudine tenetur, an ecclesiam intrare ei liceat, aut sacrae communionis sacramenta percipere? aut uir suae coniugi permixtus, priusquam lauetur aqua, si ecclesiam possit intrare? uel etiam ad

<sup>1</sup> -nis M N.

*mysterium communionis sacrae accedere? Quae omnia rudi Anglorum genti oportet haberi conperta.*

9. On cer-  
tain ques-  
tions of  
personal  
purity.

*Respondit Gregorius: Hoc non ambigo fraternitatem tuam esse requisitam, cui iam et responsum reddidisse me arbitror. Sed hoc, quod ipse dicere et sentire potuisti, credo, quia mea apud te uolueris responsione firmari. Mulier etenim pregnant cur non debeat baptizari, cum non sit ante omnipotentis Dei oculos culpa aliqua fecunditas carnis? Nam cum primi parentes nostri in paradiso deliquissent, immortalitatem, quam acceperant, recto Dei iudicio perdidierunt. Quia itaque isdem omnipotens Deus humanum genus pro culpa sua funditus extinguere noluit, et immortalitatem homini pro peccato suo abstulit, et tamen pro benignitate suae pietatis fecunditatem ei subolis reseruauit. Quod ergo naturae humanae ex omnipotentis Dei dono seruatum est, qua ratione poterit a sacri baptismatis gratia prohibere<sup>1</sup>? In illo quippe mysterio, in quo omnis culpa funditus extinguitur, ualde stultum est, si donum gratiae contradicere posse uideatur.*

*Cum uero enixa fuerit mulier, post quot dies debeat ecclesiam intrare, testamenti ueteris praeceptione didicisti, Leuit. xii. 4, 5. ut pro masculo diebus XXXIII, pro femina autem diebus LXVI debeat abstinere. Quod tamen sciendum est, quia in mysterio accipitur. Nam si hora eadem, qua genuerit, actura gratias intrat ecclesiam, nullo peccati pondere grauatur; uoluptas etenim carnis, non dolor in culpa est. In carnis autem commistione uoluptas est; nam in prolis prolatione gemitus. Unde et ipsi primae matri omnium dicitur: 'In doloribus paries.' Si itaque enixam mulierem pro-* Gen. iii. 16.

*hibemus ecclesiam intrare, ipsam ei poenam suam in culpam deputamus. Baptizare autem uel enixam mulierem, uel hoc quod genuerit, si mortis periculo urgetur, uel ipsam hora eadem, qua gignit, uel hoc, quod gignitur, eadem, qua natum est, nullo modo prohibetur; quia sancti mysterii gratia, sicut uiuentibus atque discernentibus cum*

<sup>1</sup> -ri H<sub>1</sub>. and so A.S.

*magna discretionē providenda est; ita his, quibus mors imminet, sine ulla dilatione offerenda<sup>1</sup>; ne dum adhuc tempus | ad præbendum redemptionis mysterium quaeritur, interueniente paululum mora, inueniri non ualeat, qui redimatur.*

*Ad eius uero concubitus uir suus accedere non debet, quoadusque, qui gignitur<sup>2</sup>, ablactatur. Præua autem in coniugatorum moribus consuetudo surrexit, ut mulieres filios, quos gignunt, nutrire contemnant, eosque aliis mulieribus ad nutriendum tradant, quod uidelicet ex sola causa incontinentiæ uidetur inuentum<sup>3</sup>; quia, dum se continere nolunt, despiciunt lactare, quos gignunt. Hæc itaque, quæ<sup>4</sup> filios suos ex præua consuetudine aliis ad nutriendum tradunt, nisi purgationis tempus transierit, uiris suis non debent admisceri; quippe quia et sine partus causa, cum in suetis menstruis detinentur, uiris suis misceri prohibetur; ita ut morte lex sacra feriat, si quis uir ad menstruatam mulierem accedat. Quæ tamen mulier, dum consuetudinem menstruam patitur, prohiberi ecclesiam intrare non debet, quia ei naturæ superfluitas in culpam non ualet reputari; et per hoc, quod inuita patitur, iustum non est, ut ingressu ecclesiæ priuetur. Nouimus namque, quod mulier, quæ<sup>5</sup> fluxum patiebatur sanguinis, post tergum Domini humiliter ueniens uestimenti eius fimbriam tetigit, atque ab ea statim sua infirmitas recessit. Si ergo in fluxu sanguinis posita laudabiliter potuit Domini uestimentum tangere, cur, quæ menstruam sanguinis patitur, ei non liceat Domini ecclesiam intrare? Sed dices<sup>6</sup>: Illam infirmitas compulit; hæc uero, de quibus loquimur, consuetudo constringit. Perpende autem, frater carissime, quia omne, quod in hac mortali carne patimur ex infirmitate naturæ, est digno Dei iudicio post culpam ordinatum. Esurire namque, sitire, aestuare, algere, lassescere ex infirmitate naturæ est. Et quid est aliud contra famem alimenta, contra sitim potum, contra*

<sup>1</sup> proferenda M<sup>1</sup>. H<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> gignit M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>3</sup> infentum C<sup>1</sup>.<sup>4</sup> quæ om. M. C<sup>1</sup>.<sup>5</sup> qui M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>6</sup> dices M. B<sup>2</sup>

aestum auras, contra frigus uestem, contra lassitudinem requiem quaerere, nisi medicamentum quidem contra egritudines explorare? Feminae itaque et menstruus sui sanguinis fluxus egritudo est. Si igitur bene praesumsit, quae uestimentum Domini in langore posita tetigit, quod uni personae infirmanti conceditur, cur non concedatur<sup>1</sup> cunctis mulieribus, quae naturae suae uitio infirmantur?

Sanctae autem communionis mysterium in eisdem diebus percipere non debet prohiberi. Si autem ex ueneratione magna percipere non praesumit<sup>2</sup>, laudanda est; sed si perceperit, non iudicanda. Bonarum quippe mentium est, | et ibi aliquo modo culpas suas agnoscere ubi culpa f. 19 b. non est; quia saepe sine culpa agitur, quod uenit ex culpa; unde etiam cum esurimus, sine culpa comedimus, quibus ex culpa primi hominis factum est, ut esuriamus. Menstrua enim consuetudo mulieribus non aliqua culpa est, uidelicet quae naturaliter accedit<sup>4</sup>. Sed tamen quod natura ipsa ita uitiosa est, ut etiam sine uoluntatis studio uideatur esse polluta, ex culpa uenit uitium, in quo se ipsa, qualis per iudicium facta sit, humana natura cognoscat. Et homo, qui culpam sponte perpetravit, reatum culpa portet<sup>5</sup> inuitus. Atque ideo feminae cum semet ipsis considerent, et si in menstrua consuetudine ad sacramentum dominici corporis et sanguinis accedere non praesumant, de sua recta consideratione laudandae sunt; dum uero percipiendo ex religiosae uitae consuetudine eiusdem mysterii amore rapiuntur, reprimendae, sicut praediximus, non sunt. Sicut enim<sup>6</sup> in testamento ueteri exteriora opera obseruantur<sup>7</sup>, ita in testamento nouo non tam, quod exterius agitur, quam id, quod interius cogitatur, sollicita intentione adtenditur, ut subtili sententia puniatur. Nam cum multa lex uelut immunda manducare prohibeat<sup>8</sup>, in euangelio tamen

<sup>1</sup> -ditur B<sup>1</sup>. N.

<sup>2</sup> -sumpsit C. B<sup>1</sup> (?).

<sup>3</sup> -ciperit MSS.

<sup>4</sup> accedit M<sup>2</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> portat C. H<sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> enim om. M. added

above the line H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>7</sup> -serbantur C<sup>1</sup>; -serbabantur C<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> -be-

bat M. H<sub>1</sub>.



Matt. xv. 11; cf. Marc. vii. 15. *Dominus dicit: 'Non quod intrat in os, coinquinat hominem; sed quae exeunt de ore, illa sunt, quae coinquinant hominem'.*<sup>1</sup> Atque paulo post subiecit exponens: *'Ex corde exeunt cogitationes malae.'* Ubi ubertim indicatum est, quia illud ab omnipotente Deo pollutum esse in opere ostenditur, quod ex pollutae cogitationis radice generatur.

Matt. xv. 19; cf. Marc. vii. 21. Tit. i. 15. *Unde Paulus quoque apostolus dicit: 'Omnia munda mundis, coinquinatis autem et infidelibus nihil est mundum.'* Atque mox eiusdem causam coinquinationis admuntians subiungit<sup>2</sup>: *Coinquinata sunt enim*<sup>3</sup> *et mens eorum et conscientia.* Si ergo ei cibus immundus non est, cui mens immunda non fuerit; cur, quod munda mente mulier ex natura patitur, ei in<sup>4</sup> immunditiam reputetur<sup>5</sup>?

Leuit. xv. 16. *Uir autem cum propria coniuge dormiens, nisi lotus aqua, intrare ecclesiam non debet; sed neque lotus intrare statim debet. Lex autem ueteri populo praecepit, ut mixtus uir mulieri, et lauari aqua debeat, et ante solis occasum ecclesiam non intrare; quod tamen intellegi spiritaliter potest. Quia mulieri uir miscetur, quando illicitae concupiscentiae animus in cogitatione per delectationem*<sup>6</sup> *coniungitur; quia, nisi prius ignis concupiscentiae a mente deferueat, dignum se congregationi fratrum aestimare non debet, qui se grauari* | *per nequitiam prauae uoluntatis uidet. Quamuis de hac re diuersae hominum nationes diuersa sentiant, atque alia custodire uideantur. Romanorum tamen semper ab antiquioribus usus fuit, post amixtionem propriae coniugis, et lauacri purificationem quaerere, et ab ingressu ecclesiae paululum reuerenter abstinere. Nec haec dicentes culpam deputamus esse coniugium; sed quia ipsa licita amixtio coniugis*<sup>7</sup> *sine uoluntate carnis fieri non potest, a sacri loci ingressu abstinendum est; quia uoluntas ipsa esse sine culpa nullatenus potest. Non enim de adulterio uel fornicatione, sed de*

<sup>1</sup> sed quae... hominem omitted in the text of M., added on lower margin.      <sup>2</sup> adiungit M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>3</sup> autem N<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> in om. M.

<sup>5</sup> -tatur N.      <sup>6</sup> dilectionem C<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>7</sup> -giis M.

*legitimo coniugio natus fuerat, qui dicebat: 'Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in delictis peperit me mater mea'.* Ps. l. 5. Qui enim in iniquitatibus conceptum se nouerat, a delicto se natum gemebat; quia portat in ramo umorem uitii, quem traxit ex radice. In quibus tamen uerbis non amixtionem coniugum<sup>2</sup> iniquitatem nominat, sed ipsam uidelicet uoluntatem amixtionis. Sunt etenim multa, quae licita ac legitima, et tamen in eorum actu aliquatenus fedamur; sicut saepe irascendo culpas insequimur, et tranquillitatem in nobis animi perturbamus; et cum rectum sit, quod agitur, non est tamen adprobabile, quod in eo animus perturbatur. Contra uitia quippe delinquentium iratus fuerat, qui dicebat: *'Turbatus est prae ira oculus meus.'* Ps. vi. 7. Quia enim non ualet nisi tranquilla mens in contemplationis se lucem suspendere, in ira suum oculum turbatum dolebat; quia, dum male acta deorsum insequitur, confundi atque turbari a summorum contemplatione cogeatur. Et laudabilis ergo est ira contra uitium, et tamen molesta, quae<sup>3</sup> turbatum se aliquem reatum incurrisse aestimabat. Oportet itaque legitimam carnis copulam, ut causa prolis sit, non uoluntatis; et carnis commixtio creandorum liberorum sit gratia, non satisfactio uitiorum. Siquis uero suam coniugem non cupidine uoluptatis<sup>4</sup> raptus, sed solummodo creandorum liberorum gratia utitur, iste profecto siue de ingressu ecclesiae, seu de sumendo dominici corporis sanguinisque mysterio, suo est iudicio relinquendus; quia a nobis prohiberi non debet accipere, qui in igne positus nescit ardere. Cum uero non amor ortandi subolis, sed uoluntas dominatur in opere commixtionis, habent coniuges etiam de sua commixtione, quod defleant. Hoc enim eis concedit sancta praedicatio, et tamen de ipsa concessione metu animum concutit. Nam cum Paulus apostolus diceret: | *'Qui se continere non* f. 20 l.

<sup>1</sup> et in . . . mea from C. B; M has simply et cet. so H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>2</sup> coniugium M<sup>1</sup>. C<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>1</sup>. <sup>3</sup> quia C. <sup>4</sup> uoluntatis N<sup>1</sup>. and so at first M.

1 Cor. vii. *potest, habeat uxorem suam,* statim subiungere curauit :  
 2, 9.  
 1b. 6. *'Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium.'* Non enim indulgetur, quod licet, quia iustum est. Quod igitur indulgere dixit, culpam esse demonstrauit.

Exod. xix. *Vigilanti uero mente pensandum est, quod in Sina*  
 15. *monte Dominus ad populum locuturus prius eundem populum abstinere a mulieribus praecepit. Et si illic, ubi Dominus per creaturam subditam hominibus loquebatur, tanta prouisione est munditia corporis requisita, ut, qui uerba Dei perciperent, mulieribus mixti non essent : quanto magis mulieres, quae corpus Domini omnipotentis accipiunt, custodire in se munditiam carnis debent, ne ipsa inaeestimabilis mysterii magnitudine grauentur? Hinc etiam<sup>1</sup> ad David de pueris suis per sacerdotem dicitur, ut si a mulieribus mundi essent, panes propositionis acciperent, quos omnino non acciperent, nisi prius mundos eos David a mulieribus fateretur. Tunc autem uir, qui post amixtionem coniugis lotus aqua fuerit, etiam sacrae communionis mysterium ualeat accipere, cum ei iuxta praefinitam sententiam etiam ecclesiam licuerit intrare.*

1 Reg.  
 xxi. 4, 5.

VIIII. Interrogatio Augustini : Si post inlusionem, quae per somnium solet accedere<sup>2</sup>, uel corpus Domini quislibet accipere ualeat : uel, si sacerdos sit, sacra mysteria celebrare?

Leuit. xv. *Respondit Gregorius : Hunc quidem testamentum ueteris*  
 6; xxii.  
 7; Deut.  
 xiii. 10,  
 1. *legis, sicut in superiori capitulo iam diximus, pollutum dicit, et nisi lotum aqua ei<sup>3</sup> usque ad uesperum intrare ecclesiam non concedit. Quod tamen aliter populus spiritalis intellegens sub eodem intellectu accipiet, quo praefati sumus; quia quasi per somnium inluditur<sup>4</sup>, qui temptatus<sup>5</sup> immunditia, ueris imaginibus in cogitatione inquinatur; sed lauandus est aqua, ut culpas cogitationis lacrimis abluat; et nisi prius ignis temptationis reciderit<sup>6</sup>, reum se quasi*

<sup>1</sup> etenim C.

<sup>2</sup> sic M<sup>1</sup>. B. C<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>1</sup>; accedere man. sec. and H<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> an erasure in M. <sup>4</sup> -detur C. B. N<sup>1</sup>. and so at first M. <sup>5</sup> -tur M.

<sup>6</sup> recesserit C. D<sup>2</sup>.

usque ad uesperum cognoscat. Sed est in eadem inlusione ualde necessaria discretio, quae subtiliter pensari debet<sup>1</sup>, ex qua re accedat<sup>2</sup> menti dormientis; aliquando enim ex crapula, aliquando ex naturae superfluitate uel infirmitate, aliquando ex cogitatione contingit. Et quidem cum ex naturae superfluitate<sup>3</sup> uel infirmitate euenerit, omnimodo haec inlusio non est timenda; quia hanc animum nescientem<sup>4</sup> pertulisse<sup>5</sup> magis dolendum est, quam fecisse. Cum uero ultra modum appetitus<sup>6</sup> gulae in sumendis alimentis rapitur, atque idcirco umorum receptacula grauantur, habet exinde animus aliquem reatum, non tamen usque ad prohibitionem percipiendi sancti mysterii uel missarum sollemnia celebrandi; cum fortasse aut festus dies exigit, aut | exhiberi f. 21 a. mysterium (pro eo, quod sacerdos alius in loco deest) ipsa necessitas compellit. Nam si adsunt alii, qui implere ministerium ualeant, inlusio pro crapula<sup>7</sup> facta a perceptione sacri mysterii prohibere non debet; sed ab immolatione sacri mysterii abstinere, ut arbitror, humiliter debet; si tamen dormientis mentem turpi imaginatione non concusserit. Nam sunt, quibus ita plerumque inlusio nascitur, ut eorum animus, etiam in somno corporis positus, turpibus<sup>8</sup> imaginationibus non fedetur. Qua in re unum ibi ostenditur ipsa mens rea, non tamen uel suo iudicio libera, cum se, etsi dormienti corpore, nihil meminit uidisse, tamen<sup>9</sup> in uigiliis corporis meminit in ingluuiem cecidisse. Sin uero ex turpi cogitatione uigilantis oritur inlusio dormientis, patet animo reatus suus; uidet enim, a qua radice inquisitione illa processerit, quia, quod cogitauit sciens, hoc pertulit<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> debeat C. B. N.  
M'. C<sup>2</sup>. N<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> sic B. C<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>1</sup>; accedit M<sup>1</sup>; accedat

<sup>3</sup> Owing to the recurrence of the words 'superfluitate uel infirmitate,' the passage uel infirmitate aliquando . . . superfluitate has been omitted in M. B. N; M<sup>2</sup> has tried to mend matters by erasing uel and adding on margin aliquando ex necessitate contingit. So exactly H<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> and H<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. <sup>4</sup> nesciem M; animus nescius C. B. N; animus nesciens H<sub>1</sub>. W. O<sub>1-6</sub>, &c.

<sup>5</sup> -tullisse M.

<sup>6</sup> s erased in M. <sup>7</sup> sic MSS. per crapulam edd. <sup>8</sup> turpos M<sup>1</sup>; turpis M'. C. B<sup>1</sup>. <sup>9</sup> tunc H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>10</sup> -tullit M.



nesciens. Sed pensandum est, ipsa cogitatio utrum suggestione an delectatione, uel, quod maius est, peccati consensu acciderit. Tribus enim<sup>1</sup> modis impletur omne peccatum, uidelicet suggestione, delectatione, consensu. Suggestio quippe fit per diabolum, delectatio per carnem, consensus per spiritum; quia et primam culpam serpens suggestit, *Eua* uelut caro delectata est, *Adam* uero<sup>2</sup> uelut spiritus consensit; et necessaria est magna discretio, ut inter suggestionem<sup>3</sup> atque delectationem, inter delectationem et consensum iudex sui animus praesideat. Cum enim malignus spiritus peccatum suggerit in mente, si nulla peccati delectatio sequatur, peccatum omnimodo perpetratum non est; cum uero delectare caro coeperit, tunc peccatum incipit nasci; si autem etiam<sup>4</sup> ex deliberatione consentit, tunc peccatum cognoscitur perfici. In suggestione igitur peccati semen<sup>5</sup> est, in delectatione fit nutrimentum, in consensu perfectio. Et saepe contingit<sup>6</sup>, ut hoc, quod malignus spiritus seminat in cogitatione, caro in delectationem trahat; nec tamen anima eidem delectationi consentiat. Et cum caro delectare sine animo nequeat, ipse tamen animus carnis uoluptatibus reluctans, in delectatione carnali aliquo modo ligatur inuitus, ut ei ex ratione contradicat, ne consentiat; et tamen delectatione ligatus sit, sed ligatum se uehementer ingemiscat. Unde et ille caelestis exercitus praecipuus miles gemebat dicens: 'Uideo aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae et captiuum<sup>7</sup> | me ducentem in lege peccati, quae est in membris meis.' Si autem captiuus erat, minime pugnabat; sed et pugnabat; quapropter et captiuus erat, et pugnabat igitur legi mentis, cui lex, quae in membris est, repugnabat. Si autem pugnabat, captiuus non erat. Ecce itaque homo est, ut

<sup>1</sup> etenim C,    <sup>2</sup> uero om. C.    <sup>3</sup> suges- M.    <sup>4</sup> etiam om. C.

<sup>5</sup> M. C. B<sup>1</sup>. N. W. H<sup>1</sup>. D. O<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> &c., have the meaningless reading *si mens*; B<sup>2</sup>. O<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> have altered this to *semen*, and this, which had occurred to the editor independently, is probably the right correction; cf. '*seminat*,' two lines below; *semen* is the reading of O<sub>1-5</sub>. O<sub>10</sub>. O<sub>14</sub>; *initium* O<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>6-7</sub>. O<sub>11</sub>.    <sup>6</sup> contigit M<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>1</sup>. H<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>. edd.    <sup>7</sup> -uam M<sup>4</sup>.



*ita dixerim, captiuus et liber; liber ex iustitia, quam diligit, captiuus ex delectatione, quam portat inuitus.*

## CAP. XXVIII.

*Ut papa Gregorius epistolam Arelatensi episcopo, pro adiuvando in opere Dei Augustino, miserit.*

HUCUSQUE responsiones beati papae Gregorii ad consulta reuerentissimi antistitis<sup>1</sup> Augustini. Epistolam uero, quam se Arelatensi episcopo fecisse commemorat, ad Uergilium Aetherii successorem dederat; cuius haec forma est:

*'Reuerentissimo et sanctissimo fratri Uergilio coepiscopo Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei.*

*Quantus sit affectus uenientibus sponte fratribus inpendendus, ex eo, quod plerumque solent caritatis causa inuitari, cognoscitur. Et ideo, si communem fratrem Augustinum episcopum ad uos uenire contigerit, ita illum dilectio uestra, sicut decet, affectuose dulciterque suscipiat, ut et ipsum consolationis suae bono refoueat<sup>2</sup>, et alios, qualiter fraterna caritas colenda sit, doceat. Et quoniam saepius euenit, ut hi, qui longe sunt positi, prius ab aliis, quae sunt emendanda, cognoscant; si quas fortasse fraternitati uestrae sacerdotum uel aliorum culpas intulerit, una cum eo residentes subtili cuncta inuestigatione perquirite, et ita uos in ea, quae Deum offendunt, et ad iracundiam prouocant, districtos ac sollicitos exhibete, ut ad aliorum emendationem et uindicta culpabilem feriat, et innocentem falsa opinio non affligat. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reuerentissime frater.*

*Data die X<sup>3</sup> Kalendarum Iuliarum, imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno XIX, post consulatum<sup>4</sup> eiusdem domini<sup>5</sup> anno XVIII, indictione IIII.'*

<sup>1</sup> antistitis B.      <sup>2</sup> reuoueat C.      <sup>3</sup> x inserted above the line M.

<sup>4</sup> Here and generally in the MSS. this phrase is abbreviated  $\overline{\text{PC}}$ ; C<sup>1</sup> reads pontificatus; C<sup>2</sup> inserts above the line 'uel consulatus'; N on margin suggests 'princeipatus'; and in fact B reads here  $\overline{\text{PR}}$ , though elsewhere it always reads  $\overline{\text{PC}}$ .      <sup>5</sup> nostri add C. N.

## CAP. XXIX.

*Ut idem Augustino pallium et epistolam et plures uerbi ministros miserit.*

Matt. ix. 37; Luc. x. 2. **PRAETEREA** idem papa Gregorius Augustino episcopo, quia suggererat ei multam quidem sibi esse messem. sed operarios paucos, misit cum praefatis legatariis suis plures cooperatores ac uerbi ministros; in quibus primi et praecipui erant Mellitus, Iustus, Paulinus, Rufinianus; et per eos generaliter uniuersa, quae ad cultum erant ac ministerium ecclesiae necessaria, uasa uidelicet sacra, et uestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum. et sacerdotalia uel clericilia indumenta, sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias, nec non et codices plurimos. Misit etiam litteras, in quibus significat se ei pallium direxisse, simul et insinuat, qualiter episcopos in Brittania constituere debuisset; quarum litterarum iste est textus:

Gregory sends a fresh mission to Britain, with a pallium and letter for Augustine. June 22, 601.

f. 22 a.

| *Reuerentissimo et sanctissimo fratri Augustino coepiscopo Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei.*

*Cum certum sit pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia aeterni regni praemia reseruari; nobis tamen eis necesse est honorum beneficia tribuere, ut in spiritualis operis studio ex remuneratione ualeant multiplicius insudare. Et quia noua Anglorum ecclesia ad omnipotentis Dei gratiam eodem Domino largiente, et te laborante perducta est, usum tibi pallii in ea ad sola missarum sollemnia agenda concedimus<sup>1</sup>, ita ut per loca singula XII episcopos ordines, qui tuae subiaceant dicioni, quatinus Lundoniensis ciuitatis episcopus semper in posterum a synodo propria debeat consecrari, atque honoris pallium ab hac sancta et apostolica, cui Deo auctore deseruio, sede percipiat. Ad Eburacam uero ciuitatem te uolumus episcopum mittere, quem ipse iudicaueris<sup>2</sup> ordinare; ita duntaxat, ut, si eadem ciuitas cum finitimis locis uerbum Dei receperit<sup>3</sup>, ipse quoque XII*

<sup>1</sup> sic H<sub>1</sub>. N; -damus C; -demus M. B.

<sup>2</sup> -caberis B<sup>1</sup>; -cabis N.

<sup>3</sup> recipit M<sup>1</sup>. C<sup>1</sup>. N.

episcopos ordinet, et metropolitani honore perfruatur; quia ei quoque, si uita comes fuerit, pallium tribuere Domino fauente disponimus, quem tamen tuae fraternitatis uolumus dispositioni subiaccere; post obitum uero tuum ita episcopis, quos ordinauerit, praesit, ut Lundoniensis episcopi nullo modo dicioni subiaceat. Sit uero inter Lundoniae et Eburacae ciuitatis episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur, qui prius fuerit ordinatus; communi autem consilio, et concordii actione quaeque sunt pro Christi zelo agenda disponant unanimiter; recte sentiant, et ea, quae senserint, non sibimet discrepando perficiant.

Tua uero fraternitas non solum eos episcopos, quos ordinauerit, neque hos tantummodo, qui per Eburacae episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Brittaniae sacerdotes habeat Deo Domino nostro Iesu Christo auctore subiectos; quatinus ex lingua et uita tuae sanctitatis et recte credendi, et bene uiuendi formam percipiant, atque officium suum fide ac moribus exsequentes, ad caelestia, cum Dominus uoluerit, regna pertingant. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reuerentissime frater.

Data die X<sup>1</sup>. Kalendarum Iuliarum, imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno XVIII, post consulatum eiusdem domini anno XVIII, indictione IIII.

### CAP. XXX.

*Exemplar epistolae, quam Mellito abbati Britanniam pergenti misit.*

ABEUNTIBUS autem praefatis legatariis, misit post eos beatus pater Gregorius litteras memoratu dignas, in quibus aperte, quam studiose<sup>2</sup> erga saluationem | nos- f. 22 b. trae gentis inuigilauerit, ostendit, ita scribens:

‘Dilectissimo filio Mellito abbati Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei.

<sup>1</sup> x inserted below the line in M; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> studiosse M<sup>1</sup>.

*Post discessum congregationis nostrae, quae tecum est, ualde sumus suspensi redditi, quia nihil de prosperitate uestri itineris audisse nos contigit. Cum ergo Deus omnipotens uos ad reuerentissimum uirum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum perduxerit, dicite ei, quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractauit; uidelicet, quia fana idolorum<sup>1</sup> destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa, quae in eis sunt, idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiae ponantur. Quia, si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est, ut a cultu daemonum in obsequio ueri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non uidet destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum uerum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca, quae consuevit, familiariter concurrat. Et quia boues solent in sacrificio daemonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua sollemnitas immutari; ut die dedicationis, uel natalicii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, quae ex fanis commutatae sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis conuiuiis<sup>2</sup> sollemnitatem celebrent; nec diabolo iam animalia immolent, et ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant; ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reseruantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius ualeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere impossibile esse non dubium est, quia et is, qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus uel passibus, non autem saltibus cleuatur. Sic Israelitico populo in Aegypto Dominus se quidem innotuit; sed tamen eis sacrificiorum usus, quae diabolo solebat exhibere, in culto proprio reseruauit<sup>3</sup>, ut eis in suo sacrificio animalia immolare praecciperet; quatinus cor mutantes, aliud de sacrificio amitterent, aliud retinerent; ut etsi ipsa essent animalia, quae offerre consueuerant, uero tamen Deo haec et non idolis immolantes, iam*

Letter to  
Mellitus  
? July 18,  
601.

<sup>1</sup> idolorum M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> -uis M. B<sup>1</sup>. C.

<sup>3</sup> reserabit C<sup>1</sup>.

*sacrificia ipsa non essent. Haec igitur dilectionem tuam praedicto fratri necesse est dicere, ut ipse in praesenti illic positus perpenderit, qualiter omnia debeat dispensare. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime fili.*

*Data die XV. Kalendarum Iuliarum<sup>1</sup>, imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno XIX, post consulatum<sup>2</sup> eiusdem domini<sup>3</sup> anno XVIII, indictione IIII.*

## CAP. XXXI.

*Ut Augustinum per litteras, ne de virtutibus suis gloriaretur, hortatus sit.*

| Quo in tempore misit etiam Augustino epistulam f. 23 a.  
super miraculis, quae per eum facta esse cognouerat, in qua eum, ne per illorum copiam periculum elationis incurreret, his uerbis hortatur :

Letter to  
Augustine.

*Scio, frater carissime, quia omnipotens Deus per dilectionem tuam in gentem, quam eligi uoluit, magna miracula ostendit ; unde necesse est, ut de eodem<sup>4</sup> dono caelesti et timendo gaudeas, et gaudendo pertimescas<sup>5</sup>. Gaudeas uidelicet, quia Anglorum animae per exteriora miracula ad interiorem gratiam pertrahuntur : pertimescas uero, ne inter signa, quae fiunt, infirmus animus in sui praesumptione se cleuet, et unde foras in honorem tollitur, inde per inanem gloriam intus cadat. Meminisse etenim debemus, quia discipuli cum gaudio a praedicatione redeuntes, dum caelesti magistro dicerent : ‘ Domine, in nomine tuo etiam Luc. x. 17.  
daemonia nobis subiecta sunt,’ protinus audierunt : ‘ Nolite ib. 20.  
gaudere super hoc, sed potius gaudete, quia nomina uestra scripta sunt in caelo.’ In priuata enim et temporali laetitia mentem posuerant, qui de miraculis gaudebant ; sed de priuata<sup>6</sup> ad communem, de temporali ad aeternam laetitiam reuocantur, quibus dicitur : ‘ In hoc gaudete,*

<sup>1</sup> iuliarum om. M. N. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> PC. i. patri conscripto N<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> nostri add C. N.

<sup>4</sup> eadem M.

<sup>5</sup> gaudeas . . . pertimescas

om. N.

<sup>6</sup> -to M.



*quia nomina uestra scripta sunt in caelo.* Non enim omnes electi miracula faciunt, sed tamen eorum nomina omnium in caelo tenentur adscripta. Veritatis etenim discipulis esse gaudium non debet, nisi de eo bono, quod commune cum omnibus habent, et in quo finem laetitiae non habent.

*Restat itaque, frater carissime, ut inter ea, quae operante Domino exterius facis, semper te interius subtiliter iudices ac subtiliter intellegas et temet ipsum quis sis, et quanta sit in eadem gente gratia, pro cuius conuersione etiam facientium signorum dona percepisti<sup>1</sup>. Et si quando te Creatori nostro seu per linguam, sive per operam<sup>2</sup> reminisceris deliquisse, semper haec ad memoriam reuoces, ut surgentem cordis gloriam memoria reatus premat. Et quicquid de faciendis signis acceperis, uel accepisti, haec non tibi, sed illis deputes donata, pro quorum tibi salute collata sunt.*

## CAP. XXXII.

*Ut Aedilbercto<sup>3</sup> regi litteras et dona miserit.*

MISIT idem beatus papa Gregorius eodem tempore etiam regi Aedilbercto<sup>4</sup> epistulam, simul et dona in diuersis speciebus perplura; temporalibus quoque honoribus regem glorificare satagens, cui gloriae caelestis suo labore et industria notitiam prouenisse gaudebat. Exemplar autem praefatae epistulae hoc est:

| *Domino gloriosissimo atque praecellentissimo filio Aedilbercto<sup>5</sup> regi Anglorum Gregorius episcopus.*

*Propter hoc omnipotens Deus bonos quosque ad populorum regimina perducit, ut per eos omnibus, quibus praelati fuerint, dona suae pietatis impendat. Quod in Anglorum*

Letter to  
Ethelbert.  
June 22,  
601.

<sup>1</sup> -cipisti M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> opera M. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> edilbericto N.    <sup>4</sup> aedilbericto N; aeðilbercto C. *here and above.*    <sup>5</sup> adil- M<sup>1</sup>; adilberto B<sup>1</sup>; alberto B<sup>2</sup>; aeðilberhto C; aedilbericto N.

gente factum cognouimus, cui uestra gloria ideo est praeposita, ut per bona, quae uobis concessa sunt, etiam subiectae uobis genti superna beneficia praestarentur. Et ideo, gloriose fili, eam, quam accepisti diuinitus gratiam, sollicita mente custodi, Christianam fidem in populis tibi subditis extendere festina, zelum rectitudinis tuae in eorum conuersione multiplica, idolorum cultus insequere, fanorum aedificia euerte, subditorum mores ex magna uitae munditia, erhortando, terrendo, blandiendo, corrigendo, et boni operis exempla monstrando aedifica; ut illum retributorem inuenias in caelo, cuius nomen atque cognitionem dilataueris in terra. Ipse enim uestrae quoque gloriae nomen etiam posteris gloriosius reddet, cuius uos honorem quaeritis et seruatis in gentibus.

Sic etenim Constantinus quondam piissimus imperator Romanam rempublicam a peruersis idolorum cultibus reuocans omnipotenti Deo Domino nostro<sup>1</sup> Iesu Christo secum subdidit, seque cum subiectis populis tota ad eum mente conuertit. Unde factum est, ut antiquorum principum nomen suis uir ille laudibus uinceret, et tanto in opinione praecessores suos, quanto et in bono opere superaret. Et nunc itaque uestra gloria cognitionem unius Dei, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, regibus ac populis sibimet subiectis festinet infundere, ut<sup>2</sup> et antiquos gentis suae reges laudibus ac meritis transeat, et quanto in subiectis suis etiam aliena peccata deteraserit, tanto etiam de peccatis propriis ante omnipotentis Dei terribile examen securior fiat.

Reuerentissimus frater noster Augustinus episcopus in monasterii regula edoctus, sacrae scripturae scientia repletus, bonis auctore Deo operibus praeditus, quaeque uos ammonet, libenter<sup>3</sup> audite, deuote peragite, studiose in memoria reseruate: quia, si uos eum in eo, quod pro omnipotente Deo<sup>4</sup> loquitur, auditis, isdem omnipotens Deus hunc

<sup>1</sup> nostro om. M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> ut om. M.<sup>3</sup> libenter om. M. H<sub>1</sub>.<sup>4</sup> domino M. H<sub>1</sub>.

pro uobis exorantem celerius exaudit. Si enim, quod absit, uerba eius postponitis, quando<sup>1</sup> cum omnipotens Deus poterit audire pro uobis, quem uos neglegitis audire pro Deo? Tota igitur mente cum eo uos in feruore fidei stringite, atque adnissum illius uirtute, | quam uobis diuinitas tribuit, adiunxate, ut regni sui uos ipse faciat esse participes, cuius uos fidem in regno uestro recipi facitis<sup>2</sup> et custodiri.

Praeterea scire uestram gloriam uolumus, quia, sicut in scriptura sacra ex uerbis Domini omnipotentis agnoscimus, praesentis mundi iam terminus iuxta est, et sanctorum regnum uenturum est, quod nullo umquam poterit fine terminari. Adpropinquante autem eodem mundi termino, multa imminet, quae antea non fuerunt; uidelicet immutationes aeris, terroresque de caelo, et contra ordinationem temporum tempestates, bella, fames, pestilentiae, terrae motus per loca; quae tamen non omnia nostris diebus uentura sunt, sed post nostros dies omnia subsequuntur. Uos itaque, siqua ex his euenire in terra uestra cognoscitis, nullo modo uestrum animum perturbetis; quia idcirco haec signa de fine saeculi praemittuntur, ut de animabus nostris debeamus esse solliciti, de mortis hora suspecti, et uenturo Iudici in bonis actibus inueniamur esse praeparati. Haec nunc, gloriose fili, paucis locutus sum, ut cum Christiana fides in regno uestro excreuerit, nostra quoque apud uos locutio latior excrescat, et tanto plus loqui libeat, quanto se in mente nostra gaudia de gentis uestrae perfecta conuersione multiplicant.

Parua autem exenia transmisi, quae uobis parua non erunt, cum a uobis ex beati Petri apostoli fuerint benedictione suscepta. Omnipotens itaque Deus in uobis gratiam suam, quam coepit, perficiat, atque uitam uestram et hic per multorum annorum curricula extendat, et post

<sup>1</sup> quomodo N<sup>2</sup> and perhaps C<sup>1</sup>.  
<sup>2</sup> faciatis M. with punctum delens above the a; faciatis C. B<sup>2</sup>.

f. 24 a.

Matth.  
 xxiv. 7;  
 Marc.  
 xiii. 8;  
 Luc. xxi.  
 11.

f. Phil. i.

*longa tempora in caelestis uos patriae congregatione recipiat. Incolumem<sup>1</sup> excellentiam uestram gratia superna custodiat, domine fili.*

*Data die X.<sup>2</sup> Kalendarum Iuliarum, imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno XVIII, post consulatum<sup>3</sup> eiusdem domini anno XVIII, indictione IIII.*

## CAP. XXXIII.

*Ut Augustinus ecclesiam Saluatoris instaurauerit, et monasterium beati Petri apostoli fecerit; et de primo eius abbate Petro.*

Augustine  
builds  
Christ  
Church  
Canterbury  
on an  
ancient  
Christian  
site.

At Augustinus, ubi in regia ciuitate sedem episcopalem, ut praediximus, accepit, recuperauit in ea, regio fultus adminiculo, ecclesiam, quam inibi antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam fuisse didicerat, et eam in nomine sancti Saluatoris Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi sacrauit, atque ibidem sibi habitationem statuit et cunctis successoribus suis. Fecit autem et monasterium non longe ab ipsa ciuitate ad orientem, in quo, eius hortatu, Aedilberet<sup>4</sup> ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli a fundamentis construxit, ac diuersis donis ditauit, in qua et ipsius Augustini, et omnium episcoporum | Doruuernensium, f. 24 b. simul et regum Cantiae poni corpora possent. Quam tamen ecclesiam non ipse Augustinus, sed successor eius Laurentius consecrauit.

Drowning  
of Abbot  
Peter.

Prinus autem eiusdem monasterii abbas Petrus presbiter fuit, qui legatus Galliam missus demersus est in sinu maris, qui uocatur Amflea, et ab<sup>5</sup> incolis loci ignobili traditus sepulturae; sed omnipotens Deus ut, qualis meriti uir fuerit, demonstraret, omni<sup>6</sup> nocte

<sup>1</sup> custodiat, inserted here and then deleted by means of three points M.

<sup>2</sup> x. inserted below the line M. <sup>3</sup> PC. id est post consulatum uel

patres conscripti N. <sup>4</sup> aedilbercht C; aedilberiet N. <sup>5</sup> ab

om. M. <sup>6</sup> omne M.

supra sepulchrum eius lux caelestis apparuit, donec animaduertentes uicini, qui uidebant, sanctum fuisse uirum, qui ibi esset sepultus, et inuestigantes, unde uel quis esset, abstulerunt corpus, et in Bononia ciuitate iuxta honorem tanto uiro congruum in ecclesia posuerunt.

## CAP. XXXIV.

*Ut Aedilfrid<sup>1</sup> rex Nordanhymbrorum Scottorum<sup>2</sup> gentes proelio conterens ab Anglorum finibus expulerit.*

His temporibus regno Nordanhymbrorum praefuit rex fortissimus et gloriae cupidissimus Aedilfrid<sup>1</sup>, qui plus omnibus Anglorum primatibus gentem uastauit<sup>3</sup> Brettonum; ita ut Sauli quondam regi Israeliticae gentis comparandus uideretur, excepto dumtaxat hoc, quod diuinae erat religionis ignarus. Nemo enim in tribunis, nemo in regibus plures eorum terras, exterminatis uel subiugatis indigenis, aut tributarias genti Anglorum, aut habitabiles fecit. Cui merito poterat illud, quod benedicens filium patriarcha in personam Saulis dicebat, aptari: ‘Beniamin<sup>4</sup> lupus rapax, mane comedet praedam et uespere diuidet spolia.’

Ethelfrid of Northumbria subduces the Britons.

Unde motus eius profectibus Aedan<sup>5</sup> rex Scottorum<sup>6</sup>, qui Britanniam inhabitant, uenit contra eum cum immenso ac forti exercitu; sed cum paucis uictus aufugit<sup>7</sup>. Siquidem in loco celeberrimo, qui dicitur Degsastán, id est Degsa lapis, omnis pene eius est caesus<sup>8</sup> exercitus. In qua etiam pugna Theodbald frater Aedilfridi<sup>9</sup> cum omni illo, quem ipse ducebat, exercitu peremptus est. Quod uidelicet bellum Aedilfrid<sup>1</sup> anno ab incarnatione Domini DCIII, regni autem

Defeats Aedan King of the Scots of Dalriada at Degsastan, A. D. 603.

<sup>1</sup> aed- C.      <sup>2</sup> rectorum N<sup>1</sup>; brittonum N<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>3</sup> fastabat C.

<sup>4</sup> beneamin M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>5</sup> eadán N.      <sup>6</sup> sçorum, i. e. sanctorum N<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> uictus inserted above the line in M. after aufugit.      <sup>8</sup> cessus M<sup>1</sup>.

with former s deleted.      <sup>9</sup> aedilfridi C; aedilbericti N.



sui, quod XX et IIII annis tenuit, anno XI, perfecit ; porro anno Focatis, qui tum Romani regni apicem tenebat, primo. Neque ex eo tempore quisquam regum Scottorum in Brittania aduersus gentem Anglorum usque ad hanc diem in proelium uenire audebat.

## LIBER SECUNDUS.

### CAP. I.

*De obitu beati papae<sup>1</sup> Gregorii.*

His temporibus, id est anno dominicae incarnationis DCV, beatus papa Gregorius, postquam sedem Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae XIII annos, menses VI, et dies X gloriosissime rexit, defunctus est, atque ad aeternam regni caelestis sedem translatus. De quo nos conuenit, quia nostram, id est Anglorum, gentem de potestate Satanae ad fidem Christi sua industria conuertit, latiore in nostra historia ecclesiastica facere sermonem, quem recte nostrum appellare possumus et debemus apostolum. Quia, cum primum in toto orbe gereret pontificatum<sup>2</sup>, et conuersis iam dudum ad fidem ueritatis esset praelatus ecclesiis, nostram gentem eatenus idolis mancipatam Christi fecit ecclesiam, ita ut apostolicum illum de eo liceat nobis proferre sermonem : quia etsi aliis non est apostolus, sed tamen nobis est ; nam signaculum apostolatus eius nos sumus in Domino.

Death of Gregory, the Apostle of the English.

Erat autem natione Romanus, a<sup>3</sup> patre Gordiano, genus a proauis non solum nobile, sed et religiosum ducens. Denique Felix eiusdem apostolicae sedis quondam episcopus, uir magnae gloriae in Christo et ecclesia, eius fuit atauus. Sed<sup>4</sup> ipse nobilitatem religionis non minore quam parentes et cognati uirtute

His parentage.

<sup>1</sup> In B. a later hand has obliterated the word papae with red ochre.

<sup>2</sup> pontif. ger. M.      <sup>3</sup> ex C.      <sup>4</sup> sed et M.

His monas-  
tic Life.

deuotionis exercuit. Nobilitatem uero illam, quam ad saeculum uidebatur habere, totam ad nanciscendam supernae gloriæ dignitatis diuina gratia largiente conuertit. Nam mutato repente habitu saeculari monasterium petiit, in quo tanta perfectionis gratia coepit conuersari, ut, sicut ipse postea flendo solebat adtestari, animo illius labentia cuncta subteressent, ut rebus omnibus, quæ uoluuntur, emineret, ut nulla nisi caelestia cogitare soleret, ut etiam retentus corpore ipsa iam carnis claustra contemplatione transiret, ut mortem quoque, quæ pene cunctis poena est, uidelicet ut ingressum uitæ, et laboris sui præmium amaret. Haec<sup>1</sup> autem ipse de se, non profectum iactando uirtutum, sed deflendo potius defectum, quem sibi per curam pastorem incurrisse uidebatur, referre consueuerat. Denique tempore quodam<sup>2</sup> secreto, cum diacono suo Petro conloquens, enumeratis animi sui uirtutibus priscis, mox dolendo subiunxit: 'At nunc ex occasione curæ pastoralis saecularium hominum negotia patitur, et post tam pulchram quietis suæ speciem terreni actus puluere fedatur. Cumque se pro condescensione<sup>3</sup> multorum ad exteriora sparserit, etiam cum interiora appetit, ad hæc procul dubio minor redit. Perpendo itaque, quid tolero, perpendo, quid amisi; dumque intueor illud, quod perdidici, fit hoc grauius, quod porto.'

Dial. i.  
Prol.

His pas-  
toral Life

Haec quidem sanctus uir ex magnæ humilitatis intentione dicebat; sed nos credere decet nihil eum monachicæ perfectionis perdidisse occasione<sup>3</sup> curæ pastoralis, immo potius tunc sumsisse profectum de labore conuersionis multorum, quam de propriæ<sup>4</sup> quondam quiete conuersionis habuerat; maxime quia et pontificali functus officio domum suam monasterium facere curauit; | et dum primo de monasterio f. 26 a.

<sup>1</sup> hoc C. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> descensione M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>3</sup> -ne om. M<sup>1</sup>. at end of a line.    <sup>4</sup> -ria C.

abstractus, ad ministerium altaris ordinatus, atque Constantinopolim apocrisiarius ab apostolica sede directus est, non<sup>1</sup> tamen in terreno conuersatus palatio propositum uitae caelestis intermisit. Nam quosdam fratrum ex monasterio suo, qui eum gratia germanae caritatis ad regiam urbem secuti sunt, in tutamentum coepit obseruantiae regularis habere; uidelicet ut eorum semper exemplo, sicut ipse scribit, ad orationis placidum litus, quasi anchorae fune restringeretur, cum incessabili causarum saecularium impulsu fluctuaret, concussamque saeculi actibus mentem inter eos cotidie per studiosae lectionis roboraret alloquium. Horum ergo consortio non solum a terrenis est munitus incursibus, uerum etiam ad caelestis exercitia uitae magis magisque succensus.

Nam hortati sunt eum, ut librum beati Iob magnis inuolutum obscuritatibus mystica interpretatione discuteret; neque negare potuit opus, quod sibi fraternus amor multis utile futurum inponebat. Sed eundem<sup>2</sup> librum, quomodo iuxta litteram intellegendus, qualiter ad<sup>3</sup> Christi et<sup>4</sup> ecclesiae sacramenta referendus, quo sensu unicuique fidelium sit aptandus, per XXX et V libros expositionis miranda ratione perdocuit. Quod uidelicet opus in regia quidem urbe apocrisiarius inchoauit, Romae autem iam pontifex factus expleuit. Qui cum adhuc<sup>5</sup> esset regia in urbe positus, nascentem ibi nouam heresim de statu nostrae resurrectionis, cum ipso, quo exorta<sup>6</sup> est, initio, iuuante se gratia catholicae ueritatis, attriuit. Siquidem Eutycius<sup>7</sup> eiusdem urbis episcopus dogmatizabat corpus nostrum in illa resurrectionis gloria inpalpabile, uentis aereque<sup>8</sup> subtilius esse futurum; quod ille audiens, et<sup>9</sup> ratione ueritatis, et exemplo dominicae resurrectionis, probauit hoc dogma

His works.  
The Com-  
mentary on  
Job.

<sup>1</sup> nec C.<sup>2</sup> eandem M<sup>l</sup>.<sup>3</sup> et ad M.<sup>4</sup> et om. C. N.<sup>5</sup> adhuc om. M.<sup>6</sup> ex quo orta M.<sup>7</sup> euthycius C; euthi-

cius N; eutychiuss B.

<sup>8</sup> aerique MSS.<sup>9</sup> ex N.

orthodoxae fidei omnimodis esse contrarium. Catholica etenim fides habet, quod corpus nostrum illa immortalitatis gloria sublimatum subtile quidem sit per effectum spiritalis potentiae, sed palpabile per ueritatem naturae; iuxta exemplum dominici corporis, de quo a mortuis suscitato dicit ipse discipulis: ‘Palpate et uidete, quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me uidetis habere.’ In cuius adsertione fidei uenerabilis pater Gregorius in tantum contra nascentem heresim nouam laborare contendit, tanta hanc instantia, iuuante etiam piissimo imperatore Tiberio Constantino, conminuit, ut nullus exinde sit inuentus, qui eius resuscitator existeret.

Luc. xxiv.  
39.

The ‘Cura  
Pastoralis.’

Alium quoque librum composuit egregium, | qui uocatur Pastoralis, in quo manifesta luce patefecit, quales ad ecclesiae regimen adsumi<sup>1</sup>, qualiter ipsi rectores uiuere, qua discretione<sup>2</sup> singulas quasque audientium instruere personas, et quanta consideratione propriam cotidie debeant fragilitatem pensare. Sed et omelias euangelii numero XL composuit, quas<sup>3</sup> in duobus codicibus aequa sorte distinxit. Libros etiam Dialogorum IIII fecit, in quibus, rogatu Petri diaconi sui, uirtutes sanctorum, quos in Italia clariores nosse uel audire poterat, ad exemplum uiuendi posteris collegit<sup>4</sup>; ut, sicut in libris expositionum suarum, quibus sit uirtutibus insudandum, edocuit, ita etiam descriptis sanctorum miraculis, quae uirtutum earumdem sit claritas, ostenderet. Primam quoque et ultimam Ezechielis<sup>5</sup> prophetae partem, quae uidebantur obscuriores, per omelias XX et duas, quantum lucis intus habeant, demonstrauit. Excepto libello responsionum, quem ad interrogationes sancti Augustini primi Anglorum gentis episcopi scripsit, ut et<sup>6</sup> supra docuimus, totum ipsum libellum his inserentes his-

Homilies  
and Dia-  
logues.

Comment-  
ary on  
Ezekiel, Re-  
sponses,  
&c.

<sup>1</sup> ut suum M.    <sup>2</sup> districtione N.    <sup>3</sup> quos M. B. W; quod N.  
<sup>4</sup> colligit M<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>5</sup> in ezech- M; hiez- N. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> et ut M.



torii; libello quoque synodico, quem cum<sup>1</sup> episcopis Italiae de necessariis ecclesiae causis utillimum composuit, et familiaribus ad quosdam litteris. Quod eo magis mirum est tot eum ac tanta condere uolumina potuisse, quod omni pene iuuentutis suae tempore, ut uerbis ipsius loquar, crebris uiscerum doloribus cruciabatur<sup>2</sup>, horis momentisque omnibus fracta stomachi uirtute lassescibat, lentis quidem, sed tamen continuis febribus anhelabat. Uerum inter haec, dum sollicitus

Hebr. xii.  
6.

pensaret, quia scriptura teste: 'Omnis filius, qui recipitur, flagellatur'; quo malis praesentibus durius deprimebatur, eo de aeterna certius praesumptione respirabat.

Haec quidem de inmortalis eius sint dicta ingenio, quod nec tanto corporis potuit dolore restringi<sup>3</sup>. Nam alii quidam pontifices construendis ornandisque auro uel argento ecclesiis operam dabant, hic autem totus erga animarum luera uacabat.

cf. Ps.  
cxi. 9.

Quicquid pecuniae habuerat, sedulus hoc dispergere ac dare pauperibus curabat, ut iustitia eius maneret in saeculum saeculi, et cornu eius exaltaretur in gloria: ita ut illud beati Iob ueraciter dicere posset: 'Auris audiens beatificauit<sup>4</sup> me, et oculus uidens testimonium reddebat mihi, quod liberassem pauperem uociferantem, et pupillum, cui non esset adiutor. Benedictio perituri super me ueniebat, et cor uiduae consolatus sum. Iustitia indutus sum, et uestiui<sup>5</sup> me, sicut uestimento et diademate<sup>6</sup>, iudicio meo. | Oculus fui caeco, et pes claudus. Pater eram pauperum, et causam, quam nesciebam, diligentissime inuestigabam. Conterebam molas iniqui, et de dentibus illius auferebam praedam.' Et paulo post: 'Si negaui,' inquit, 'quod uolebant, pauperibus, et oculos uiduae exspectare feci. Si comedi

His character.

Iob xxix.  
11-17.

f. 27 a.

Iob xxxi.  
16-18.

<sup>1</sup> cum om. M.

<sup>2</sup> fatigatur M<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> restringi C; restringui

D, with r deleted.

<sup>4</sup> beatificabat M. H<sub>1</sub>. W. and so Vulgate.

<sup>5</sup> uestiuit M.

<sup>6</sup> dead- M<sup>l</sup>. N<sup>l</sup>.

bucellam meam solus, et non comedit pupillus ex ea. Quia ab infantia mea crevit mecum miseratio, et de utero matris meae egressa est mecum.'

His joy at  
the con-  
version of  
the  
English.

Ad cuius pietatis et iustitiae opus pertinet etiam hoc, quod nostram gentem per praedicatores, quos huc direxit, de<sup>1</sup> dentibus antiqui hostis eripiens aeternae libertatis fecit esse participem; cuius fidei et saluti congaudens, quamque digna laude commendans, ipse dicit in Expositione beati Iob: 'Ecce lingua Brittaniae, Lib.xxvii.  
C. II.  
quae nil aliud nouerat quam barbarum<sup>2</sup> frendere, iam dudum in diuinis laudibus Hebreum coepit alleluia resonare<sup>3</sup>. Ecce quondam tumidus, iam substratus sanctorum pedibus seruit oceanus, eiusque barbaros motus, quos terreni principes edomare ferro nequuerant, hos pro diuina formidine sacerdotum ora simplicibus uerbis ligant, et qui cateruas pugnantium infidelis nequaquam metueret, iam nunc fidelis humilium linguas timet. Quia enim perceptis caelestibus uerbis, clarescentibus quoque miraculis, uirtus ei diuinae cognitionis infunditur, eiusdem diuinitatis terrore refrenatur, ut prae agere metuatur, ac totis desideriis ad aeternitatis gratiam uenire concupiscat.' Quibus uerbis beatus Gregorius hoc quoque declarat, quia sanctus Augustinus et socii eius non sola praedicatione uerborum, sed etiam caelestium ostensione signorum gentem Anglorum ad agnitionem ueritatis perducebant.

Liturgical  
Reforms.

Fecit inter alia beatus papa<sup>4</sup> Gregorius, ut in ecclesiis sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli super corpora eorum missae celebrarentur. Sed et in ipsa missarum celebratione tria uerba maximae perfectionis plena superadiecit: 'Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari<sup>5</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> de om. N<sup>i</sup>. C<sup>l</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> barbara C.    <sup>3</sup> sonare M.    <sup>4</sup> obliterated  
in B. v p. 73.    <sup>5</sup> per xpm dñm nrm add C.

Rexit autem ecclesiam temporibus imperatorum Mauricii et Focatis. Secundo autem eiusdem Focatis anno transiens ex hac uita, migravit ad ueram, quae in caelis est, uitam. Sepultus uero est corpore in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli, ante secretarium, die quarto Iduum Martiarum, quandoque in ipso cum ceteris sanctae ecclesiae pastoribus resurrecturus in gloria, scriptumque in tumba<sup>1</sup> ipsius epitaphium huiusmodi :

Death,  
burial, and  
epitaph.

*Suscipe, terra, tuo corpus de corpore sumtum,  
Reddere quod ualeas uiuificante Deo.*

f. 27 b.

| *Spiritus astra petit, leti<sup>2</sup> nil iura nocebunt,  
Cui uitae alterius mors magis ipsa uia est.  
Pontificis summi hoc clauduntur membra sepulchro.*

*Qui innumeris semper uiuit ubique bonis.  
Esuriem dapibus superauit, frigora ueste,  
Atque animas monitis texit ab hoste sacris.*

*Implebatque actu, quicquid sermone docebat,  
Esset ut exemplum, mystica uerba loquens.  
Ad Christum Anglos conuertit pietate magistra.  
Adquirens fidei agmina gente noua.*

*Hic labor, hoc studium, haec tibi cura, hoc pastor agebas,  
Ut Domino offerres plurima lucra gregis.  
Hisque Dei consul factus lactare triumphis;  
Nam mercedem<sup>3</sup> operum iam sine fine tenes.*

Nec<sup>4</sup> silentio praetereunda opinio, quae de beato Gregorio traditione maiorum ad nos usque perlata est ; qua uidelicet ex causa admonitus tam sedulam erga salutem nostrae gentis curam gesserit. Dicunt, quia Tradition as to the origin of the mission to the English.

die quadam cum, aduenientibus nuper mercatoribus, multa uenalia in forum fuissent conlata, multi ad emendum confluxissent, et ipsum Gregorium inter alios aduenisse, ac uidisse inter alia pueros uenales

<sup>1</sup> tumbo M<sup>l</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> loeti M. B.    <sup>3</sup> mercedem M<sup>l</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> Nec has a large illuminated initial in B. as if for the beginning of a new chapter, but there is no fresh number in the margin. O<sub>7</sub> begins a new chapter here.

positos candidi corporis, ac uenusti uultus, capillorum quoque forma egregia. Quos cum aspiceret, interrogauit, ut aiunt, de qua regione uel terra essent adlati. Dictumque est, quia de Brittania insula, cuius incolae talis essent aspectus. Rursus interrogauit, utrum idem insulani Christiani, an paganis adhuc erroribus essent implicati. Dictum<sup>1</sup> est, quod essent pagani. At ille, intimo ex corde longa<sup>2</sup> trahens suspiria: ‘Heu, pro dolor!’ inquit, ‘quod tam lucidi uultus homines tenebrarum auctor possidet, tantaque gratia frontispicii mentem ab interna gratia uacuum gestat!’ Rursus ergo interrogauit, quod esset uocabulum gentis illius. Responsum est, quod Angli uocarentur. At ille: ‘Bene,’ inquit; ‘nam et angelicam habent faciem, et tales angelorum in caelis decet esse coheredes. Quod habet nomen ipsa prouincia, de qua isti sunt adlati?’ Responsum est, quod Deiri uocarentur idem prouinciales. At ille: ‘Bene,’ inquit, ‘Deiri; de ira eruti, et ad misericordiam Christi uocati. Rex prouinciae illius quomodo appellatur?’ Responsum est, quod Aelli<sup>3</sup> diceretur. At ille adludens ad nomen ait: ‘Alleluia, laudem Dei Creatoris illis in partibus oportet cantari.’

Accedensque ad pontificem Romanae et apostolicae sedis, nondum enim erat ipse pontifex factus, rogauit, ut genti Anglorum in Britanniam aliquos uerbi ministros, per quos ad Christum conuerteretur, mitteret; se ipsum paratum esse in hoc opus Domino cooperante perficiendum, si tamen apostolico papae, hoc ut fieret, placeret. | Quod dum perficere non posset, quia, etsi f. 28 a. pontifex concedere illi, quod petierat, uoluit, non tamen ciues Romani, ut tam longe ab urbe secederet<sup>4</sup>, potuere permittere; mox ut ipse pontificatus officio functus

<sup>1</sup> dictumque M.      <sup>2</sup> from this point down to the words *magnam auream* on p. 126 inclusive, there is a lacuna in N caused by the loss of a fold of (probably) eight leaves.      <sup>3</sup> aelle C<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>; elle C<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> recederet M<sup>1</sup>.

est, perfecit opus diu desideratum; alios quidem praedicatores mittens, sed ipse praedicationem ut fructificaret, suis exhortationibus ac precibus adiuuans. Haec iuxta opinionem, quam ab antiquis accepimus, historiae nostrae ecclesiasticae inserere opportunum duximus.

## CAP. II.

*Ut Augustinus Brettonum episcopos pro pace catholica, etiam miraculo caelesti coram eis facto, monuerit; quaeque illos spernentes ultio secuta sit.*

INTEREA Augustinus adiutorio usus Aedilbercti<sup>1</sup> regis conuocauit ad suum colloquium episcopos siue doctores proximae Brettonum prouinciae in loco, qui usque hodie lingua Anglorum Augustinaes<sup>2</sup> Ác, id est robur Augustini, in confinio Huicciorum<sup>3</sup> et Occidentalium Saxonum appellatur; coepitque eis fraterna admonitione suadere, ut pace catholica secum habita communem euangelizandi gentibus pro Domino laborem susciperent. Non enim paschae diem<sup>4</sup> dominicum suo tempore, sed a<sup>5</sup> XIII<sup>IIII</sup> usque ad XX lunam obseruabant; quae computatio LXXXIII<sup>IIII</sup> annorum circulo continetur. Sed et alia plurima unitati ecclesiasticae contraria faciebant. Qui cum longa disputatione habita, neque precibus, neque hortamentis, neque increpationibus Augustini ac sociorum eius adsensum praebere uoluissent, sed suas potius traditiones uniuersis, quae per orbem sibi in Christo concordant, ecclesiis praeferrent, sanctus pater Augustinus hunc laboriosi ac longi certaminis finem fecit, ut diceret: 'Obsecremus Deum, qui habitare facit unanimes in domu Patris sui, ut ipse nobis insinuare caelestibus signis dignetur, quae sequenda traditio, quibus sit uiis ad ingressum regni illius properandum. Adducatur

Conference of Augustine with the British Bishops at Augustine's Oak.

cf. Ps.  
lxvii. 7.

<sup>1</sup> aedilbercti C.    <sup>2</sup> ag- C.    <sup>3</sup> uuicc- C; uicc- B.    <sup>4</sup> dom.  
diem M. H<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>5</sup> a om. M.



Augustine  
heals a  
blind man.

aliquis eger, et per cuius preces fuerit curatus, huius fides et operatio Deo deuota atque omnibus sequenda credatur.' Quod cum aduersarii, inuiti licet, concederent, adlatus est quidam de genere Anglorum, oculorum luce priuatus; qui cum oblatus Brettonum sacerdotibus nil curationis uel sanationis horum ministerio perciperet, tandem Augustinus, iusta necessitate compulsus, flectit genua sua ad Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, deprecans, ut uisum caeco, quem amiserat, restitueret, et per inlumptionem unius hominis corporalem, in plurimorum corde fidelium spiritalis gratiam lucis accenderet. Nec mora, inluminatur caecus, ac uerus summae lucis praeco ab omnibus praedicatur Augustinus. Tum Brettones confitentur quidem intellexisse se ueram esse uiam iustitiae, quam praedicaret Augustinus; sed non se<sup>1</sup> posse absque suorum consensu ac licentia priscis abdicare moribus. | Unde postulabant, ut secundo synodus pluribus aduenientibus fieret.

cf. Eph.  
iii. 14.

f. 28 b.

Second  
Conference.

Quod cum esset statutum, uenerunt, ut perhibent, VII Brettonum episcopi et plures uiri doctissimi, maxime de nobilissimo eorum monasterio, quod uocatur lingua Anglorum Bancornaburg<sup>2</sup>. cui tempore illo Dinoot abbas praefuisse narratur, qui ad praefatum ituri<sup>3</sup> concilium uenerunt primo ad quendam uirum sanctum ac prudentem, qui apud<sup>4</sup> eos anachoreticam ducere uitam solebat, consulentes, an ad praedicationem Augustini suas deserere traditiones deberent<sup>5</sup>. Qui respondebat: 'Si homo Dei est, sequimini illum.' Dixerunt: 'Et unde hoc possumus probare?' At ille: 'Dominus,' inquit, 'ait: "Tollite iugum meum super uos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde." Si ergo Augustinus ille mitis est et humilis corde, credibile est, quia iugum Christi et ipse portet, et

Matth. xi.  
29.

<sup>1</sup> se om. M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> bon- C<sup>1</sup>; of boncrabyrig A.S.

<sup>3</sup> illum

M. H<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> altered to illud conc. uenientes. H<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> apud M.

<sup>5</sup> debuissent M<sup>1</sup>.

uobis portandum offerat; sin autem inmitis ac superbus est, constat, quia non est de Deo, neque nobis eius sermo curandus.' Qui rursus aiebant: 'Et unde uel hoc dinoscere ualemus?' 'Procurate,' inquit, 'ut ipse prior cum suis ad locum synodi adueniat, et, si uobis adpropinquantibus adsurrexerit, scientes, quia famulus Christi est, obtemperanter illum audite; sin autem uos spreuerit, nec coram uobis adsurgere uoluerit, cum sitis numero plures, et ipse spernatur a uobis.'

Fecerunt, ut dixerat. Factumque est, ut uenientibus illis sederet Augustinus in sella. Quod illi uidentes mox in iram conuersi sunt, eumque notantes superbiae, cunctis, quae dicebat, contradicere laborabant. Dicebat autem eis quia 'in multis quidem nostrae consuetudini, immo uniuersalis ecclesiae contraria geritis; et tamen si in tribus his mihi obtemperare uultis, ut pascha suo tempore celebretis; ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, iuxta morem sanctae Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae compleatis; ut genti<sup>1</sup> Anglorum una nobiscum uerbum Domini praedicetis; cetera, quae agitis, quamuis moribus nostris contraria, aequanimiter cuncta tolerabimus<sup>2</sup>.' At illi nil horum se facturos, neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant; conferentes ad inuicem, quia 'si modo nobis adsurgere noluit, quanto magis, si ei subdi coeperimus, iam nos pro nihilo contemnet.'

Augustine's terms refused.

Quibus uir Domini Augustinus fertur minitans praedixisse, quia, si pacem cum fratribus accipere nollent, bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi; et, si nationi Anglorum noluisent uiam uitae praedicare, per horum manus ultionem essent mortis passuri. Quod ita | per omnia, ut praedixerat, diuino agente iudicio patratum est.

Alleged prophecy of Augustine.

Siquidem post haec ipse, de quo diximus, rex Anglo-

Its fulfilment at the Battle of Chester.

<sup>1</sup> gentibus C. D.      <sup>2</sup> toleramus B<sup>1</sup>.

rum fortissimus Aedilfrid<sup>1</sup> collecto grandi exercitu ad ciuitatem Legionum, quae a gente Anglorum Legæcaestir<sup>2</sup>, a Brettonibus autem rectius Carlegion appellatur, maximam gentis perfidae stragem dedit. Cumque bellum acturus uideret sacerdotes eorum, qui ad exorandum Deum<sup>3</sup> pro milite bellum agente conuenerant, seorsum in tutiore loco consistere, seiscitabatur, qui essent hi, quidue acturi illo conuenissent. Erant autem plurimi eorum de monasterio Bancor<sup>4</sup>, in quo tantus fertur fuisse numerus monachorum, ut, cum in VII portiones esset cum praepositis sibi rectoribus monasterium diuisum, nulla harum portio minus quam CCC<sup>tos</sup> homines haberet, qui omnes de labore manuum suarum uiuere solebant. Horum ergo plurimi ad memoratam aciem, peracto ieiunio triduo, cum aliis orandi causa conuenerant, habentes defensorem nomine Brocmailum, qui eos intentos precibus a barbarorum gladiis protegeret<sup>5</sup>. Quorum causam aduentus cum intellexisset rex Ædilfrid<sup>6</sup>, ait: 'Ergo si aduersum nos ad Deum suum clamant, profecto et ipsi, quamuis arma non ferant, contra nos pugnant, qui aduersis nos inprecationibus persequuntur.' Itaque in hos primum arma uerti iubet, et sic ceteras nefandae militiae copias non sine magno exercitus sui damno deleuit. Extinctos in ea pugna ferunt de his, qui ad orandum uenerant, uiros circiter mille CC<sup>tos</sup>, et solum L fuga esse lapsos. Brocmail ad primum hostium aduentum cum suis terga uertens, eos, quos defendere debuerat, inermes ac nudos ferientibus gladiis reliquit. Sicque<sup>7</sup> completum est praesagium sancti pontificis Augustini, quamuis ipso iam multo ante tempore ad caelestia regna sublato, ut etiam temporalis interitus ultione

<sup>1</sup> sic B<sup>1</sup>; æðelfred B<sup>2</sup>; æðilfrið C.

<sup>2</sup> sic B<sup>1</sup>; -ter C;

Legæcaester B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> dominum M. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> boncor C.

<sup>5</sup> -rent M.

<sup>6</sup> æðilfrið C; aedilfrid B<sup>1</sup>; æðilfred B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> que om. M.

sentirent perfidi, quod oblata<sup>1</sup> sibi perpetuae salutis consilia spreuerant.

## CAP. III.

*Ut idem Mellitum ac Iustum episcopos fecerit ; et de obitu ipsius<sup>2</sup>.*

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCIIII<sup>mo</sup>, Augustinus Britanniarum archiepiscopus ordinauit duos episcopos. Mellitum uidelicet et Iustum ; Mellitum quidem ad praedicandum prouinciae Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tamense fluuio dirimuntur a Cantia, et ipsi orientali mari contigui, quorum metropolis Lundonia ciuitas est, super ripam praefati fluminis posita, et ipsa multorum emporium<sup>3</sup> populorum terra marique uenientium ; in qua uidelicet gente tunc temporis Saberct<sup>4</sup> nepos Aedilbercti<sup>5</sup> ex sorore Ricula regnabat, | quamuis sub potestate positus eiusdem Aedilbercti<sup>6</sup>, qui omnibus, ut supra dictum est, usque ad terminum Humbrae fluminis Anglorum gentibus imperabat. Ubi uero et haec prouincia uerbum ueritatis praedicante Mellito accepit, fecit rex Aedilberct<sup>7</sup> in ciuitate Lundonia ecclesiam sancti Pauli apostoli, in qua locum sedis episcopalis, et ipse, et successores eius haberent. Iustum uero in ipsa Cantia Augustinus episcopum ordinauit in ciuitate Dorubreui, quam gens Anglorum a primario quondam illius, qui dicebatur Hrof, Hrofæscæstræ<sup>8</sup> cognominat. Distat autem a Doruuerni milibus passuum ferme XXIIII ad occidentem, in qua rex Aedilberct<sup>7</sup> ecclesiam beati Andreae apostoli fecit, qui etiam episcopis utriusque huius ecclesiae dona multa, sicut et Doruuernensis, obtulit ; sed et territoria ac possessiones in usum eorum, qui erant cum episcopis, adiecit.

Augustine consecrates Mellitus and Justus to London and Rochester. A. D. 604.

<sup>1</sup> ablata C. W ; allata D. <sup>2</sup> eius M. <sup>3</sup> em'p'torium C ; emporum B<sup>1</sup>. <sup>4</sup> saberht C. <sup>5</sup> ædīlbercti C. <sup>6</sup> ædēlbercti C<sup>2</sup>. from ex sorore . . . ædīlbercti om. C<sup>1</sup>. D ; added by C<sup>2</sup> on margin.

<sup>7</sup> ædīlberht C.

<sup>8</sup> hrofaes caestrae B ; hrofescaester C.

Death of  
Augustine.

Defunctus est autem Deo dilectus pater Augustinus, et positum corpus eius foras iuxta ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, cuius supra meminimus, quia necdum fuerat perfecta nec dedicata. Mox uero ut dedicata est, intro inlatum, et in porticu illius aquilonali decenter sepultum est; in qua etiam sequentium archiepiscoporum omnium sunt corpora tumultuata praeter duorum tantummodo, id est Theodori et Berctualdi<sup>1</sup>, quorum corpora<sup>2</sup> in ipsa ecclesia posita sunt<sup>3</sup>, eo quod praedicta porticus plura capere nequiuisset. Habet haec in medio pene sui altare in honore beati papae Gregorii dedicatum, in quo per omne sabbatum a presbytero loci illius agenda eorum sollemniter celebrantur. Scriptum uero est in tumba<sup>4</sup> eiusdem Augustini epitaphium huiusmodi: 'Hic requiescit dominus Augustinus Doruuernensis<sup>5</sup> archiepiscopus primus, qui olim huc a beato Gregorio Romanae urbis pontifice directus, et a Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus, Aedilbertum<sup>6</sup> regem ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad Christi fidem perduxit, et completis in pace diebus officii sui, defunctus est VII Kalendas Iunias, eodem rege regnante.'<sup>cf. Luc. i. 23.</sup>

#### CAP. IV.

*Ut Laurentius cum coepiscopis<sup>7</sup> suis Scottos unitatem sanctae ecclesiae maxime in pascha observando sequi monuerit, et ut Mellitus Romam uenerit.*

Succession  
of Lauren-  
tius.

SUCCESSIT Augustino in episcopatum Laurentius, quem ipse idcirco adhuc uiuens ordinauerat, ne, se defuncto, status ecclesiae tam rudis uel ad horam pastore destitutus uacillare inciperet. In quo et exemplum sequebatur primi pastoris ecclesiae, hoc est

<sup>1</sup> berhtualdi C<sup>1</sup>; -uualdi C<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> corpora om. M. C. B. H<sub>1</sub>. W.  
<sup>3</sup> non sunt H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>4</sup> tumbo M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>5</sup> dorouer- B.      <sup>6</sup> aedil-  
berhtum C.      <sup>7</sup> episcopis N. co- inserted above the line in M. B.



f. 30 a.

beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri, qui, fundata Romae ecclesia Christi, Clementem sibi adiutorem euangelizandi, simul et successorem consecrasse perhibetur. Laurentius archiepiscopi gradu potitus strenuissime fundamenta ecclesiae, quae nobiliter iacta uidit, augmentare, atque ad profectum | debiti culminis, et crebra uoce sanctae exhortationis, et continuis piaae operationis exemplis prouehere curauit. Denique non solum nouae, quae de Anglis erat collecta, ecclesiae curam gerebat, sed et ueterum Britanniae incolarum, nec non et Scottorum, qui Hiberniam insulam Britanniae proximam incolunt, populis pastorem impendere sollicitudinem curabat. Siquidem ubi Scottorum in praefata ipsorum patria, quomodo et Brettonum in ipsa Britannia, uitam ac professionem minus ecclesiasticam in multis esse cognouit, maxime quod paschae sollempnitatem non suo tempore celebrarent, sed, ut supra docuimus, a XIII<sup>ta</sup> luna usque ad XX<sup>ta</sup> dominicae resurrectionis diem obseruandum esse putarent; scripsit cum coepiscopis suis exhortatoriam ad eos epistolam, obsecrans eos et contestans unitatem pacis et catholicae obseruationis cum ea, quae toto orbe diffusa est, ecclesia Christi tenere<sup>1</sup>; cuius uidelicet epistolae principium hoc est:

Attempts at  
union with  
the Celtic  
Churches.

*Dominis carissimis fratribus episcopis uel abbatibus per uniuersam Scottiam Laurentius, Mellitus, et Iustus episcopi, serui seruorum Dei.*

*Dum nos sedes apostolica more suo, sicut in uniuerso orbe terrarum, in his occiduis partibus ad praedicandum gentibus paganis dirigeret, atque in hanc insulam, quae Britannia nuncupatur, contigit introisse; antequam cognosceremus, credentes, quod iuxta morem uniuersalis ecclesiae ingrederentur<sup>2</sup>, in magna reuerentia sanctitatis tam Brettones quam Scottos uenerati sumus; sed cognoscentes*

Letters to  
the Irish.

<sup>1</sup> -re't' M.

<sup>2</sup> the scribe at first wrote egred- M.

*Brettones, Scottos meliores putauimus. Scottos uero per Daganum episcopum in hanc, quam superius memorauimus, insulam, et Columbanum abbatem in Gallis<sup>1</sup> uenientem nihil discrepare a Brettonibus in eorum conuersatione didicimus. Nam Daganus episcopus ad nos ueniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio, quo uescebamur, sumere uoluit.*

and British  
Clergy.

Misit idem Laurentius cum coepiscopis<sup>2</sup> suis etiam Brettonum sacerdotibus litteras suo<sup>3</sup> gradui condignas, quibus eos in unitate catholica confirmare satagit. Sed quantum haec agendo profecerit, adhuc praesentia tempora declarant.

Mellitus  
goes to  
Rome.

His temporibus uenit Mellitus Lundoniae episcopus Romam, de necessariis ecclesiae Anglorum cum apostolico papa Bonifatio tractaturus. Et cum idem papa reuerentissimus cogeret synodum episcoporum Italiae, de uita monachorum et quiete ordinaturus, et ipse Mellitus inter eos adsedit anno VIII imperii Focatis principis, indictione XIII<sup>a</sup>, tertio die Kalendarum Martiarum; ut quaeque erant regulariter decreta, sua quoque auctoritate subscribens confirmaret, ac Britanniam | rediens secum<sup>4</sup> Anglorum ecclesiis mandanda f. 30 b. atque obseruanda<sup>5</sup> deferret, una cum epistulis, quas idem pontifex Deo dilecto archiepiscopo Laurentio et clero uniuerso, similiter et Aedilbercto<sup>6</sup> regi atque genti Anglorum direxit. Hic est Bonifatius, quartus a beato Gregorio Romanae urbis episcopo, qui inpetrauit a Focate principe donari ecclesiae Christi templum Romae, quod Pantheon uocabatur ab antiquis, quasi simulacrum esset omnium deorum; in quo ipse, eliminata omni spurcitia, fecit ecclesiam sanctae Dei genetricis atque omnium martyrum Christi; ut, exclusa multitudine daemonum, multitudo ibi sanctorum memoriam haberet.

<sup>1</sup> galliis C. M<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> co- inserted above the line M.

<sup>3</sup> sui M.

<sup>4</sup> secundum H<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> seruanda M. H<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> aedilberhto C.

## CAP. V.

*Ut*<sup>1</sup> *defunctis Aedilbercto*<sup>2</sup> *et Sabercto*<sup>3</sup> *regibus successores eorum idolatriam resuscitarint*<sup>4</sup>, *ob quod et Mellitus*<sup>5</sup> *ac Iustus a Britannia discesserint*<sup>4</sup>.

ANNO ab incarnatione dominica DCXVI, qui est annus XXI, ex quo Augustinus cum sociis ad praedicandum genti Anglorum missus est, Aedilberet<sup>6</sup> rex Cantuariorum post regnum temporale, quod L et VI annis gloriosissime tenuerat, aeterna caelestis regni gaudia subiit; qui tertius quidem in regibus gentis Anglorum cunctis australibus eorum prouinciis, quae Humbrae fluuiio et contiguus ei terminis sequestrantur a borealibus<sup>7</sup>, imperauit; sed primus omnium caeli regna conscendit. Nam primus imperium huiusmodi Aelli<sup>8</sup> rex Australium Saxonum; secundus Caelin rex Occidentalium Saxonum, qui lingua ipsorum Ceaulin uocabatur; tertius, ut diximus, Aedilberet<sup>6</sup> rex Cantuariorum; quartus Reduald<sup>9</sup> rex Orientalium Anglorum, qui etiam uiuente Aedilbercto<sup>6</sup> eidem suae genti ducatum praebebat, obtinuit; quintus Aeduini<sup>10</sup> rex Nordanhymbrorum<sup>11</sup> gentis, id est eius, quae ad Borealem Humbrae fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis, qui<sup>12</sup> Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter et Brettonum populis praefuit, praeter Cantuariis tantum; nec non et Meuanias Brettonum insulas, quae inter Hiberniam et Britanniam sitae sunt, Anglorum subiecit imperio; sextus Osuald<sup>13</sup> et ipse Nordanhymbrorum<sup>14</sup> rex Christianissimus, hisdem finibus regnum tenuit; septimus Osuiu<sup>15</sup> frater eius, aequalibus pene terminis regnum nonnullo tempore coercens, Pictorum

Death of  
Ethelbert,  
Feb. 24, 616.

One of  
seven great  
kings.

<sup>1</sup> ut *om.* M. B. C. N.    <sup>2</sup> aeðilberhto C. *om.* N.    <sup>3</sup> saberhto C; sabericto N.    <sup>4</sup> -runt N.    <sup>5</sup> melitus M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> aeðilberht, -to C.    <sup>7</sup> uel ab orientalibus, *insert* C<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>8</sup> aelle C.    <sup>9</sup> reduuald C.    <sup>10</sup> eduiui B<sup>1</sup>; -ne B<sup>2</sup>; eduiue C.    <sup>11</sup> nardahymb- M; norðan- C.    <sup>12</sup> quae M<sup>1</sup>. B.    <sup>13</sup> osuuald C.    <sup>14</sup> norðan- C.    <sup>15</sup> osuiui C.

quoque atque Scottorum gentes, quae septentrionales Britanniae fines tenent, maxima ex parte perdomuit, ac tributarias fecit. Sed haec postmodum.

Defunctus uero est rex Aedilberet<sup>1</sup> die XXIII mensis Februarii post XX et unum annos acceptae fidei, atque in porticu<sup>2</sup> sancti Martini intro ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli sepultus, ubi et Berctæ<sup>3</sup> regina condita est.

His dooms.

Qui inter cetera bona, quae genti suae consulendo conferebat, etiam decreta illi iudiciorum, iuxta exempla Romanorum, cum consilio | sapientium constituit; quae f. 31 a. conscripta Anglorum sermone hactenus habentur, et obseruantur ab ea. In quibus primitus posuit, qualiter id emendare deberet, qui aliquid rerum uel ecclesiae, uel episcopi, uel reliquorum ordinum furto auferret; uolens scilicet tuitionem eis, quos et quorum doctrinam susceperat, praestare.

His  
descent.

Erat autem idem Aedilberet<sup>4</sup> filius Irminrici, cuius pater Octa, cuius pater Oeric cognomento Oisc, a quo reges Cantuariorum solent Oiscingas cognominare<sup>5</sup>. Cuius pater Hengist<sup>6</sup>, qui cum filio suo Oisc inuitatus a Uurtigerno Britanniam primus intrauit, ut supra retulimus.

Pagan re-  
action in  
Kent,

At uero post mortem Aedilbereti<sup>7</sup>, cum filius eius Eadbald regni gubernacula suscepisset, magno tenellis ibi adhuc ecclesiae crementis detrimento fuit. Siquidem non solum fidem Christi recipere noluerat, sed et fornicatione pollutus est tali, qualem nec inter gentes auditam apostolus testatur, ita ut uxorem patris haberet. 1 Cor. v. 1. Quo utroque scelere occasionem dedit ad priorem uomitum reuertendi his, qui sub imperio sui parentis, cf. Prov. xxvi. 11 : uel fauore uel timore regio, fidei et castimoniae iura 2 Pet. ii. 22. susceperant. Nec supernae flagella distractionis perfido regi castigando et corrigendo defuere; nam crebra

<sup>1</sup> aedilberht C.

<sup>2</sup> -co B.

<sup>3</sup> berctae B; berhtae C.

<sup>4</sup> aedilberht C.

<sup>5</sup> -ri H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> haengest C.

<sup>7</sup> aedilberhti C.

mentis uesania, et spiritus inmundi inuasione premebatur.

Auxit autem procellam huiusce perturbationis etiam and Essex. mors Sabercti<sup>1</sup> regis Orientalium Saxonum, qui ubi regna perennia petens tres suos filios, qui pagani perdurauerant, regni temporalis heredes reliquit, coeperunt illi mox idolatriae, quam, uiuente eo, aliquantulum intermisisse uidebantur, palam seruire, subiectisque populis idola colendi liberam dare licentiam. Cumque uiderent pontificem, celebratis in ecclesia missarum sollemniis, eucharistiam<sup>2</sup> populo dare, dicebant, ut uulgo fertur, ad eum barbara inflati stultitia: ‘Quare non et nobis porrigis panem nitidum, quem et patri nostro Saba<sup>3</sup>,’ sic namque eum appellare consuerant, ‘dabas, et populo adhuc dare in ecclesia non desistis?’ Quibus ille respondebat: ‘Si uultis ablui fonte illo salutari, quo pater uester ablutus est, potestis etiam panis sancti, cui ille participabat, esse participes; sin autem lauacrum uitae contemnitis, nullatenus ualetis panem uitae percipere.’ At illi: ‘Nolumus,’ inquit, ‘fontem illum intrare, quia nec opus illo | nos habere nouimus, sed tamen pane illo refici uolumus.’ Cumque diligenter ac saepe ab illo essent admoniti nequaquam ita fieri posse, ut absque purgatione sacrosancta quis oblationi sacrosanctae communicaret, ad ultimum furore commoti aiebant: ‘Si non uis adsentire nobis Mellitus expelled. in tam facili<sup>4</sup> causa, quam petimus, non poteris iam in nostra prouincia demorari.’ Et expulerunt eum, ac de suo regno cum suis abire iusserunt.

Qui expulsus inde uenit Cantiam, tractaturus cum Laurentio et Iusto coepiscopis, quid in his esset agendum. Decretumque est communi consilio, quia satius esset, ut omnes patriam redeuntes, libera ibi mente Domino deseruirent, quam inter rebelles fidei

<sup>1</sup> saeberhti C; sæbercti B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> -tia M.

<sup>3</sup> sæba B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> felici C. D.



Mellitus  
and Justus  
retire to  
Gaul.

barbaros sine fructu residerent. Discessere itaque primo<sup>1</sup> Mellitus et Iustus, atque ad partes Galliae secessere, ibi rerum finem exspectare disponentes. Sed non multo tempore reges<sup>2</sup>, qui praeconem a se ueritatis expulerant, daemonicis cultibus inpune seruiebant. Nam egressi contra gentem Geuissorum in proelium, omnes pariter cum sua militia corruerunt; nec, licet auctoribus perditis, excitatum ad scelera uulgus potuit recorrige, atque ad simplicitatem fidei et caritatis, quae<sup>2</sup> Cor. xi. 3.  
est in Christo, reuocari.

## CAP. VI.

*Ut correptus ab apostolo Petro Laurentius Aeodaldum<sup>3</sup> regem ad Christum conuerterit, qui mox Mellitum et Iustum ad praedicandum reuocauerit<sup>4</sup>.*

Laurentius  
prepares to  
follow,

CUM uero et Laurentius Mellitum Iustumque secuturus ac Britanniam esset relicturus, iussit ipsa sibi nocte in ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, de qua frequenter iam diximus, stratum parari; in quo, cum post multas preces ac lacrimas ad Dominum<sup>5</sup> pro statu ecclesiae fusas ad quiescendum membra posuisset, atque obdormisset, apparuit ei beatissimus apostolorum princeps, et multo illum tempore secretae noctis flagellis artioribus afficiens sciscitabatur apostolica distictione, quare gregem, quem sibi ipse crediderat, relinqueret, uel cui pastorum oues Christi in medio luporum positas fugiens ipse dimitteret<sup>6</sup>. 'An mei,' inquit, 'oblitus es exempli, qui pro paruulis Christi, quos mihi in indicium suae dilectionis commendauerat, uincula, uerbera, carceres, adflictiones, ipsam postremo mortem, mortem autem crucis, ab infidelibus et inimicis Christi ipse cum Christo coronandus pertuli?' His beati Petri flagellis simul ex exhorta-

cf. Matth.  
x. 16;  
Ioh. x. 12.

cf. Ioh.  
xxi. 15-17.

cf. Phil.  
ii. 8.

<sup>1</sup> primo altered to -mi C; -mi B.      <sup>2</sup> reges om. M.      <sup>3</sup> ead-  
baldum C. B. om. N.      <sup>4</sup> -cauit C.      <sup>5</sup> deum C. B.      <sup>6</sup> de-  
M. C.

but is  
stopped by  
a miracle,

f. 32 a.

tionibus animatus famulus Christi Laurentius mox mane facto uenit ad regem, et, relecto<sup>1</sup> uestimento, quantis esset uerberibus laceratus, ostendit. | Qui multum miratus et inquirens, quis tanto uiro tales ausus esset plagas infligere; ut audiuit, quia suae causa salutis episcopus ab apostolo Christi tanta esset tormenta plagasque perpressus, extimuit multum; atque anathematizato omni idolatriae cultu, abdicato conubio non legitimo, suscepit fidem Christi, et baptizatus ecclesiae rebus, quantum ualuit, in omnibus consulere ac fauere curauit.

Conversion  
of Eadbald.

Misit etiam Galliam, et reuocauit Mellitum ac Iustum, eosque ad suas ecclesias libere instituendas redire praecepit<sup>2</sup>; qui post annum, ex quo abierunt<sup>3</sup>, reuersi sunt; et Iustus quidem ad ciuitatem Hrofi<sup>4</sup>, cui prae fuerat, rediit; Mellitum uero Lundonienses episcopum recipere noluerunt, idolatris<sup>5</sup> magis pontificibus seruire gaudentes. Non enim tanta erat ei, quanta patri ipsius regni potestas, ut etiam nolentibus ac contradicentibus paganis antistitem suae posset ecclesiae reddere. Uerumtamen ipse cum sua gente, ex quo ad Dominum conuersus est, diuinis se studuit mancipare praeceptis. Denique et in monasterio beatissimi apostolorum principis ecclesiam sanctae Dei genetricis fecit, quam consecrauit archiepiscopus Mellitus.

Return of  
Mellitus  
and Justus.

## CAP. VII.

*Ut Mellitus episcopus flammas ardentis suae ciuitatis orando restinxerit.*

Hoc enim regnante rege beatus archiepiscopus Laurentius regnum caeleste conscendit, atque in ecclesia et monasterio sancti apostoli Petri iuxta prodecessorem<sup>6</sup> suum Augustinum sepultus est die quarto Nonarum Februariarum; post quem Mellitus, qui erat Lundoniae

Death of  
Lauren-  
tius, Feb. 2,  
619.

<sup>1</sup> recto M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> praecipit M<sup>1</sup>. C.    <sup>3</sup> abierant B.    <sup>4</sup> rho fi C.  
<sup>5</sup> -riis M.    <sup>6</sup> sic M. C. B<sup>1</sup>; pre- B<sup>2</sup>.

Mellitus  
succeeds.

episcopus, sedem Doruuernensis ecclesiae tertius ab Augustino suscepit. Iustus autem adhuc superstes Hrofensem regebat ecclesiam. Qui, cum magna ecclesiam Anglorum cura ac labore gubernarent, susceperunt scripta exhortatoria a pontifice Romanae et apostolicae sedis Bonifatio, qui post Deusdedit ecclesiae praefuit, anno incarnationis dominicae DCXVIII. Erat autem Mellitus corporis quidem infirmitate, id est podagra, grauatus, sed mentis gressibus sanis alacriter terrena quaeque transiliens, atque ad caelestia semper amanda, petenda, et quaerenda peruolans. Erat carnis origine nobilis, sed culmine mentis nobilior.

Miracle  
wrought by  
him.

Denique, ut unum uirtutis eius, unde cetera intellegi possint, testimonium referam, tempore quodam ciuitas Doruuernensis per culpam incuriae igni correpta crebrescentibus coepit flammis consumi; quibus cum nullo aquarum iniectu posset aliquis obsistere, iamque ciuitatis<sup>1</sup> esset | pars uastata non minima, atque ad f. 32 b. episcopium<sup>2</sup> furens se flamma dilataret<sup>3</sup>, confidens episcopus in diuinum, ubi humanum deerat, auxilium, iussit se obuiam saeuientibus et huc illucque uolantibus ignium globis efferri. Erat autem eo loci<sup>4</sup>, ubi flammarum impetus maxime incumbibat, martyrium beatorum IIII Coronatorum. Ibi ergo<sup>5</sup> perlatus obsequentibus manibus episcopus coepit orando periculum infirmus abigere, quod firma fortium manus multum laborando nequiuera. Nec mora, uentus, qui a meridie flans urbi incendia sparserat, contra meridiem reflexus, primo uim sui furoris a lesione locorum, quae contra erant, abstraxit, ac mox funditus quiescendo, flammis pariter sopitis atque extinctis, conpescuit. Et quia uir Dei igne diuinae caritatis fortiter ardebat, quia tempestates potestatum aeriarum a sua suorumque cf. Eph. ii. 2. lesione crebris orationibus uel exhortationibus repellere

<sup>1</sup> ciuitas M<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> to þæm biscope, A.S. i. e. ad episcopum, and so D.      <sup>3</sup> -teret M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> loco C.      <sup>5</sup> ergo om. M.

consuerat, merito uentis flammisque mundialibus praeualere, et, ne sibi suisque nocerent, obtinere poterat.

Et hic ergo postquam annis quinque rexit ecclesiam, Aeodbaldo regnante migravit ad caelos, sepultusque

His death.  
April 24.  
624.

cf. 4 Reg.  
xiv. 20.

est cum patribus suis in saepe dicto monasterio et ecclesia beatissimi apostolorum principis, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXXIII, die VIII Kalendarum Maiarum.

## CAP. VIII.

*Ut Bonifatius papa Iusto successori eius pallium et epistolam miserit.*

Cui statim successit in pontificatum Iustus, qui erat Hrofensis<sup>1</sup> ecclesiae episcopus. Illi autem ecclesiae Romanum pro se consecrauit episcopum, data sibi ordinandi episcopos auctoritate a pontifice Bonifatio, quem successorem fuisse Deusdedit supra meminimus; cuius auctoritatis ista est forma :

Justus  
succeeds to  
Canter-  
bury, Ro-  
manus to  
Rochester.

*Dilectissimo fratri Iusto Bonifatius.*

Letter of  
Boniface to  
Justus.

*Quam deuote quamque etiam uigilanter pro Christi euangelio elaborauerit uestra fraternitas, non solum epistolae a uobis directae tenor, immo indulta desuper operi uestro perfectio indicauit. Nec enim omnipotens Deus aut sui nominis sacramentum, aut uestri fructum laboris deseruit, dum ipse praedicatoribus euangelii fideliter re-promisit : ‘ Ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem mundi<sup>2</sup>. ’ Quod specialiter iniuncto uobis ministerio, eius clementia demonstrauit, aperiens corda gentium ad suscipiendum praedicationis uestrae singulare mysterium. Magno enim praemio fastigiorum<sup>3</sup> uestrorum delectabilem cursum bonitatis suae suffragiis inlustrauit, dum creditorum uobis talentorum fidelissimae negotiationis officiis uberem fructum inpendens ei, | quod signare possetis<sup>4</sup> multiplicatis generationibus, praeparauit.*

Matth.  
xxviii. 20.

f. 33 a.

<sup>1</sup> rhof- C.      <sup>2</sup> seculi M., and so Vulgate.      <sup>3</sup> fatigiorum M.  
B<sup>1</sup>. C<sup>1</sup>. H<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>; fatigationum uestrarum M<sup>2</sup>; uestigiorum D, on  
erasure.      <sup>4</sup> possitis H<sub>1</sub>.

*Hocque etiam illa uobis repensatione conlatum est, qua iniuncto ministerio iugiter persistentes laudabili patientia redemptionem gentis illius expectastis<sup>1</sup>, et uestris, ut proficerent, meritis eorum est saluatio propinata, dicente Domino: ‘Qui perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluus erit.’ Saluati ergo estis spe patientiae et tolerantiae uirtute, ut infidelium corda naturali ac superstitioso morbo purgata, sui consequerentur misericordiam Saluatoris. Susceptis namque apicibus filii nostri Adulualdi<sup>2</sup> regis, repperimus, quanta sacri eloquii eruditione eius animum ad uerae conuersionis et indubitatae fidei credulitatem fraternitas uestra perduxerit. Qua ex re de longanimitate clementiae caelestis certam adsumentes fiduciam, non solum suppositarum ei gentium plenissimam salutem, immo quoque uicinarum, uestrae praedicationis ministerio credimus subsequendam; quatinus, sicut scriptum est, consummati operis uobis merces a retributore omnium bonorum Domino tribuatur, et uere ‘per omnem terram exisse sonum eorum, et in fines orbis terrae uerba ipsorum,’ uniuersalis gentium confessio, suscepto Christianae sacramento fidei, protestetur.*

Matth. x.  
22.  
cf. Rom.  
viii. 24.

Ps. xviii.  
4.  
cf. Rom.  
x. 18.

Pallium  
sent.

*Pallium praeterea per latorem praesentium fraternitati tuae, benignitatis studiis inuitati, direximus, quod uidelicet tantum in sacrosanctis celebrandis mysteriis utendi licentiam imperauimus<sup>3</sup>; concedentes etiam tibi ordinationes episcoporum, exigente oportunitate, Domini praeueniente misericordia, celebrare; ita ut Christi euangelium plurimorum adnuntiatione in omnibus gentibus, quae necdum conuersae sunt, dilatetur. Studeat ergo tua fraternitas hoc, quod sedis apostolicae humanitate percepit, intemerata mentis sinceritate seruare, intendens cuius rei similitudine tam praecipuum indumentum humeris tuis baiulandum susceperis. Talemque te Domini inplorata clementia exhibendum stude, ut indulti muneris praemia non cum reatitudine, sed cum*

<sup>1</sup> expectatis C. B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> sic B<sup>1</sup>; adulualdi B<sup>2</sup>; aedulualde C<sup>1</sup>; -di C<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>3</sup> sic MSS. impertiuimus edd.



*commodis animarum ante tribunal summi et uenturi Iudicis repraesentes.*

*Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime frater.*

## CAP. IX.

*De imperio regis Aeduini<sup>1</sup>, et ut ueniens ad euangelizandum ei Paulinus primo filiam eius cum aliis fidei Christianae sacramentis inbuerit.*

Quo tempore etiam gens Nordanhymbrorum<sup>2</sup>, hoc est ea natio Anglorum, quae ad Aquilonalem Humbre<sup>3</sup> fluminis plagam habitabat, cum rege suo Aeduino<sup>4</sup> uerbum fidei praedicante | Paulino, cuius supra meminimus, suscepit. Cui uidelicet regi, in auspiciu[m] suscipiendae fidei et regni caelestis, potestas etiam terreni creuerat imperii; ita ut, quod nemo Anglorum ante eum, omnes Britannie fines, qua uel ipsorum uel Bretonum prouinciae habitabant<sup>5</sup>, sub dicione acciperet<sup>6</sup>. Quin et Meuanias insulas, sicut et supra docuimus, imperio subiugauit Anglorum; quarum prior, quae ad austrum est, et situ amplior, et frugum prouentu atque ubertate felicior, nongentarum LX familiarum mensuram iuxta aestimationem Anglorum, secunda trecentarum et ultra spatium tenet.

Conversion of North-umbria by Paulinus.

Power of Edwin.

Huic autem genti occasio fuit percipiendae fidei, quod praefatus rex eius cognatione iunctus est regibus Cantuariorum, accepta in coniugem Aedilbergae<sup>7</sup> filia Aedilbercti<sup>8</sup> regis, quae alio nomine Tatae uocabatur. Huius consortium cum primo ipse missis<sup>9</sup> procis a fratre eius Aeodbaldo<sup>10</sup>, qui tunc regno Cantuariorum praeerat, peteret; responsum est non esse licitum Christianam uirginem pagano in coniugem dari, ne fides et sacramenta caelestis regis consortio profanarentur regis,

His marriage with Ethelberg daughter of Ethelbert.

<sup>1</sup> eduini C. B; eduni N.

<sup>2</sup> nordan- C.

<sup>3</sup> -brae C. B.

<sup>4</sup> eduuine C; eduine B.

<sup>5</sup> habitant M.

<sup>6</sup> acceperit M.

<sup>7</sup> -ge B; aedilburgae C<sup>1</sup>; -ga C<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> aedilbercti C.

<sup>9</sup> misis M.

<sup>10</sup> eodbaldo B<sup>1</sup>; eadbaldo C. B<sup>2</sup>.

qui ueri Dei cultus esset prorsus ignarus. Quae cum Aeduino uerba nuntii referrent<sup>1</sup>, promisit se nil omnimodis contrarium Christianae fidei, quam uirgo colebat, esse facturum; quin potius permissurum, ut fidem cultumque suae religionis cum omnibus, qui secum uenissent, uiris siue feminis, sacerdotibus seu ministris, more Christiano seruaret. Neque abnegauit se etiam eandem subiturum esse religionem; si tamen examinata a prudentibus sanctior ac Deo dignior posset inueniri.

Consecra-  
tion of  
Paulinus.  
July 21, 625.

Itaque promittitur uirgo, atque Aeduino<sup>2</sup> mittitur, et iuxta quod dispositum fuerat, ordinatur episcopus uir Deo dilectus Paulinus, qui cum illa ueniret, eamque et comites eius, ne paganorum possent societate pollui, cotidiana et<sup>3</sup> exhortatione, et sacramentorum caelestium celebratione confirmaret.

Ordinatus est autem Paulinus episcopus a Iusto archiepiscopo, sub die XII Kalendarum Augustarum, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXXV; et sic cum praefata uirgine ad regem Aeduinum<sup>2</sup> quasi comes copulae carnalis aduenit. Sed ipse potius toto animo intendens, ut gentem, quam adibat, ad agnitionem ueritatis aduocans, iuxta uocem apostoli, uni uero<sup>4</sup> <sup>2 Cor. xi. 2.</sup> sponso uirginem castam exhiberet Christo. Cumque in prouinciam uenisset, laborauit multum, ut et eos, qui secum uenerant, ne a fide deficerent, | Domino <sup>f. 34 a.</sup> adiuuante contineret, et aliquos, si forte posset, de paganis ad fidei gratiam praedicando conuerteret. Sed sicut apostolus ait, quamuis multo tempore illo laborante in uerbo: 'Deus saeculi huius excaecauit mentes <sup>2 Cor. iv.</sup> infidelium, ne eis fulgeret inluminatio euangelii gloriae <sup>4</sup> Christi.'

Attempted  
assassina-  
tion of

Anno autem sequente uenit in prouinciam quidam sicarius uocabulo Eumer, missus a rege Occidentalium

<sup>1</sup> referent M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> eduuino, -num C; eduino, -num B.    <sup>3</sup> et om. C.    <sup>4</sup> uiro M<sup>1</sup>. C<sup>2</sup>.

Saxonum nomine Cuichelmo<sup>1</sup>, sperans se regem Aedui-  
num<sup>2</sup> regno simul et uita priuaturum; qui habebat  
sicam bicipitem toxicatam; ut si ferri uulnus minus  
ad mortem regis sufficeret, peste iuuaretur ueneni.  
Peruenit autem ad regem primo die paschae iuxta  
annem Deruentionem<sup>3</sup>, ubi tunc erat uilla regalis,  
intrauitque quasi nuntium<sup>4</sup> domini sui referens; et  
cum simulatam legationem ore astuto uolueret, exsur-  
rexit repente, et, euaginata sub ueste sica, impetum  
fecit in regem. Quod cum uideret Lilla minister regi  
amicissimus, non habens scutum ad manum, quo regem  
a nece defenderet, mox interposuit corpus suum ante  
ictum pungentis; sed tanta ui hostis ferrum infixit,  
ut per corpus militis occisi etiam regem uulneret.  
Qui cum mox undique gladiis inpeteretur, in ipso  
tumultu etiam alium de militibus, cui nomen erat  
Fordheri<sup>5</sup>, sica nefanda peremit.

Edwin,  
April 20.  
626.

Eadem autem nocte sacrosancta dominici paschae  
pepererat<sup>6</sup> regina filiam regi, cui nomen Æanfled<sup>7</sup>.  
Cumque idem rex, praesente Paulino episcopo, gratias  
ageret diis suis pro nata sibi filia, e contra episcopus  
gratias coepit agere Domino Christo, regique adstruere,  
quod ipse precibus suis apud illum obtinuerit, ut  
regina sospes et absque dolore graui sobolem procrearet.  
Cuius uerbis delectatus rex, promisit se, abrenuntiatis  
idolis, Christo seruiturum, si uitam sibi et uictoriam  
donaret pugnanti aduersus regem, a quo homicida ille,  
qui eum uulnerauerat, missus est; et in pignus pro-  
missionis implendae, eandem filiam suam Christo  
consecrandam Paulino<sup>8</sup> episcopo adsignauit; quae  
baptizata est die sancto pentecostes prima de gente  
Nordanhymbrorum<sup>9</sup>, cum XI<sup>10</sup> aliis de familia eius.

Birth and  
baptism of  
Eanfled.

<sup>1</sup> quic- C.    <sup>2</sup> v. note <sup>2</sup>, p. 98.    <sup>3</sup> doruuent- C; deruent- B.

<sup>4</sup> -um om. M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>5</sup> forð- C.    <sup>6</sup> peperat M<sup>1</sup>. C.    <sup>7</sup> eanfled C. B.

<sup>8</sup> eandem . . . Paulino om. B<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>9</sup> norðan- C.    <sup>10</sup> XII C. B<sup>2</sup>. heo  
wæs twelfta, A S., i. e. ipsa erat duodecima.

Victory of  
Edwin over  
the West  
Saxons.

Quo tempore curatus a uulnere sibi pridem inflicto, rex collecto exercitu uenit aduersus gentem Occidentaliū Saxonum, ac bello inito uniuersos, quos in necem suam conspirasse didicerat, aut occidit, aut in deditionem recepit. Sicque uictor in patriam reuersus, non statim et inconsulte sacramenta fidei Christianae percipere f. 34 b. uoluit; quamuis nec idolis ultra seruiuit, ex quo se Christo seruiturum esse promiserat. Uerum primo diligentius ex tempore, et ab ipso uenerabili uiro Paulino rationem fidei ediscere, et cum suis primatibus, quos sapientiores nouerat, curauit conferre, quid de his agendum arbitrarentur<sup>1</sup>. Sed et ipse, cum esset uir natura sagacissimus, saepe diu solus residens ore quidem tacito, sed in intimis cordis multa secum conloquens, quid sibi esset faciendum, quae religio seruanda tractabat.

## CAP. X.

*Ut papa Bonifatius eundem<sup>2</sup> regem missis litteris sit hortatus ad fidem.*

Quo tempore exhortatorias ad fidem litteras a pontifice sedis apostolicae Bonifatio accepit, quarum ista est forma:

Exemplar epistolae beatissimi et apostolici papae urbis Romanae ecclesiae Bonifatii directae uiro glorioso Aeduino regi Anglorum<sup>3</sup>.

Letter of  
Boniface to  
Edwin.

*Uiro glorioso Aeduino<sup>4</sup> regi Anglorum, Bonifatius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei.*

*Licet summae diuinitatis potentia humanae locutionis officiis explanari non ualeat, quippe quae sui magnitudine ita inuisibili atque inuestigabili aeternitate consistit, ut haec nulla ingenii sagacitas, quanta sit, comprehendere disserereque sufficiat; quia tamen eius humanitas ad insinua-*

<sup>1</sup> -trentur M.      <sup>2</sup> eandem M<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>3</sup> uiro . . . anglorum om. C. H<sub>1</sub>, erased in W.      <sup>4</sup> eduuino C; eduino B, and so above.

tionem<sup>1</sup> sui reseratis cordis ianuis, quae de semet ipsa proferetur<sup>2</sup> secreta humanis mentibus inspiratione clementer infundit; ad admuntiamdam<sup>3</sup> uobis plenitudinem fidei Christianae sacerdotalem curauimus sollicitudinem prorogare, ut perinde Christi euangelium, quod Saluator noster omnibus praecepit gentibus praedicari, uestris quoque sensibus inserentes, salutis uestrae remedia propinentur. Supernae igitur maiestatis clementia, quae cuncta solo uerbo praeceptionis suae condidit et creauit, caelum uidelicet et terram, mare et omnia, quae in eis sunt, dispositis ordinibus, quibus subsisterent, coaeterni Uerbi sui consilio, et Sancti Spiritus unitate dispensans, hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam ex limo terrae plasmatum constituit, eique tantam praemii praerogatiuam indulsit, ut cum cunctis praeponeret, atque seruato termino praeceptionis, aeternitatis subsistentia praemuniret. Hunc ergo Deum Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, quod est indiuidua

et. Gen. i. 27; ii. 7.

Mal. i. 11.

f. 35 a.

Trinitas, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, humanum genus, quippe ut creatorem omnium atque factorem suum, salutiferam | confessione fide ueneratur et colit; cui etiam summitates imperii rerumque potestates submissae sunt, quia eius dispositione omnium praelatio regnorum conceditur<sup>4</sup>. Eius ergo bonitatis misericordia totius creaturae suae dilatandi subdi etiam in extremitate<sup>5</sup> terrae positarum gentium corda frigida, Sancti Spiritus feruore in sui quoque agnitione mirabiliter est dignata succendere.

Quae enim in gloriosi filii nostri Audubaldi<sup>6</sup> regis gentibusque ei subpositis inlustratione, clementia Redemptoris fuerit operata, plenius ex uicinitate locorum uestram gloriam conicimus cognouisse. Eius ergo mirabile donum et in uobis certa spe, caelesti longanimitate conferri confidimus; cum profecto gloriosam coniugem uestram, quae uestri corporis pars esse dinoscitur, aeternitatis praemio per sacri baptismatis regenerationem inluminatam agnouimus.

<sup>1</sup> -ne M<sup>1</sup>.  
-deretur C.

<sup>2</sup> profertur H<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>5</sup> extrimitate M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> -dum C.    <sup>4</sup> -detur M<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>1</sup>;  
<sup>6</sup> eadubaldi C<sup>2</sup>.



Unde praesenti stilo gloriosos uos adhortandos cum omni affectu intimae caritatis curauimus; quatinus abominatis idolis eorumque cultu, spretisque fanorum fatuitatibus, et auguriorum deceptabilibus<sup>1</sup> blandimentis, credatis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, eiusque Filium Iesum Christum, et Spiritum Sanctum, ut credentes, a diabolicae captiuitatis nexibus, sanctae et indiuiduae Trinitatis co-operante potentia, absoluti, aeternae uitae possitis esse participes.

Quanta autem reatitudinis culpa teneantur obstricti hi, qui idolatriarum perniciosissimam superstitionem colentes amplectuntur, eorum, quos colunt, exempla perditionis insinuant; unde de eis per psalmistam dicitur: 'Omnes dii gentium daemonia, Dominus autem caelos Ps. xciv. 5. fecit.' Et iterum: 'Oculos habent, et non uident<sup>2</sup>; Ps. cxiii. 5-8. aures habent, et non audiunt<sup>3</sup>; nares habent, et non odorabunt; manus habent, et non palpabunt; pedes habent, et non ambulabunt; similes ergo efficiuntur his, qui spem suae confidentiae ponunt in eis<sup>4</sup>.' Quomodo<sup>5</sup> enim iuuandi quemlibet possunt habere uirtutem hi, qui ex corruptibili materia inferiorum etiam subpositorumque tibi manibus construuntur; quibus uidelicet artificium humanum adcommoans eis inanimatam membrorum similitudinem contulisti; qui, nisi a te moti<sup>6</sup> fuerint, ambulare non poterunt, sed tamquam lapis in uno loco posita, ita constructi nihilque intelligentiae habentes, ipsaque insensibilitate obruti, nullam neque ledendi neque iuuandi facultatem adepti sunt? Qua<sup>7</sup> ergo mentis deceptione eos deos, quibus uos ipsi imaginem corporis

<sup>1</sup> -tibilibus B<sup>2</sup>. <sup>2</sup> uidebunt C. <sup>3</sup> audient C. D. W. <sup>4</sup> aures . . . in eis from B. M has non uident et cetera, usque, non ambulabunt, the last two words being on an erasure; then, similes . . . in eis is added on lower margin, but all by M<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps the original reading was usque ponunt in eis. H<sub>1</sub> follows the present text of M exactly, similes . . . eis being in the text. <sup>5</sup> -do om. M<sup>1</sup>. <sup>6</sup> motae M. C; moti B. on erasure. <sup>7</sup> quia M.

f. 35 b. *tradidistis, colentes sequimini, iudicio discreto | reperire non possumus.*

Unde oportet uos, suscepto signo sanctae crucis, per quod humanum genus redemptum est, execrandam diabolicæ uersutiae supplantationem, qui diuinæ bonitatis operibus inuidus aemulusque consistit, a cordibus uestris abicere<sup>1</sup>, iniectisque<sup>2</sup> manibus hos, quos eatenus materiae conpage uobis deos fabricastis, confringendos diminuendosque sum-mopere procurete. Ipsa enim eorum dissolutio corruptio-que, quæ numquam uiuentem spiritum habuit, nec sensibilitatem a suis factoribus potuit quolibet modo<sup>3</sup> suscipere, uobis patenter insinuet, quam nihil erat, quod eatenus colebatis; dum profecto meliores uos, qui spiritum uiuentem a Domino percepistis<sup>4</sup>, eorum constructioni<sup>5</sup> nihilominus existatis; quippe quos Deus omnipotens ex primi hominis, quem plasmauit, cognatione, deductis per saecula innumerabilibus propaginibus, pullulare constituit. Accedite ergo ad agnitionem eius, qui uos creauit, qui in uobis uitæ insufflauit spiritum, qui pro uestra redemptione Filium suum unigenitum misit, ut uos ab originali peccato eriperet, et ereptos de potestate nequitiae diabolicæ prauitatis caelestibus præmiis muneraret.

Suscipite<sup>6</sup> uerba prædicatorum, et euangelium Dei, quod uobis adnuntiant; quatinus credentes, sicut sæpius dictum est, in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Iesum Christum eius Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, et insepara-bilem Trinitatem; fugatis daemioniorum sensibus, expulsa-que a uobis sollicitatione uenenosi et deceptibilis hostis, per aquam et Spiritum Sanctum renati ei, cui credideritis, in splendore gloriæ sempiternæ cohabitare, eius opitulante<sup>7</sup> munificentia ualeatis.

<sup>1</sup> abicere M<sup>1</sup>. C<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> que om. M.

<sup>3</sup> quo modo libet B.

<sup>4</sup> -cipistis M.

<sup>5</sup> -ne H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> suscipite ergo C. D.

<sup>7</sup> sic

O<sub>3</sub>O<sub>7</sub>O<sub>14</sub>O<sub>1-2</sub>, opitulatione M. C. B. H<sub>1</sub>. W<sup>1</sup>. D, an evident mistake, which M. has tried to mend by deleting the a of munificentia; other MSS. read opitulatione et munificentia.

*Praeterea benedictionem protectoris uestri beati Petri apostolorum principis uobis direximus, id est camisia<sup>1</sup> cum ornatura in auro una, et lena Anciriana una; quod petimus, ut eo benignitatis animo gloria uestra suscipiat, quo a nobis noscitur<sup>2</sup> destinatum.*

## CAP. XI.

*Ut coniugem ipsius<sup>3</sup>, per epistulam, salutis illius sedulam agere curam monuerit.*

Ad coniugem quoque illius Aedilbergam<sup>4</sup> huiusmodi litteras idem pontifex misit :

Exemplar epistulae beatissimi et apostolici Bonifatii papae urbis Romae directae Aedilbergae<sup>4</sup> reginae Aeduini<sup>5</sup> regis.

Letter of  
Boniface to  
Ethelberg.

*Dominae gloriosae filiae Aedilbergae<sup>4</sup> reginae, Bonifatius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei.*

*Redemptoris nostri benignitas humano generi, quod pretiosi sanguinis sui effusione a uinculis diabolicae captiuitatis eripuit, multae prouidentiae, quibus saluaretur, propinauit remedia; quatinus sui nominis agnitionem f. 36 a. diuerso modo gentibus innotescens<sup>6</sup>, Creatorem suum suscepto Christianae fidei agnoscerent sacramento. Quod equidem in uestrae gloriae sensibus caelesti conlatum munere mystica regenerationis uestrae purgatio patenter innuit. Magno ergo largitatis dominicae beneficio mens nostra gaudio exultauit, quod scintillam<sup>7</sup> orthodoxae religionis in uestri dignatus est confessione<sup>8</sup> succendere; ex qua re non solum gloriosi coniugis uestri, immo totius gentis subpositae uobis intellegentiam in amore sui facilius inflammaret.*

*Didicimus namque referentibus his, qui ad nos gloriosi filii nostri Audubaldi<sup>9</sup> regis laudabilem conuersionem nuntiantes peruenerunt, quod etiam uestra gloria, Chri-*

<sup>1</sup> camisiam M. B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> dinoscitur M.

<sup>3</sup> illius M<sup>1</sup>; eius N.

<sup>4</sup> aedilburgam, -gae C.

<sup>5</sup> eduini B; eduuini C.

<sup>6</sup> innocens M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> -la M.

<sup>8</sup> conuersione D.

<sup>9</sup> eadbaldi C<sup>2</sup>.

stianae fidei suscepto mirabili sacramento, piis et Deo placitis iugiter operibus enitescat, ab idolorum etiam cultu seu fanorum auguriorumque inlcebris se diligenter abstineat, et ita in amore Redemptoris sui inmutata deuotione persistens inuigilet, ut ad dilatandam Christianam fidem<sup>1</sup> incessabiliter non desistat operam commodare; cumque de glorioso coniuge uestro paterna caritas sollicitè perquisisset, cognouimus, quod eatenus abominandis idolis seruiens, ad suscipiendam uocem praedicatorum suam distulerit obedientiam exhibere. Qua ex re non modica nobis amaritudo congesta est, ab<sup>2</sup> eo, quod pars corporis uestri ab agnitione summae et indiuiduae Trinitatis remansit extranea. Unde paternis officiis uestrae gloriosae Christianitati nostram commonitionem<sup>3</sup> non<sup>4</sup> distulimus conferendam; adhortantes, quatinus diuinæ inspirationis inbuta subsidiis, inopportune et oportune agendum non differas, ut et ipse, Saluatoris nostri Domini Iesu Christi cooperante potentia, Christianorum numero copuletur; ut perinde intemerato societatis foedere iura teneas maritalis consortii. Scriptum namque est: 'Erunt duo in carne una.' Quomodo ergo unitas uobis coniunctionis inesse dici poterit, si a uestrae fidei splendore, interpositis detestabilis erroris tenebris, ille remanserit alienus?

Unde orationi continuæ insistens a longanimitate caelestis clementiae inluminatiōis ipsius beneficia inpetrare non desinas; ut uidelicet, quos copulatio carnalis affectus unum quodam modo corpus exhibuisse monstratur, hos quoque unitas fidei etiam post huius uitae transitum in perpetua societate conseruet. | Insiste ergo, gloriosa filia, et summis conatibus duritiam cordis ipsius religiosa diuinorum praeceptorum insinuatione mollire summopere dematura; infundens sensibus eius, quantum sit praeclarum, quod credendo suscepisti, mysterium, quantumue sit admirabile, quod renata praemium consequi meruisti. Frigiditatem cordis ipsius Sancti Spiritus adnuntiatione

<sup>1</sup> fidei M.<sup>2</sup> ob M. B.<sup>3</sup> commun- C. B<sup>1</sup>.<sup>4</sup> nec M.cf. 2 Tim.  
iv. 2.(Gen. ii. 24;  
Matth.  
xix. 5;  
Marc. x.  
7; Eph.  
v. 31.

f. 36 b.

succende; quatinus amoto torporè perniciosissimi cultus, diuinæ fidei calor eius intellegentiam tuarum<sup>1</sup> adhortationum frequentatione succendat, ut profecto sacrae scripturae testimonium per te expletum indubitanter perclareat: 'Saluabitur uir infidelis per mulierem fidelem.' Ad hoc <sup>1</sup> Cor. vii. 14, 16. enim misericordiam dominicae pietatis consecuta es, ut fructum fidei creditorumque tibi beneficiorum Redemptori tuo multiplicem resignares. Quod equidem, suffragante praesidio benignitatis ipsius, ut explere ualeas, adsiduus non desistimus precibus postulare.

His ergo praemissis<sup>2</sup>, paternae uobis dilectionis exhibentes officia, hortamur, ut nos reperta portitoris occasione de his, quae per uos superna potentia mirabiliter in conuersatione<sup>3</sup> coniugis uestri summissaeque uobis gentis dignatus fuerit operari, prosperis quantocius nuntiis releuetis<sup>4</sup>, quatinus sollicitudo nostra, quae de uestri uestrorumque omnium animae salute optabilia desideranter expectat, uobis<sup>5</sup> nuntiantibus releuetur<sup>4</sup>, inlustrationemque diuinæ propitiationis in uobis diffusam opulentiùs agnoscentes, hilari confessione largitori omnium bonorum Deo, et beato Petro apostolorum principi uberes merito gratias exsoluamus.

Practerea benedictionem protectoris uestri beati Petri apostolorum principis uobis direximus, id est speculum argenteum, et pectinem<sup>6</sup> eboreum<sup>7</sup> inauratum; quod petimus, ut eo benignitatis animo gloria uestra suscipiat, quo a nobis noscitur destinatum.

## CAP. XII.

Ut Aeduini<sup>8</sup> per uisionem quondam sibi exuli ostensam sit ad credendum prouocatus.

Mysterious  
experience

HAEC quidem memoratus papa Bonifatius de salute regis Aeduini<sup>9</sup> ac gentis ipsius litteris agebat. Sed et

<sup>1</sup> tuorum M. C. B<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> -misis M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> conuersione C. B<sup>2</sup>. D.

<sup>4</sup> reueletis, -tur C. H<sub>1</sub>. D.    <sup>5</sup> nobis M.    <sup>6</sup> pectine M. C; obscure in B.    <sup>7</sup> eburneum M<sup>2</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>8</sup> eduini B; ediuni N; eduine C.

<sup>9</sup> eduini C. B.



oraculum caeleste, quod illi quondam exulanti apud Redualdum<sup>1</sup> regem Anglorum pietas diuina reuelare dignata est, non minimum ad suscipienda uel intellegenda doctrinae monita salutaris sensum iuuat illius. Cum ergo uideret Paulinus difficulter posse sublimitatem animi regalis ad humilitatem uiae salutaris, et

of Edwin,  
during his  
exile in  
East  
Anglia.

f. 37 a. suscipiendum mysterium uiuificae crucis inclinari, | ac pro salute illius simul et gentis, cui praeerat, et uerbo exhortationis apud homines, et apud diuinam pietatem uerbo deprecationis ageret; tandem, ut uerisimile uidetur, didicit in spiritu, quod<sup>2</sup> uel quale esset oraculum regi quondam caelitus ostensum. Nec exinde distulit, quin continuo regem ammoneret explere uotum, quod in oraculo sibi exhibito se facturum promiserat, si temporis illius erumnis exemptus ad regni fastigia perueniret.

Erat autem oraculum huiusmodi. Cum persequente illum Aedilfrido<sup>3</sup>, qui ante eum regnauit, per<sup>4</sup> diuersa occultus loca uel regna multo annorum tempore profugus uagaretur, tandem uenit ad Redualdum<sup>5</sup> obsecrans, ut uitam suam a tanti persecutoris insidiis tutando seruaret; qui libenter eum excipiens, promisit se, quae petebatur, esse facturum. At postquam Aedilfrid in hac eum prouincia apparuisse, et apud regem illius familiariter cum sociis habitare cognouit, misit nuntios, qui Redualdo pecuniam multam pro nece eius offerrent<sup>6</sup>; neque aliquid profecit. Misit secundo, misit tertio, et copiosiora argenti dona offerens, et bellum insuper illi, si contemneretur, indicens. Qui uel minis fractus, uel corruptus muneribus, cessit deprecanti, et siue occidere se Aeduinum<sup>7</sup>, seu legatariis tradere promisit. Quod ubi

<sup>1</sup> redualdum C.

throughout the chapter.

and so throughout the chapter.

eduuin- C.

<sup>2</sup> ut quod M.

<sup>4</sup> cum per M.

<sup>6</sup> offerent M.

<sup>3</sup> aedil- C., and so

<sup>5</sup> reduuald- C,

<sup>7</sup> eduin- B ;

fidissimus quidam amicus illius animaduertit<sup>1</sup>, intrauit cubiculum, quo dormire disponebat, erat enim prima hora noctis, et euocatum foras, quid erga eum agere rex promississet, edocuit, et insuper adiecit: 'Si ergo uis, hac ipsa hora educam te de hac prouincia, et ea in loca introducam, ubi numquam te uel Reduald, uel Aedilfrid<sup>2</sup> inuenire ualeant.' Qui ait: 'Gratias quidem ago beneuolentiae tuae; non tamen hoc facere possum, quod suggeris, ut<sup>3</sup> pactum, quod cum tanto rege inii, ipse primus irritum faciam, cum ille mihi nil mali fecerit, nil adhuc inimicitiarum intulerit. Quin potius, si moriturus sum, ille me magis quam ignobilior quisque morti tradat. Quo enim nunc fugiam, qui per omnes Britannie prouincias tot annorum temporumque curriculis uagabundus<sup>4</sup> hostium uitabam insidias?' Abeunte igitur amico, remansit Aeduini<sup>5</sup> solus foris, residensque mestus ante palatium, multis coepit cogitationum aestibus affici, quid ageret, quoque pedem uerteret, nescius.

Cumque diu tacitis mentis angoribus, et caeco carperetur igni, uidit subito intempesta nocte silentio | adpropinquantem sibi hominem uultus habitusque incogniti; quem uidens, ut ignotum et inopinatum, non parum expauit. At ille accedens salutauit eum, et interrogauit, quare illa hora, ceteris quiescentibus, et alto sopore pressis, solus ipse mestus in lapide peruigil sederet. At ille uicissim sciscitabatur, quid ad eum pertineret, utrum ipse intus an foris noctem transigeret. Qui respondens ait: 'Ne me aestimes tuae mestitiae et insomniorum, et forinsecae et<sup>6</sup> solitariae sessionis causam nescire; scio enim certissime qui es, et quare meres, et quae uentura tibi in proximo mala formidas. Sed dicito mihi, quid mer-

cf. Verg.  
Aen. iv. 2.  
f. 37 b.

<sup>1</sup> -teret C. B<sup>2</sup>. <sup>2</sup> Here the cross-bar of the  $\delta$  is certainly by C<sup>2</sup>; v. note, p. 44. <sup>3</sup> quod M<sup>1</sup>. <sup>4</sup> -pundus or -fundus M<sup>1</sup>. <sup>5</sup> eduine C; eduini B<sup>1</sup>; -ne B<sup>2</sup>, and so often. <sup>6</sup> ac C.

cedis<sup>1</sup> dare uelis ei, siqui sit, qui his te meroribus absoluat, et Redualdo suadeat, ut nec ipse tibi aliquid mali faciat, nec tuis te hostibus perimendum tradat.' Qui cum se omnia, quae posset, huic tali pro mercede<sup>2</sup> beneficii daturum esse responderet, adiecit ille : ' Quod<sup>3</sup> Prophecy  
of his  
future  
greatness. si etiam regem te futurum<sup>4</sup> extinctis hostibus in ueritate promittat, ita ut non solum omnes tuos progenitores, sed et omnes, qui ante te reges in gente Anglorum fuerant, potestate transcendas ?' At Aeduini<sup>5</sup> constantior interrogando factus, non dubitauit promittere, quin ei, qui tanta sibi beneficia donaret, dignis ipse gratiarum actionibus responderet. Tum ille tertio : ' Si autem,' inquit, ' is, qui tibi tanta taliaque dona ueraciter aduentura praedixerit, etiam consilium tibi tuae salutis ac uitae melius atque utilius, quam aliquis de tuis parentibus aut cognatis umquam audiuit, ostendere potuerit, num ei obtemperare, et monita eius salutaria suscipere consentis ?' Nec distulit Aeduini<sup>6</sup>, quin continuo polliceretur in omnibus se secuturum doctrinam illius, qui se tot ac tantis calamitatibus ereptum, ad regni apicem prouheret. Quo accepto responso, confestim is, qui loquebatur cum eo, inposuit dexteram suam capiti eius dicens : ' Cum hoc ergo tibi signum aduenerit, memento huius temporis ac loquellae nostrae, et ea, quae nunc promittis, adimplere ne differas.' Et his dictis, ut ferunt, repente disparuit, ut intellegeret non hominem esse, qui sibi apparuisset, sed spiritum.

Et cum regius iuuenis solus adhuc ibidem sederet, gausus quidem de conlata sibi consolatione, sed multum sollicitus, ac mente sedula cogitans, quis<sup>7</sup> esset ille, uel unde ueniret, qui haec sibi loqueretur, uenit ad eum praefatus amicus illius, laetoque uultu salutans

<sup>1</sup> mercis M ; mercidis B<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> mercede M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>3</sup> quid B<sup>2</sup>.<sup>4</sup> te futurum om. B.<sup>5</sup> r. note<sup>5</sup>, p. 108.<sup>6</sup> eduini B<sup>1</sup> ; -ne C. B<sup>2</sup>.<sup>7</sup> qui M<sup>1</sup>.

eum: 'Surge,' inquit, 'intra, et sopitis | ac relictis f. 38 a. curarum anxietatibus, quieti membra simul et animum compone, quia mutatum est cor regis, nec tibi aliquid mali facere, sed fidem potius pollicitam seruare disponit; postquam enim cogitationem suam, de qua tibi ante dixi, reginae in secreto reuelauit, reuocauit eum illa ab intentione, ammonens, quia nulla ratione conueniat tanto regi amicum suum optimum in necessitate positum auro uendere, immo fidem suam, quae omnibus ornamentis pretiosior est, amore pecuniae perdere.' Quid plura? Fecit rex, ut dictum est; nec solum exulem nuntiis hostilibus non tradidit, sed etiam eum, ut in regnum perueniret, adiunxit. Nam mox redeuntibus domum nuntiis, exercitum ad debellandum Aedilfridum colligit<sup>1</sup> copiosum, eumque sibi occurrentem cum exercitu multum inpari (non enim dederat illi spatium, quo totum suum congregaret atque adunaret exercitum), occidit in finibus gentis Merciorum ad orientalem plagam amnis, qui uocatur Iðlæ<sup>2</sup>; in quo certamine et filius Redualdi, uocabulo Rægenheri<sup>3</sup>, occisus est. Ac sic Aeduini<sup>4</sup> iuxta oraculum, quod acceperat, non tantum regis sibi infesti insidias uitauit, uerum etiam eidem peremto in regni gloriam successit.

Cum ergo praedicante<sup>5</sup> uerbum Dei Paulino rex credere differret, et per aliquod tempus, ut diximus, horis competentibus solitarius sederet, quid<sup>6</sup> agendum sibi esset, quae religio sequenda, sedulus secum ipse scrutari consuesset, ingrediens ad eum quadam die uir Dei, inposuit dexteram capiti eius et, an hoc signum agnosceret, requisiiuit. Qui cum tremens ad pedes eius procidere uellet, leuauit eum, et quasi familiari uoce affatus: 'Ecce,' inquit, 'hostium manus, quos timuisti, Domino donante euasisti; ecce regnum, quod desiderasti, ipso largiente percepisti<sup>7</sup>. Memento, ut ter-

Its fulfilment at the Battle of the Idle.

Paulinus reminds him of it.

<sup>1</sup> collegit M<sup>2</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> idlae C. B.

<sup>3</sup> ráegn- C; raegn- B.

<sup>4</sup> v. note <sup>6</sup>, p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> -ti C.

<sup>6</sup> et quid C. B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> -cipisti M.

tium, quod promisisti, facere ne differas, suscipiendo fidem eius, et praecepta seruando, qui te et a temporalibus aduersis eripiens, temporalis regni honore sublimauit; et si deinceps uoluntati eius, quam per me tibi praedicat, obsecundare uolueris, etiam a perpetuis malorum tormentis te liberans, aeterni secum regni in caelis faciet<sup>1</sup> esse participem.’

## CAP. XIII.

*Quale consilium idem cum primatibus suis de percipienda fide Christi habuerit; et ut pontifex eius suas aras profanauerit.*

QUIBUS auditis, rex suscipere quidem se fidem, quam docebat, et uelle et debere respondebat. Uerum<sup>2</sup> adhuc cum amicis principibus et consiliariis suis sese de hoc conlaturum esse dicebat, ut, si et illi eadem cum illo sentire uellent, omnes | pariter in fonte uitae Christo consecrarentur. Et adnunte Paulino, fecit, ut dixerat. Habito enim cum sapientibus consilio, seiscitabatur singillatim ab omnibus, qualis sibi doctrina haec eatenus inaudita, et nouus diuinitatis, qui

f. 38 b.

cf. Act. xix. 19.

Debate in the North-umbrian Witenagemot as to the adoption of Christianity.

praedicabatur, cultus uideretur.

Cui primus pontificum ipsius Coifi continuo respondit: ‘Tu uide, rex, quale sit hoc, quod nobis modo praedicatur; ego autem tibi uerissime, quod certum didici, profiteor, quia nihil omnino uirtutis habet, nihil utilitatis religio illa, quam hucusque tenuimus. Nullus enim tuorum studiosius quam ego culturae deorum nostrorum se subdidit; et nihilominus multi sunt, qui ampliora a te beneficia quam ego, et maiores accipiunt dignitates, magisque prosperantur in omnibus, quae agenda uel adquirenda disponunt. Si autem dii aliquid ualerent, me potius iuuare uellent, qui illis impensius seruire curaui. Unde restat, ut si ea, quae nunc nobis noua praedicantur, meliora esse et fortiora, habita

<sup>1</sup> facit M. H<sub>1</sub>.<sup>2</sup> uerum, erased in M.



examinatione perspexeris, absque ullo cunctamine suscipere illa festinemus.'

Cuius suasioni uerbisque prudentibus alius optimatum regis tribuens assensum, continuo subdidit: 'Talis,' inquit, 'mihi uidetur, rex, uita hominum praesens in terris, ad comparationem eius, quod nobis incertum est, temporis, quale cum te residente ad caenam cum ducibus ac ministris tuis tempore brumali, accenso quidem foco in medio, et calido effecto caenaculo, furentibus autem foris per omnia turbinibus hiemalium pluuiarum uel niuium, adueniens unus passerum domum citissime peruolauerit; qui cum per unum ostium ingrediens, mox per aliud exierit. Ipso quidem tempore, quo intus est, hiemis tempestate non tangitur, sed tamen paruissimo spatio serenitatis ad momentum excursu, mox de hieme in hiemem regrediens, tuis oculis elabatur. Ita haec uita hominum ad modicum apparet; quid autem<sup>1</sup> sequatur, quidue praecesserit, prorsus ignoramus. Unde si haec noua doctrina certius aliquid attulit, merito esse sequenda uidetur.' His similia et ceteri maiores natu ac regis consiliarii diuinitus admoniti prosequabantur.

Adiecit autem Coifi, quia uellet ipsum Paulinum diligentius audire de Deo, quem praedicabat, uerbum facientem. Quod cum iubente rege faceret, exclamauit auditis eius sermonibus dicens: 'Iam olim intellexeram | nihil esse, quod colebamus; quia uidelicet<sup>2</sup>, f. 39 a. quanto studiosius<sup>3</sup> in eo cultu ueritatem quaerebam, tanto minus inueniebam. Nunc autem aperte profiteor, quia in hac praedicatione ueritas claret illa, quae nobis uitae, salutis, et beatitudinis aeternae dona ualet<sup>4</sup> tribuere. Unde suggero, rex, ut templa et altaria, quae sine fructu utilitatis sacrauiimus, ocuis anathemati et igni contradamus.' Quid plura? prae-

<sup>1</sup> tamen, *altered to* autem M.  
H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> uidelicet M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> -sior M.

<sup>4</sup> ualeat C.

buit palam adsensum euangelizanti beato Paulino rex, et, abrenuntiata idolatria, fidem se Christi suscipere confessus est. Cumque a praefato pontifice sacrorum suorum quaereret, quis aras et fana idolorum cum septis, quibus erant circumdata, primus profanare deberet; ille respondit: 'Ego. Quis enim ea, quae per stultitiam colui, nunc ad exemplum omnium aptius quam ipse per sapientiam mihi a Deo uero donatam destruiam?' Statimque, abiecta superstitione uanitatis, rogauit sibi regem arma dare et equum emissarium, quem ascendens ad idola destruenda ueniret. Non enim licuerat pontificem sacrorum uel arma ferre, uel praeter in equa equitare. Accinctus ergo gladio accepit lanceam in manu, et ascendens emissarium regis, pergebat<sup>1</sup> ad idola. Quod aspiciens uulgus, aestimabat eum insanire. Nec distulit ille, mox ut adpropinquabat ad fanum, profanare illud, iniecta in eo lancea, quam tenebat; multumque gaudius de agnitione ueri Dei cultus, iussit sociis destruere ac succendere fanum cum omnibus septis suis. Ostenditur autem locus ille quondam idolorum non longe ab Eburaco ad orientem, ultra amnem Doruuentionem<sup>2</sup>, et uocatur hodie Godmunddingaham<sup>3</sup>, ubi pontifex ipse, inspirante Deo uero, polluit ac destruxit eas, quas ipse sacrauerat, aras.

Destruction of the heathen temple at Goodmanham.

cf. Verg.  
Aen. ii.  
502.

## CAP. XIV.

*Ut idem Aeduini<sup>4</sup> cum sua gente fidelis sit factus; et ubi Paulinus baptizauerit.*

IGITUR accepit rex Aeduini<sup>5</sup> cum cunctis gentis suae nobilibus ac plebe perplurima fidem et lauacrum sanctae regenerationis anno regni sui XI, qui est annus dominicae incarnationis DCXXVII<sup>6</sup>, ab aduentu uero<sup>7</sup>

Baptism of Edwin, Easter, 627.

<sup>1</sup> pergens M. H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>2</sup> der- B.      <sup>3</sup> mundingaham C., the syllable god- having been erased.

<sup>5</sup> eduini B<sup>1</sup>; -ne C. B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> M<sup>1</sup> seems to have written DCXXIII.

<sup>7</sup> uero erased in M.

Anglorum in Britanniam annus circiter CLXXX<sup>mus</sup>. Baptizatus est<sup>1</sup> autem Eburaci die sancto paschae pridie Iduum Aprilium in ecclesia Petri apostoli, quam ibidem ipse de ligno, cum<sup>2</sup> cathecizaretur, atque ad percipiendum baptismum inbueretur, citato opere construxit. In qua etiam ciuitate ipsi doctore atque antistiti<sup>3</sup> suo Paulino sedem episcopatus donauit. Mox autem ut baptismum consecutus est, | curauit, docente f. 39 b. eodem Paulino, maiorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam, in cuius medio ipsum<sup>4</sup>, quod prius fecerat, oratorium includeretur. Praeparatis ergo fundamentis in gyro prioris oratorii per quadrum coepit aedificare basilicam. Sed priusquam altitudo parietis esset consummata, rex ipse impia nece occisus, opus idem successori suo Osualdo perficiendum reliquit. Paulinus autem ex eo tempore sex annis continuis<sup>5</sup>, id est ad finem usque imperii regis illius, uerbum Dei, adnuente ac fauente ipso, in ea prouincia praedicabat; credebantque et baptizabantur Act. xiii. 48. quotquot erant praeordinati<sup>6</sup> ad uitam aeternam, in quibus erant Osfrid et Eadfrid filii regis Aeduini<sup>7</sup>, qui ambo ei<sup>8</sup> exuli nati sunt de Quoenburga<sup>9</sup> filia Cearli regis Merciorum.

Baptizati sunt tempore sequente et alii liberi eius de Aedilberga<sup>10</sup> regina progeniti, Aedilhun<sup>11</sup> et Aedilthryd<sup>12</sup> filia, et alter filius Uuscfrea, quorum primi albatu adhuc rapti sunt de hac uita, et Eburaci in ecclesia sepulti. Baptizatus et Yffi filius Osfridi, sed et alii nobiles ac regii uiri non pauci. Tantus autem fertur tunc fuisse feruor fidei ac desiderium lauacri salutaris genti Nordanhymbrorum<sup>13</sup>, ut quodam tempore Paulinus ueniens cum rege et regina in uillam regiam,

<sup>1</sup> est om. M.    <sup>2</sup> cum om. C<sup>1</sup>; antequam C<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> antestiti M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> ipsam M.    <sup>5</sup> continuis, added on margin M.    <sup>6</sup> pro- M.

<sup>7</sup> eduini B; -ne C.    <sup>8</sup> ei om. B.    <sup>9</sup> quen- B<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>10</sup> -gia M;

aedilberga C; -burga C<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>11</sup> aedilhun C.    <sup>12</sup> aedilthryð C.

<sup>13</sup> nordan-C.

quae uocatur<sup>1</sup> Adgefrin<sup>2</sup>, XXXVI diebus ibidem cum eis cathecizandi et baptizandi officio deditus moraretur; quibus diebus cunctis a mane usque ad uesperam nil aliud ageret, quam confluentem eo de cunctis uiculis ac locis plebem Christi uerbo salutis instruere, atque instructam in fluuio Gleni, qui proximus erat, lauacro remissionis abluere. Haec uilla tempore sequentium regum deserta, et alia pro illa est facta in loco, qui uocatur Maelmin.

Wholesale  
Baptisms.

Haec quidem in prouincia Berniciorum; sed et in prouincia Deirorum, ubi saepius manere cum rege solebat, baptizabat in fluuio Sualua<sup>3</sup>, qui uicum Cata-ractam praeterfluit. Nondum enim oratoria uel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiae poterant aedificari. Attamen in Campodono, ubi tunc etiam uilla regia erat, fecit basilicam, quam postmodum pagani, a quibus Aeduini<sup>4</sup> rex occisus est, cum tota eadem uilla succenderunt; pro qua reges posteriores fecere sibi uillam in regione, quae uocatur<sup>1</sup> Loidis.

1. 40 a.

| Euasit autem ignem altare, quia lapideum erat; et seruatur adhuc in monasterio reuerentissimi abbatis et presbyteri Thryduulfi<sup>5</sup>, quod est<sup>6</sup> in silua Elmete.

## ' CAP. XV.

*Ut prouincia Orientalium Anglorum fidem Christi suscepit<sup>7</sup>.*

TANTUM autem deuotionis Aeduini<sup>8</sup> erga cultum ueritatis habuit, ut etiam regi Orientalium Anglorum, Earpualdo<sup>9</sup> filio Redualdi<sup>10</sup>, persuaderet, relictis idolorum superstitionibus, fidem et sacramenta Christi

Conversion  
of Earp-  
wald, King  
of the East  
Angles.

<sup>1</sup> uocabatur C.    <sup>2</sup> adgebrin C. B<sup>2</sup> (as an alternative).    <sup>3</sup> sualwa C.    <sup>4</sup> v. note <sup>5</sup>, p. 113.    <sup>5</sup> thryth- B. C.    <sup>6</sup> est after Elmete C. B<sup>2</sup>.  
<sup>7</sup> suscipit M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>8</sup> eduuine C; eduini B.    <sup>9</sup> eorpuualdo C,  
and so throughout the chapter.    <sup>10</sup> reduualdi C, and so throughout  
the chapter.

cum sua prouincia suscipere. Et quidem pater eius Reduald iamdudum in Cantia sacramentis Christianae fidei inbutus est, sed frustra; nam rediens domum ab uxore sua et quibusdam peruersis doctoribus seductus est, atque a sinceritate fidei deprauatus habuit posteriora peiora prioribus; ita ut in morem antiquorum Samaritanorum et Christo seruire uideretur et diis, quibus antea seruiebat; atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium Christi, et arulam ad uictimas daemionorum. Quod uidelicet fanum rex eiusdem prouinciae Alduulf, qui nostra aetate fuit, usque ad suum tempus perdurasse, et se in pueritia uidisse testabatur.

cf. Matth.  
xii. 45;  
Luc. xi. 26.  
4 Reg.  
xvii. 24-  
41.

His  
descent.

Erat autem praefatus rex Reduald natus nobilis, quamlibet actu ignobilis, filius Tytili, cuius pater fuit Uuffa, a quo reges Orientalium Anglorum Uuffingas appellant.

Pagan  
reaction  
on his  
death.

Uerum Eorpuald non multo, postquam fidem accepit, tempore occisus est a uiro gentili nomine Ricbercto<sup>1</sup>; et exinde tribus annis prouincia in errore uersata est, donec accepit regnum<sup>2</sup> frater eiusdem Eorpualdi Sigberct, uir per omnia Christianissimus ac doctissimus, qui, uiuente adhuc fratre, cum exularet in Gallia, fidei sacramentis inbutus est, quorum participem, mox ubi regnare coepit, totam suam prouinciam facere curauit. Cuius studiis gloriosissime fauit Felix episcopus, qui de Burgundiorum partibus, ubi ortus et ordinatus est, cum uenisset ad Honorium archiepiscopum, eique indicasset desiderium suum, misit eum ad praedicandum uerbum uitae praefatae<sup>3</sup> nationi Anglorum. Nec uota ipsius in cassum cecidere; quin potius fructum in ea multiplicem credentium populorum pius agri spiritalis cultor inuenit. Siquidem totam illam prouinciam, iuxta sui nominis sacramentum, a longa iniquitate atque infelicitate liberatam, ad fidem et opera iustitiae, ac perpetuae felicitatis dona perduxit, accepitque sedem

Christian-  
isation of  
East Anglia  
under Sig-  
bert and  
Bishop  
Felix.

<sup>1</sup> -bercto C.

<sup>2</sup> regnum, added on margin M.

<sup>3</sup> -ti M.



episcopatus in ciuitate Domnoc<sup>1</sup>; et cum X ac VII annos eidem prouinciae pontificali regimine praeesset, ibidem in pace uitam finiuit.

## CAP. XVI.

*Ut Paulinus in prouincia Lindissi praedicauerit, et de qualitate regni Aeduini*<sup>2</sup>.

f. 40 b.

| PRAEDICABAT autem Paulinus uerbum etiam prouinciae Lindissi, quae est prima ad meridianam Humbre<sup>3</sup> fluminis ripam, pertingens usque ad mare, praefectumque Lindocolinae ciuitatis, cui nomen erat Blaecca, primum cum domu sua conuertit ad Dominum. In qua uidelicet ciuitate et ecclesiam operis egregii de lapide fecit; cuius tecto uel longa incuria, uel hostili manu deiecto, parietes hactenus stare uidentur, et omnibus annis aliqua sanitatum miracula in eodem loco solent ad utilitatem eorum, qui fideliter quaerunt, ostendi. In qua ecclesia Paulinus, transeunte ad Christum Iusto, Honorium pro eo consecrauit episcopum, ut in sequentibus suo loco dicemus.

Paulinus  
preaches in  
Lindsey.

De huius fide prouinciae narrauit mihi presbyter et abbas quidam uir ueracissimus de monasterio Peartaneu<sup>4</sup>, uocabulo Deda, retulisse<sup>5</sup> sibi quendam seniore, baptizatum se fuisse die media a Paulino episcopo, praesente rege Aeduino<sup>6</sup>, et multam populi turbam in fluuio Treenta<sup>7</sup>, iuxta ciuitatem, quae lingua Anglorum Tiouulfingacæstir<sup>8</sup> uocatur; qui etiam effigiem eiusdem Paulini referre esset solitus, quod esset uir longae staturae, paululum incuruus, nigro capillo, facie macilenta, naso adunco pertenui, uenerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu. Habuit autem secum in ministerio et Iacobum diaconum, uirum utique industrium

His person-  
al appear-  
ance.

<sup>1</sup> dommoc C; in dommoc ceastre A.S.

<sup>2</sup> eduini B. N;

eduuini C.

<sup>3</sup> -rae B. C.

<sup>4</sup> altered into -ei B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> retul-

lissee M.

<sup>6</sup> eduuino C.

<sup>7</sup> trenta B.

<sup>8</sup> -caestir C.

ac nobilem in Christo et in<sup>1</sup> ecclesia, qui ad nostra usque tempora permansit.

Peace and  
prosperity  
under  
Edwin.

Tanta autem eo tempore pax in Brittania, quaqua-  
uersum imperium regis Æduini<sup>2</sup> peruenerat, fuisse  
perhibetur, ut, sicut usque hodie in prouerbio dicitur,  
etiam si mulier una cum recens nato paruulo uellet  
totam perambulare insulam a mari ad mare, nullo se  
ledente ualeret. Tantum rex idem utilitati suae gentis  
consuluit, ut plerisque in locis, ubi fontes lucidos iuxta  
puplicos uiarum transitus conspexit, ibi ob refrigerium  
uiantium, erectis stipitibus, aereos caucos suspendi  
iuberet, neque hos quisquam, nisi ad usum necessa-  
rium, contingere prae magnitudine uel timoris eius  
auderet, uel amoris uellet. Tantum uero in regno  
excellentie habuit, ut non solum in pugna ante illum  
uexilla gestarentur, sed et tempore pacis equitantem  
inter ciuitates siue uillas aut prouincias suas cum  
ministris, semper antecedere signifer consuisset; nec  
non et incedente illo ubilibet per plateas, illud genus  
uexilli, quod Romani tufam, Angli appellant thuuf<sup>3</sup>,  
ante eum ferri solebat.

## CAP. XVII.

*Ut idem ab Honorio papa exhortatorias litteras acceperit, qui etiam  
Paulino pallium miserit.*

| Quo tempore praesulatum sedis apostolicae Hono- f. 41 a.  
rius Bonifatii successor habebat, qui, ubi gentem  
Nordanhymbrorum cum suo rege ad fidem confessio-  
nemque Christi, Paulino euangelizante, conuersam esse  
didicit, misit eidem Paulino pallium; misit et regi  
Æduino<sup>4</sup> litteras exhortatorias, paterna illum caritate  
accendens, ut in fide ueritatis, quam acceperant<sup>5</sup>, per-  
sistere semper ac proficere curarent<sup>6</sup>. Quarum uide-  
licet litterarum iste est ordo:

*Domino excellentissimo atque praecellentissimo filio*

<sup>1</sup> in *cm.* M.    <sup>2</sup> eduuini C; eduini B.    <sup>3</sup> thuf C.    <sup>4</sup> edu-  
uino C; eduino B.    <sup>5</sup> -rat B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> -ret B<sup>2</sup>.

Letter of  
Honorius

*Æduino*<sup>1</sup> *regi Anglorum Honorius episcopus seruus ser-* to Edwin.  
*uorum Dei salutem.* June 11,  
 634.

*Ita Christianitatis uestrae integritas circa sui conditoris cultum fidei est ardore succensa, ut longe lateque resplendeat, et in omni mundo adnuntiata uestri operis multipliciter referat fructum. Sic enim uos reges esse cognoscitis, dum regem et Creatorem uestrum orthodoxa praedicatione edocti Deum uenerando creditis, eique, quod humana ualet condicio, mentis uestrae sinceram deuotionem exsoluitis. Quod enim Deo nostro aliud offerre ualebimus, nisi ut in bonis actibus persistentes, ipsumque auctorem humani generis confitentes, eum colere, eique uota nostra reddere festinemus? Et ideo, excellentissime fili, paterna uos caritate, qua conuenit, exhortamur, ut hoc, quod uos diuina misericordia ad suam gratiam uocare dignata est, sollicita intentione et adsiduis orationibus seruare omnimodo festinetis; ut, qui uos in praesenti saeculo ex omni errore absolutos ad agnitionem sui nominis est dignatus perducere, et caelestis patriae uobis praeparet mansionem. Praedicatoris igitur uestri domini mei apostolicae memoriae Gregorii frequenter lectione occupati, prae oculis affectum doctrinae ipsius, quem<sup>2</sup> pro uestris animabus libenter exercuit, habetote; quatinus eius oratio et regnum uestrum populumque augeat, et uos omnipotenti Deo inreprehensibiles repraesentet. Ea uero, quae a nobis pro uestris sacerdotibus ordinanda sperastis, haec pro fidei uestrae sinceritate, quae nobis multimoda relatione per praesentium portitores laudabiliter insinuata est, gratuito<sup>4</sup> animo adtribuere ulla sine dilatione praeuidemus; et duo pallia utrorumque metropolitanorum, id est Honorio et Paulino, direximus, ut, dum quis eorum de hoc saeculo ad auctorem suum fuerit arcessitus, in loco*  
 f. 41 b. *ipsius alter episcopum ex hac | nostra auctoritate debeat subrogare. Quod quidem tam pro uestrae caritatis affectu,*

<sup>1</sup> eduuino C; eduino B.    <sup>2</sup> quod M. C, obscure in B.    <sup>3</sup> hoc M.

<sup>4</sup> gratuito M. C.

quam pro tantarum prouinciarum spatiis<sup>1</sup>, quae inter nos et uos esse noscuntur, sumus inuitati concedere, ut in omnibus deuotioni uestrae nostrum concursum, et iuxta uestra desideria praeberemus<sup>2</sup>.

*Incolumem excellentiam uestram gratia superna custodiat.*

## CAP. XVIII.

*Ut Honorius, qui Iusto in episcopatum Dorouernensis<sup>3</sup> ecclesiae successit<sup>4</sup>, ab eodem papa Honorio pallium et litteras acceperit.*

Death of  
Justus.  
Succession  
of Honorius.

HAEC inter Iustus archiepiscopus ad caelestia regna subleuatus<sup>5</sup> quarto Iduum Nouembrium die, et Honorius pro illo est in praesulatum electus<sup>6</sup>; qui ordinandus uenit ad Paulinum, et occurrente sibi illo in Lindocolino, quintus ab Augustino Doruuernensis ecclesiae consecratus est antistes. Cui etiam praefatus papa Honorius misit pallium et litteras, in quibus decernit hoc ipsum, quod in epistula ad Aeduinum<sup>7</sup> regem missa decreuerat; scilicet ut cum Doruuernensis uel Eburacensis antistes de hac uita transierit, is, qui superest, consors eiusdem gradus habeat potestatem alterum ordinandi in loco eius, qui transierat, sacerdotem; ne sit necesse ad Romanam<sup>8</sup> usque ciuitatem per tam prolixa terrarum et maris spatia pro ordinando archiepiscopo semper fatigari. Quarum etiam textum litterarum in nostra hac historia ponere commodum duximus.

*Dilectissimo fratri Honorio Honorius.*

*Inter plurima, quae Redemptoris nostri misericordia suis famulis dignatur bonorum munera praerogare, illud etiam clementer conlata suae pietatis munificentia tribuit, quoties per fraternos affatus unianimam dilectionem quadam contemplatione alternis aspectibus repraesentat. Pro*

<sup>1</sup> spatia M. C. W., obscure in B. M. has altered the preceding pro into propter; spatiis H<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>, on erasure; spatio D<sup>2</sup>. <sup>2</sup> praebemus M. <sup>3</sup> dorouernis M. B; doruuernis N; doruuernensis C. In B. dor. eccl. is inserted above the line by B<sup>1</sup>. <sup>4</sup> successit M. <sup>5</sup> sublatu8 C. W. D. <sup>6</sup> effectus M. H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>7</sup> eduuinum C; eduinum B. <sup>8</sup> romam C.

Letter of  
Honorius to  
Honorius,  
June 11,  
634.

quibus maiestati eius gratias indesinenter exsoluimus, eumque uotis supplicibus exoramus, ut uestram dilectionem in praedicatione euangelii elaborantem<sup>1</sup> et fructificantem, sectantemque magistri et capitis sui sancti Gregorii regulam, perpeti stabilitate confirmet, et ad augmentum ecclesiae suae potiora per uos<sup>2</sup> suscitet incrementa; ut fide et opere, in timore Dei et caritate, uestra adquisitio decessorumque uestrorum, quae per domini Gregorii exordia<sup>3</sup> pullulat, conualescendo amplius extendatur; ut ipsa uos dominici eloquii promissa in futuro respiciant, uosque

Matth. xi.  
28.

uox ista ad aeternam festiuitatem euocet: 'Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam uos;'

Matth.  
xxv. 21.

et iterum: 'Euge, serue bone et fidelis; quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super<sup>4</sup> multa te constituam; intra in gaudium Domini tui<sup>5</sup>.' Et nos equidem, fratres carissimi, haec uobis pro aeterna caritate exhortationis uerba praemittentes<sup>6</sup>,

f. 42 a.

| quae rursus pro ecclesiarum uestrarum priuilegiis congruere posse conspiciamus, non desistimus impertire.

Et tam iuxta uestram petitionem, quam filiorum nostrorum regum uobis per praesentem nostram praeceptionem<sup>7</sup>, uice beati Petri apostolorum principis, auctoritatem tribuimus, ut quando unum ex uobis diuina ad se iusserit gratia euocari, is, qui superstes fuerit, alterum in loco defuncti debeat episcopum ordinare. Pro qua etiam re singula uestrae dilectioni pallia pro eadem<sup>8</sup> ordinatione celebranda direximus, ut per nostrae praeceptionis auctoritatem possitis Deo placitam ordinationem efficere; quia, ut haec uobis concederemus, longa terrarum marisque interualla, quae inter nos ac uos obsistunt, ad haec nos condescendere coegerunt, ut nulla possit ecclesiarum uestrarum iactura per cuiuslibet occasionis obtentum quoquo modo<sup>9</sup> prouenire; sed potius commissi

Pallium  
sent.

<sup>1</sup> laborantem M.      <sup>2</sup> suos C.      <sup>3</sup> exordio M. C. B. H.<sup>1</sup>. D, per being erased in D.      <sup>4</sup> supra C.      <sup>5</sup> from C. B; M has only bone et cetera usque domini tui; and so H.<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>6</sup> promittentes C. B.      <sup>7</sup> praesenti nostra praeceptione M. C. B. W. H.<sup>1</sup>. D, per being erased in C. B. D.      <sup>8</sup> eodem M.      <sup>9</sup> quomodo M.



*uobis populi deuotionem plenius propagare. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime frater.*

*Data die III<sup>1</sup> Iduum Iunii<sup>2</sup>, imperantibus dominis nostris<sup>3</sup> Augustis, Heraclio anno XX<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>, post consulatum eiusdem anno XX<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>, atque Constantino filio ipsius anno nicesimo tertio, et consulatus eius anno III<sup>o</sup>; sed et Heraclio felicissimo Caesare<sup>4</sup> id est<sup>5</sup> filio eius anno III, indictione VII, id est anno dominicae incarnationis DCXXXVIII.*

### CAP. XIX.

*Ut primo idem Honorius et post Iohannes litteras genti Scottorum pro pascha simul et pro Pelagiana heresi<sup>6</sup> miserit.*

Letters  
from the  
see of Rome  
to the Irish  
clergy,

MISIT idem papa Honorius<sup>7</sup> litteras etiam genti Scottorum, quos in obseruatione sancti paschae errasse conpererat, iuxta quod supra docuimus; sollerter exhortans, ne paucitatem suam in extremis<sup>8</sup> terrae finibus constitutam, sapientiore antiquis siue modernis, quae per orbem erant, Christi ecclesiis aestimarent; neue contra paschales computos, et decreta synodalia totius orbis pontificum aliud pascha celebrarent.

Sed et Iohannes, qui successori eiusdem Honorii Seuerino successit, cum adhuc esset electus in pontificatum, pro eodem errore corrigendo litteras eis magna auctoritate atque eruditione plenas direxit; euidenter astruens, quia dominicum paschae diem a XV<sup>a</sup> luna usque ad XXI<sup>am</sup>, quod in Nicena synodo probatum est, oportet inquiri. Necnon pro Pelagiana heresi, quam apud eos reuiuescere didicerat, cauenda ac repellenda, in eadem illos epistula admonere curauit; cuius epistolae principium est:

<sup>1</sup> IIII H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> idus iunias C. W. D.

<sup>3</sup> piissimis add C.

<sup>4</sup> cessare M.

<sup>5</sup> idem M. C<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>1</sup>; id est C<sup>2</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> -sei M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> C. W. D, &c. omit papa, and add after Honorius, romanae sedis pontifex.

<sup>8</sup> extrimis M.

*Dilectissimis et sanctissimis Tomiano, Columbano, Cromano<sup>1</sup>, Dinnao<sup>2</sup>, et Baithano episcopis; Cromano<sup>3</sup>, Ernianoque, Laistrano, Scellano, et Segeno<sup>4</sup> presbyteris;*  
 f. 42 b. | *Sarano ceterisque doctoribus seu abbatibus Scottis, Hilarus archipresbyter et seruans locum sanctae sedis apostolicae, Iohannes diaconus et in Dei nomine electus; item Iohannes primicerius et seruans locum sanctae sedis apostolicae, et Iohannes seruus Dei, consiliarius eiusdem apostolicae sedis.*

A. D. 640,

*Scripta, quae perlatores<sup>5</sup> ad sanctae memoriae Seuerinum papam adduxerunt, eo de hac luce migrante, reciproca responsa ad ea, quae postulata fuerant, siluerunt. Quibus reseratis, ne diu tantae quaestionis caligo indiscussa remaneret, repperimus quosdam provinciae uestrae contra orthodoxam<sup>6</sup> fidem, nouam ex ueteri heresim renouare conantes, pascha nostrum, in quo immolatus est Christus, nebulosa caligine refutantes, et XIII<sup>IIII</sup><sup>a</sup> luna cum Hebreis celebrare nitentes.*

on the  
Paschal  
Question,cf. I Cor.  
v. 7.

Quo epistolae principio manifeste declaratur, et nuperrime temporibus illis hanc apud eos heresim exortam, et non totam eorum gentem, sed quosdam in eis hac fuisse implicitos.

Exposita autem ratione paschalis obseruantiae, ita de Pelagianis in eadem epistula subdunt:

*Et hoc quoque cognouimus, quod virus Pelagianae hereseos apud uos denuo reuiuiscit; quod omnino hortamur, ut a uestris mentibus huiusmodi uenenatum superstitionis facinus auferatur. Nam qualiter ipsa quoque execranda heresis damnata est, latere uos non debet; quia non solum per istos CC annos abolita est, sed et cotidie a nobis perpetuo anathemate sepulta damnatur; et hortamur, ne, quorum arma combusta sunt, apud uos eorum cineres suscitentur<sup>7</sup>. Nam quis non excretur*

and Pelagianism.

<sup>1</sup> cromano added on margin M; Cronano C. W. D. <sup>2</sup> dimao C. D.

<sup>3</sup> cremano, altered to cro- M; cronano C. D.; dinnao . . . cromano, added above the line B. <sup>4</sup> segiano C. W. D. <sup>5</sup> latores H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> -daxam M.

<sup>7</sup> -tantur M.

superbum eorum conamen et impium, dicentium posse sine peccato hominem existere ex propria uoluntate, et non ex gratia Dei? Et primum quidem blasphemiae stultiloquium est dicere esse hominem sine peccato; quod omnino non potest, nisi unus mediator Dei et hominum <sup>1</sup> Tim. ii. homo Christus Iesus<sup>1</sup>, qui sine peccato est conceptus et <sup>5</sup> partus. Nam ceteri homines cum peccato originali nascentes testimonium praecuaricationis Adae, etiam sine actuali peccato existentes, portare noscuntur, secundum prophetam dicentem: 'Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus <sup>Ps. l. 7.</sup> sum, et in peccatis peperit me mater mea<sup>2</sup>.'

## CAP. XX.

*Ut occiso Aeduine<sup>3</sup> Paulinus Cantiam rediens Hrofensis ecclesiae praesulatum suscepit.*

AT uero Aeduini<sup>4</sup> cum X et VII annis genti Anglorum simul et Brettonum gloriosissime praeesset, e quibus sex etiam ipse, ut diximus, Christi regno militauit, rebellauit aduersus eum Caedualla<sup>5</sup> rex Brettonum, | auxilium praebente illi Penda uiro stren- <sup>f. 43 a.</sup> uissimo de regio genere Merciorum, qui et ipse ex<sup>6</sup> eo tempore gentis eiusdem regno annis XX et II<sup>1</sup>us uaria sorte praefuit; et conserto graui proelio in campo, qui uocatur Haethfelth<sup>7</sup>, occisus est Aeduini<sup>4</sup> die IIII Iduum Octobrium, anno dominicae incarnationis DCXXXIII<sup>8</sup>, cum esset annorum XL et VIII; eiusque totus uel interemtus uel dispersus est exercitus. In quo etiam bello ante illum unus filius eius Osfrid iuuenis bellicosus cecidit, alter Eadfrid necessitate cogente ad Pendam<sup>9</sup> regem transfugit, et ab eo postmodum,

<sup>1</sup> iesus christus M. <sup>2</sup> from C. B; conceptus et cetera M. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> eduine B. N; eduuine C. <sup>4</sup> eduini B<sup>1</sup>; -ne B<sup>2</sup>; eduuine C.

<sup>5</sup> caeduualla C. <sup>6</sup> ex om. M. wrongly. <sup>7</sup> -feld C.

<sup>8</sup> The two last digits have been cut off by the binder in M. <sup>9</sup> penda M.

regnante Osualdo<sup>1</sup>, contra fidem iuris iurandi peremptus est.

Quo tempore maxima est facta strages in ecclesia uel gente Nordanhymbrorum, maxime quod unus ex ducibus, a quibus acta est, paganus, alter, quia barbarus erat pagano saeuior. Siquidem Penda cum omni Merciorum gente idolis deditus, et Christiani erat nominis ignarus; at uero Caedualla<sup>2</sup>, quamuis nomen et professionem haberet Christiani, adeo tamen erat animo ac moribus barbarus, ut ne sexui quidem muliebri, uel innocuae paruulorum parceret<sup>3</sup> aetati, quin uniuersos atrocitate ferina morti per tormenta contraderet, multo tempore totas eorum prouincias debauchando peruagatus, ac totum genus Anglorum Britanniæ finibus erasurum se esse deliberans. Sed nec religioni Christianæ, quæ apud eos exorta erat, aliquid inpendebat honoris. Quippe cum usque hodie moris sit Brettonum, fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihil habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quam paganis. Adlatum est autem caput Aeduini<sup>4</sup> regis Eburacum, et inlatum postea in ecclesiam beati apostoli Petri, quam ipse coepit, sed successor eius Osuald<sup>1</sup> perfecit, ut supra docuimus, positum est in porticu sancti papæ Gregorii, a cuius ipse discipulis uerbum uitæ suscepit<sup>5</sup>.

Devastation of Northumbria.

Turbatis itaque rebus Nordanhymbrorum<sup>6</sup> huius articulo cladis, cum nil alicubi praesidii nisi in fuga esse uideretur, Paulinus adsumpta secum regina Aedilberge, quam pridem adduxerat, rediit Cantiam nauigio, atque ab Honorio archiepiscopo et rege Eadbaldo multum honorifice susceptus est. Uenit autem illuc duce Basso milite regis Aeduini<sup>4</sup> fortissimo, habens secum

Paulinus retires to Kent with Ethelberg and Eanfled.

<sup>1</sup> osuald, -do C

<sup>2</sup> -uualia C.

<sup>3</sup> parceret, added on

margin M.

<sup>4</sup> eduuini C; eduini B.

<sup>5</sup> -ciperat M.

<sup>6</sup> nordan- C, but the bar of the ð is almost certainly by C<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> aedil-

bergæ C<sup>1</sup>; -ga C<sup>2</sup>.

Eanfledam<sup>1</sup> filiam, et Uusefreañ filium Æduini<sup>2</sup>, nec non et Yffi filium Osfridi filii eius, quos postea mater metu Eadbaldi et Osualdi<sup>3</sup> regum misit in Galliam | nutriendos regi Daegberecto<sup>4</sup>, qui erat amicus illius, f. 43 b. ibique ambo in infantia defuncti, et iuxta honorem uel regiis pueris uel innocentibus Christi congruum<sup>5</sup> in ecclesia sepulti sunt. Attulit quoque<sup>6</sup> secum uasa pretiosa Aeduini<sup>2</sup> regis perplura, in quibus et crucem magnam auream, et calicem<sup>7</sup> aureum consecratum ad ministerium altaris, quae hactenus in ecclesia Cantiae conseruata monstrantur.

He succeeds Romanus at Rochester.

Quo in tempore Hrofensis ecclesia pastorem minime habebat, eo quod Romanus praesul illius ad Honorium papam a Iusto archiepiscopo legatarius missus absortus fuerat fluctibus Italici maris; ac per hoc curam illius praefatus Paulinus inuitatione Honorii antistitis et Eadbaldi<sup>8</sup> regis suscepit ac tenuit, usque dum et ipse suo tempore ad caelestia regna cum gloriosi fructu laboris ascendit. In qua ecclesia moriens pällium quoque, quod a Romano papa acceperat, reliquit.

Heroism of James the Deacon.

Reliquerat autem in ecclesia sua Eburaci Iacobum diaconum, uirum utique ecclesiasticum<sup>9</sup> et sanctum, qui multo exhinc tempore in ecclesia manens, magnas antiquo hosti praedas docendo et baptizando eripuit; cuius nomine uicus, in quo maxime solebat habitare, iuxta Cataractam<sup>10</sup>, usque hodie cognominatur. Qui, quoniam cantandi in ecclesia erat peritissimus, recuperata postmodum pace in prouincia, et crescente numero fidelium, etiam magister ecclesiasticae cantionis<sup>11</sup> iuxta morem<sup>12</sup> Romanorum siue Cantuariorum multis coepit existere; et ipse senex ac plenus dierum, iuxta Iob xlii 16. scripturas, patrum uiam secutus est.

<sup>1</sup> -dan C.    <sup>2</sup> v. note <sup>4</sup>, p. 125.    <sup>3</sup> osualdi C.    <sup>4</sup> -berhto C.  
<sup>5</sup> -am M.    <sup>6</sup> autem C.    <sup>7</sup> here with the words et calicem, N. resumes

after the lacuna, v. note, p. 80.    <sup>8</sup> edbaldi N.    <sup>9</sup> eccleasticum M.  
<sup>10</sup> -tum B<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>11</sup> cantationis N.    <sup>12</sup> morem om. M. H<sub>1</sub>.



## LIBER TERTIUS.

### CAP. I.

*Ut primi successores Æduini<sup>1</sup> regis et fidem suae gentis prodiderint<sup>2</sup>, et regnum porro Osua'd christianissimus rex utrumque restaurauerit<sup>3</sup>.*

f. 44 b.

[ At interfecto in pugna Æduino<sup>4</sup>, suscepit pro illo regnum Deirorum, de qua prouincia ille generis prosapiam et primordia regni habuerat, filius patruus eius Aelfrici, uocabulo Osric, qui ad praedicationem Paulini fidei erat sacramentis inbutus. Porro regnum Berniciorum, nam in has duas prouincias gens Nordanhymbrorum<sup>5</sup> antiquitus diuisa erat, suscepit filius Aedilfridi, qui de illa prouincia generis et regni originem duxerat, nomine Eanfrid. Siquidem tempore toto, quo regnauit Æduini<sup>6</sup>, filii praefati regis Aedilfridi, qui ante illum regnauerat, cum magna nobilium iuuentute apud Scottos siue Pictos exulabant, ibique ad doctrinam Scottorum cathecizati, et baptismatis sunt gratia recreati. Qui ut, mortuo rege inimico, patriam sunt redire permissi, accepit primus eorum, quem diximus, Eanfrid regnum Berniciorum. Qui uterque rex, ut terreni regni infulas sortitus est, sacramenta regni caelestis, quibus initiatus erat, anathematizando prodidit<sup>7</sup>, ac se priscis idolatriae sordibus polluendum perdendumque restituit.

Succession  
of Osric in  
Deira,

and Ean-  
frid in  
Bernicia,  
A. D. 633.

Their  
apostasy,

Nec mora, utrumque rex Brettonum Ceadualla<sup>8</sup> and death,  
A. D. 634.

<sup>1</sup> v. note <sup>4</sup>, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> -runt M.

<sup>3</sup> -auit M; -auerat N.

<sup>4</sup> eduuino C; eduino N.

<sup>5</sup> nordon- C.

<sup>6</sup> eduuine C; eduini

N. <sup>7</sup> perdidit C.

<sup>8</sup> caead- N.

impia manu, sed iusta ultione peremit. Et primo quidem proxima aestate Osricum, dum se in oppido municipio temerarie obsedisset, erumpens subito cum suis omnibus inparatum cum toto exercitu deleuit. Dein cum anno integro prouincias Nordanhymbrorum, non ut rex uictor possideret, sed quasi tyrannus saeuens disperderet, ac tragica caede dilaceraret, tandem Eanfridum inconsulte ad se cum XII lectis militibus postulandae pacis gratia uenientem, simili sorte damnavit. Infaustus ille annus, et omnibus bonis exosus usque hodie permanet, tam propter apostasiam regum Anglorum, qua se fidei sacramentis exuerant<sup>1</sup>, quam propter uesanam<sup>2</sup> Brettonici regis tyrannidem<sup>3</sup>. Unde cunctis placuit regum tempora computantibus, ut, ablata de medio regum perfidorum memoria, idem annus sequentis regis, id est Osualdi<sup>4</sup>, uiri Deo dilecti, regno adsignaretur; quo, post occisionem fratris Eanfridi, superueniente cum paruo exercitu, sed fide Christi munito, infandus Brettonum dux cum inmensis illis copiis, quibus nihil resistere posse | iactabat, in- f. 45 a.  
teremtus est in loco, qui lingua Anglorum Denisesburna<sup>5</sup>, id est riuus Denisi, uocatur.

Victory of  
Oswald at  
Denises-  
burn.

## CAP. II.

*Ut de ligno crucis, quod idem rex contra barbaros pugnaturus erexerat, inter innumera sanitatum miracula, quidam a dolentis brachii sil langore curatus.*

OSTENDITUR<sup>6</sup> autem usque hodie, et in magna ueneratione habetur locus ille, ubi uenturus ad hanc pugnam Osuald signum sanctae crucis erexit, ac flexis genibus Deum<sup>7</sup> deprecatus est, ut in tanta rerum necessitate suis cultoribus caelesti succurreret auxilio. Denique

<sup>1</sup> -runt B<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> uesaniam M. C. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>3</sup> tyranniam N.    <sup>4</sup> osualdi C.    <sup>5</sup> dænises burna C; denisaes brunna N.    <sup>6</sup> There is no break between chaps. i. and ii. in the text of C. The next chapter is numbered ii. in text, but iii. in capitula.    <sup>7</sup> dominum M.

Cross  
erected by  
Oswald  
before the  
battle,

fertur, quia facta citato opere cruce, ac fouea praeparata, in qua statui deberet, ipse fide feruens hanc arripuerit, ac foueae inposuerit, atque utraque manu erectam tenuerit<sup>1</sup>, donec adgesto a militibus puluere terrae figeretur; et hoc facto, elata in altum uoce cuncto<sup>2</sup> exercitui proclamauerit: 'Flectamus omnes genua, et Deum<sup>3</sup> omnipotentem, uiuum, ac uerum in commune deprecemur, ut nos ab hoste superbo ac feroce sua miseratione defendat; scit enim ipse, quia iusta pro salute gentis nostrae bella suscepimus.' Fecerunt omnes, ut iusserat, et sic incipiente diluculo in hostem progressi, iuxta meritum suae fidei uictoria potiti sunt. In cuius loco orationis innumerae uirtutes sanitatum noscuntur esse patratae, ad indicium uidelicet ac memoriam fidei<sup>4</sup> regis. Nam et usque hodie multi de ipso ligno sacrosanctae crucis astulas excidere solent, quas cum in aquas<sup>5</sup> miserint, eisque languentes homines aut pecudes potauerint, siue asperserint, mox sanitati restituuntur.

Uocatur locus ille lingua Anglorum Hefenfelth<sup>6</sup>, at Hefenfelth. quod dici potest latine caelestis campus, quod certo utique praesagio futurorum antiquitus nomen accepit; significans nimirum, quod ibidem caeleste erigendum tropaeum, caelestis inchoanda uictoria, caelestia usque hodie forent miracula celebranda. Est autem locus iuxta murum illum ad aquilonem, quo Romani quondam ob arcendos barbarorum impetus totam a mari ad mare praecinxere Britanniam, ut supra docuimus. In quo uidelicet loco consuetudinem multo iam tempore fecerant fratres Hagustaldensis ecclesiae, quae non longe abest, aduenientes omni anno pridie quam postea idem rex Osuald<sup>7</sup> occisus est, uigilias pro salute animae eius facere, plurimaque psalmorum laude celebrata, uictimam pro eo mane sacrae oblationis offerre. Qui

<sup>1</sup> teneret M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>2</sup> cunctui M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> dominum M.    <sup>4</sup> fidei om. M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>5</sup> aquam M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> -feld C. N<sup>2</sup>; -fled N<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>7</sup> osuuald C.

etiam crescente bona consuetudine, nuper ibidem ecclesia constructa<sup>1</sup>, sacrationem<sup>2</sup> et cunctis<sup>3</sup> honorabiliorem omnibus locum<sup>4</sup> fecere. Nec inmerito, quia nullum, ut conperimus, fidei Christianae signum, nulla ecclesia, nullum altare in tota Berniciorum gente erectum est, | priusquam hoc sacrae crucis vexillum f. 45 b. nouus militiae ductor, dictante fidei deuotione, contra hostem inmanissimum pugnaturus statueret.

A miracle.

Nec<sup>5</sup> ab re est unum e pluribus, quae ad hanc crucem patrata sunt, uirtutis miraculum enarrare. Quidam de fratribus eiusdem<sup>6</sup> Hagustaldensis ecclesiae, nomine Bothelm<sup>7</sup> qui nunc usque superest, ante paucos annos, dum incautius forte noctu in glacie incederet, repente conruens<sup>8</sup>, brachium contriuit, ac grauissima fracturae ipsius coepit molestia fatigari; ita ut ne ad os quidem adducere ipsum brachium ullatenus dolore arcente ualeret. Qui cum die quadam mane audiret unum de fratribus ad locum eiusdem sanctae crucis ascendere disposuisse, rogauit, ut aliquam sibi partem de illo ligno uenerabili rediens adferret, credere se dicens, quia per hoc, donante Domino, salutem posset consequi. Fecit ille, ut rogatus est, et reuersus ad uesperam, sedentibus iam ad mensam fratribus, obtulit ei aliquid de ueteri musco, quo superficies ligni erat obsita. Qui cum sedens ad mensam non haberet ad manum, ubi oblatum sibi munus reponeret, misit hoc in sinum sibi. Et dum iret cubitum, oblitus hoc alicubi depocere, permisit suo in sinu permanere. At medio noctis tempore, cum euigilaret, sensit nescio quid frigidi suo lateri adiacere, admotaque manu requirere<sup>9</sup> quid esset,

<sup>1</sup> atque dedicata, add C. B<sup>2</sup>. W. D. &c.

<sup>2</sup> sacrationem M.

<sup>3</sup> et cunctis, repeated M.

<sup>4</sup> so C. B. N. M<sup>1</sup>, but in M. marks of transposition have been added, making it locum omnibus.

<sup>5</sup> Here C<sup>2</sup> marks the beginning of cap. ii., see note<sup>6</sup>, p. 128, and note<sup>2</sup>, p. 131.

For nec M. H<sub>1</sub>. read nam.

<sup>6</sup> eiusdem om. M. H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>7</sup> bodelm N.

<sup>8</sup> corruit M. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> requirens B. R<sub>1</sub>; uolens requirere N<sup>2</sup>; r. cepit. D<sup>2</sup>. H<sub>2</sub>. A<sub>1</sub>.

ita sanum brachium manumque repperit, ac si nihil umquam tanti langoris habuisset<sup>1</sup>.

CAP. III<sup>2</sup>.

*Ut idem rex postulans de gente Scottorum antistitem acceperit Aidanum, eidemque in insula Lindisfarnensi<sup>3</sup> sedem episcopatus donauerit.*

IDEM ergo Osuald<sup>4</sup>, mox ubi regnum suscepit, desiderans totam, cui praeesse coepit, gentem fidei Christianae gratia inui, cuius experimenta permaxima in expugnandis barbaris iam ceperat<sup>5</sup>, misit ad maiores natu Scottorum, inter quos exulans ipse baptismatis sacramenta cum his, qui secum erant, militibus consecutus erat; petens, ut sibi mitteretur antistes, cuius doctrina ac ministerio gens, quam regebat, Anglorum, dominicae fidei et dona disceret, et susciperet<sup>6</sup> sacramenta. Neque aliquanto tardius, quod petiit, inpetruit; accepit namque pontificem Aedanum summae mansuetudinis, et pietatis, ac moderaminis uirum, habentemque zelum Dei, quamuis non plene secundum scientiam. Namque diem<sup>7</sup> paschae dominicum more suae gentis<sup>8</sup>, cuius saepius mentionem fecimus, a XIII<sup>a</sup> luna usque ad XX<sup>m</sup> obseruare solebat. Hoc etenim ordine septentrionalis Scottorum prouincia, et omnis natio Pictorum illo adhuc tempore pascha [dominicum celebrabat, aestimans se in hac obseruantia<sup>9</sup> sancti ac laude digni patris Anatolii scripta secutam. Quod an uerum sit, peritus quisque facillime cognoscit. Porro gentes Scottorum, quae in australibus Hiberniae insulae partibus morabantur, iamdudum ad admonitionem apostolicae sedis antistitis, pascha canonico ritu obseruare didicerunt.

Aidan sent from Iona as bishop to Northumbria.

Rom. x. 2.

f. 46 a.

<sup>1</sup> -sent C. N<sup>1</sup>. O<sup>1</sup>. W<sup>1</sup>. D. <sup>2</sup> numbered ii. in text, iii. in capitula C, and so with the subsequent chapters to xiii. inclusive. <sup>3</sup> lindifarn- N.

<sup>4</sup> osuald C. <sup>5</sup> coeperat C. <sup>6</sup> suscepit M. <sup>7</sup> idem M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> diem . . . gentis om. N. <sup>9</sup> obseruatione M.



He fixes his  
See at  
Lindis-  
farne.

Uenienti igitur ad se episcopo, rex locum sedis episcopalis in insula Lindisfarnensi, ubi ipse petebat, tribuit. Qui uidelicet locus accedente ac recedente reumate, bis cotidie instar insulae maris circumluitur undis, bis renudato littore contiguus terrae redditur; atque eius admonitionibus humiliter ac libenter in omnibus auscultans, ecclesiam Christi in regno suo multum diligenter aedificare ac dilatare curauit. Ubi pulcherrimo saepe spectaculo contigit, ut euangelizante antistite, qui Anglorum linguam perfecte non nouerat, ipse rex suis ducibus ac ministris interpretis uerbi existeret caelestis; quia<sup>1</sup> nimirum tam longo exilii sui tempore linguam Scottorum iam plene didicerat. Exin coepere plures per dies de Scottorum regione uenire Britanniam atque illis Anglorum prouinciis, quibus regnauit Osuald<sup>2</sup>, magna deuotione uerbum fidei praedicare et credentibus gratiam baptismi, quicumque sacerdotali erant gradu praediti, ministrare. Construebantur ergo ecclesiae per loca, confluebant ad audiendum uerbum populi gaudentes, donabantur munere regio possessiones et territoria ad instituenda<sup>3</sup> monasteria, inbuebantur praeceptoribus Scottis paruuli Anglorum una cum maioribus studiis et obseruatione disciplinae regularis.

Iona the  
head of  
numerous  
monas-  
teries.

Nam monachi erant maxime, qui ad praedicandum uenerant. Monachus ipse episcopus Aedan<sup>4</sup>, utpote de insula, quae uocatur Hii, destinatus, cuius monasterium in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum, et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non paruo tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis praeerat; quae uidelicet insula<sup>5</sup> ad ius quidem Britanniae pertinet, non magno ab ea freto discreta, sed donatione Pictorum, qui illas Britanniae plagas incolunt, iamdudum mona-

<sup>1</sup> qui N.    <sup>2</sup> rex Osuald B. C<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> instruenda N.    <sup>4</sup> aidan C. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>5</sup> insula om. M<sup>1</sup>.

chis Scottorum tradita, eo quod illis praedicantibus fidem Christi perceperint.

## CAP. IV.

*Quando gens Pictorum fidem Christi perceperit*<sup>1</sup>.

f. 46 b. Siquidem anno incarnationis dominicae D<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>V<sup>o</sup>, Mission of Columba to the northern Picts. A. D. 565. quo tempore gubernaculum Romani imperii | post Iustinianum Iustinus minor accepit, uenit de Hibernia presbyter et abbas habitu et uita monachi insignis, nomine Columba Britanniam, praedicaturus uerbum Dei prouinciis septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est eis quae arduis atque horrentibus montium iugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratae. Namque ipsi australes Picti, qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes, multo ante tempore, ut perhibent, relicto errore idolatriae, fidem ueritatis acceperant, praedicante eis uerbum Nynia episcopo reuerentissimo et sanctissimo Conversion of the southern Picts by Nynias. uiro de natione Brettonum, qui erat Romae regulariter fidem et mysteria ueritatis edoctus; cuius sedem episcopatus, sancti Martini episcopi nomine et ecclesia insignem, ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit, iam nunc Anglorum gens obtinet. Qui locus, ad prouinciam Berniciorum pertinens<sup>2</sup>, uulgo uocatur Ad Candidam Casam, eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brettonibus more fecerit.

Uenit autem Britanniam Columba, regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon, rege potentissimo, nono anno regni eius, gentemque illam uerbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi conuertit; unde et praefatam insulam ab eis Grant of Iona to Columba. in possessionem monasterii faciendi accepit. Neque enim magna est, sed quasi familiarum quinque, iuxta aestimationem<sup>3</sup> Anglorum; quam successores eius usque hodie tenent, ubi et ipse sepultus est, cum

<sup>1</sup> -ciperit M. <sup>2</sup> ad ... pertinens *added on margin* M. <sup>3</sup> -nes N.

esset annorum LXXVII<sup>1</sup>, post annos circiter XXX et duos<sup>2</sup>, ex quo ipse Britanniam praedicaturus adiit. Fecerat autem, priusquam Britanniam ueniret, monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum Dearnach<sup>3</sup> lingua Scottorum, hoc est campus roborum, cognominatur. Ex quo utroque monasterio plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos eius et in Brittaniam et in Hibernia propagata sunt, in quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum teneret.

Constitution of Iona.

Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cuius iuri et omnis prouincia, et ipsi etiam episcopi ordine inusitato debeant esse subiecti, iuxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus, sed presbyter extitit et monachus; de cuius uita et uerbis nonnulla a discipulis eius feruntur scripta haberi. Uerum qualiscumque fuerit ipse, nos hoc de illo certum tenemus, quia reliquit successores magna continentia<sup>4</sup> ac diuino amore regularique institutione insignes; in tempore quidem summae f. 47 a. festiuitatis dubios circulos sequentes, utpote quibus longe ultra orbem positus nemo synodalia paschalis obseruantiae decreta porrexerat; tantum ea, quae in propheticis, euangelicis, et apostolicis litteris discere poterant, pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter obseruantes. Permansit autem huiusmodi obseruantia paschalis apud eos tempore non paucis, hoc est usque ad annum dominicae incarnationis DCCXV per annos CL.

Egbert converts the monks to the true Easter.

At tunc ueniente ad eos reuerentissimo et sanctissimo patre et sacerdote Egbercto<sup>5</sup>, de natione Anglorum, qui in Hibernia diutius exulauerat pro Christo, eratque et doctissimus in scripturis, et longaeua<sup>6</sup> uitae

<sup>1</sup> LXXVI N.  
continentiae B.

<sup>2</sup> et IIII N.

<sup>3</sup> deanmagh N<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> egbercto N; ecgberchto C.

<sup>4</sup> magnae  
<sup>6</sup> longae

M. H<sub>1</sub>.

perfectione eximius, correcti sunt per eum, et ad uerum canonicumque paschae diem<sup>1</sup> translati; quem tamen et antea non semper in luna XIII<sup>II</sup> cum Iudaeis, ut quidam rebantur<sup>2</sup>, sed in die quidem dominica, alia tamen, quam decebat, ebdomada celebrabant. Sciebant enim, ut Christiani, resurrectionem dominicam, quae prima sabbati facta est, prima sabbati semper esse celebrandam; sed ut barbari et rustici, quando eadem prima sabbati, quae<sup>3</sup> nunc dominica dies cognominatur, ueniret, minime didicerant. Uerum quia gratia caritatis feruere non omiserunt, et huius quoque rei notitiam ad perfectum percipere meruerunt<sup>4</sup>, iuxta promissum<sup>5</sup> apostoli dicentis: 'Et siquid aliter sapitis, et hoc quoque uobis Deus reuelabit<sup>6</sup>.' De quo plenius in sequentibus suo loco dicendum est.

Phil. iii.  
15.

## CAP. V.

*De uita Aidani episcopi.*

AB hac ergo insula, ab horum collegio monachorum, ad prouinciam Anglorum instituendam in<sup>7</sup> Christo, missus est Aedan<sup>8</sup>, accepto gradu episcopatus. Quo tempore eidem monasterio Segeni<sup>9</sup> abbas et presbyter<sup>10</sup> praefuit. Unde inter alia uiuendi documenta saluberrimum abstinentiae uel continentiae clericis exemplum reliquit; cuius doctrinam id maxime commendabat omnibus, quod non aliter, quam uiuebat cum suis, ipse docebat. Nil enim huius mundi quaerere, nil amare curabat. Cuncta, quae sibi a regibus uel diuitibus saeculi donabantur, mox pauperibus, qui occurrerent, erogare gaudebat. Discurrere per cuncta et urbana et rustica loca, non equorum dorso, sed pedum

Character  
of Aidan.

<sup>1</sup> diem *om.* M.      <sup>2</sup> reproban<sup>tur</sup> N.      <sup>3</sup> ea quae M.  
<sup>4</sup> et . . . meruerunt *om.* C<sup>l</sup>.      <sup>5</sup> promissum M.      <sup>6</sup> reuelauit  
C<sup>l</sup>. B. N<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>7</sup> pro N.      <sup>8</sup> aidan B. N.      <sup>9</sup> *might be read* segem  
in M; segene N.      <sup>10</sup> preb- C<sup>l</sup>.

incessu uectus, nisi si maior forte necessitas compulisset, solebat; quatinus ubicumque aliquos uel diuites uel pauperes incedens aspexisset, confestim ad hos diuertens, uel ad fidei suscipiendae sacramentum, si infideles essent, inuitaret; uel si fideles, in ipsa eos fide confortaret, | atque ad elimosynas operumque bonorum f. 47 b. executionem, et uerbis excitaret et factis.

In tantum autem uita illius a nostri temporis segnitia distabat, ut omnes, qui cum eo incedebant, siue adtonsi, seu laici, meditari deberent, id est, aut legendis scripturis, aut psalmis discendis<sup>1</sup> operam dare. Hoc erat cotidianum opus illius et omnium, qui cum eo erant, ubicumque locorum deuenissent. Et si forte euenisset<sup>2</sup>, quod tamen raro euenit, ut ad regis conuiuium uocaretur, intrabat cum uno clerico aut duobus; et, ubi paululum reficiebatur, adcelerauit ocius ad legendum cum suis, siue ad orandum egredi. Cuius exemplis informati tempore illo religiosi quique uiri ac feminae consuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum, excepta remissione quinquagesimae paschalis, IIII<sup>a</sup> et VI<sup>a</sup> sabbati ieiunium ad nonam usque horam protelare. Numquam diuitibus honoris siue timoris gratia, siqua delinquissent<sup>3</sup>, reticebat; sed aspera illos inuentione corripiebat. Nullam potentibus saeculi pecuniam, excepta solum<sup>4</sup> esca, siquos hospitio suscepisset, umquam dare solebat, sed ea potius, quae sibi a diuitibus donaria pecuniarum largiebantur, uel in usus pauperum, ut diximus, dispergebat, uel ad redemptionem eorum, qui iniuste fuerant uenditi, dispensabat. Denique multos, quos pretio dato redemerat, redemptos postmodum suos discipulos fecit, atque ad sacerdotalem usque gradum erudiendo atque instituendo prouexit.

Tradition

Ferunt<sup>5</sup> autem, quia, cum de prouincia Scottorum

<sup>1</sup> The first s in discendis erased in C.      <sup>2</sup> et . . . euenisset om. C.  
<sup>3</sup> delinquissent C. B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> solum modo C. B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>5</sup> The scribe of B. and probably of C. at first wrote fuerunt.



rex Osuald<sup>1</sup> postulasset antistitem, qui sibi suaeque  
genti uerbum fidei ministraret, missus fuerit primo  
alius austerioris animi uir, qui, cum aliquandiu genti  
Anglorum praedicans nihil proficeret, nec libenter a  
populo audiretur, redierit patriam, atque in conuentu  
seniorum rettulerit, quia nil prodesse docendo genti,  
ad quam missus erat, potuisset, eo quod essent homines  
indomabiles<sup>2</sup>, et durae ac barbarae mentis. At illi,  
ut perhibent, tractatum magnum in concilio, quid  
esset agendum, habere coeperunt; desiderantes quidem  
genti, quam petebantur, saluti esse, sed de non re-  
cepto, quem miserant<sup>3</sup>, praedicatore dolentes. Tum  
ait Aedan<sup>4</sup>, nam et ipse concilio intererat, ad eum, de  
quo agebatur, sacerdotem: 'Uidetur mihi, frater, quia  
durior iusto indoctis<sup>5</sup> auditoribus fuisti, et non eis iuxta  
apostolicam disciplinam primo lac doctrinae mollioris  
porrexisti, donec paulatim | enutriti uerbo Dei, ad  
capienda perfectiora, et ad facienda sublimiora Dei  
praecepta sufficerent.' Quo audito omnium, qui con-  
sidebant, ad ipsum ora et oculi conuersi, diligenter,  
quid diceret, discutiebant, et ipsum esse dignum epi-  
scopatu, ipsum ad erudiendos incredulos et indoctos  
mitti debere decernunt, qui gratia discretionis, quae  
uirtutum mater est, ante omnia probabatur<sup>6</sup> inbutus:  
sicque illum ordinantes ad praedicandum miserunt.  
Qui ubi tempus accepit, sicut prius moderamine discre-  
tionis, ita postmodum et ceteris uirtutibus ornatus  
apparuit.

about the  
sending of  
Aidan.

1 Cor. iii.  
2.  
f. 48 a.

## CAP. VI.

*De religione ac pietate miranda Osualdi<sup>7</sup> regis.*

Huius igitur antistitis doctrina rex Osuald<sup>7</sup> cum ea, cui praeerat, gente Anglorum institutus, non solum

Power of  
Oswald.

<sup>1</sup> osuuald C.    <sup>2</sup> -lis M. B<sup>1</sup>. W<sup>1</sup>. R<sup>1</sup>. O<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> misserant M. B<sup>1</sup>.  
<sup>4</sup> aidan B. N.    <sup>5</sup> indoctoribus M.    <sup>6</sup> probatur M.  
<sup>7</sup> osuuald, -di C.

incognita progenitoribus suis regna caelorum sperare didicit ; sed et regna terrarum plus quam ulli maiorum suorum, ab eodem uno Deo <sup>1</sup>, qui fecit caelum et terram, consecutus est. Denique omnes nationes et prouincias Britannie, quae in IIII linguas, id est Brettonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum, diuisae sunt, in ditione accepit.

His pietas  
and  
charity.

Quo regni culmine sublimatus, nihilominus, quod mirum dictu est, pauperibus et peregrinis semper humilis, benignus, et largus fuit. Denique fertur, quia tempore quodam, cum die sancto paschae cum praefato episcopo consedisset ad prandium, positusque esset in mensa coram eo discus argenteus regalibus epulis refertus, et iamque <sup>2</sup> essent manus ad panem benedicendum missuri, intrasse subito ministrum ipsius, cui suscipiendorum inopum erat cura delegata <sup>3</sup>, et indicasse regi, quia multitudo pauperum undecumque adueniens maxima per plateas sederet, postulans <sup>4</sup> aliquid elimosynae a rege. Qui mox dapes sibimet adpositas deferri pauperibus, sed et discum confringi, atque eisdem minutatim diuidi praecepit. Quo uiso pontifex, qui adsidebat, delectatus tali facto pietatis, adprehendit dexteram eius, et ait : ‘ Numquam inueterescat <sup>5</sup> haec manus.’ Quod et ita iuxta uotum benedictionis eius prouenit. Nam cum interfecto illo in <sup>6</sup> pugna, manus cum brachio a cetero essent corpore resectae <sup>7</sup>, contigit, ut hactenus incorruptae perdurent. Denique in urbe regia, quae a regina quondam uocabulo Bebbia cognominatur, loculo inclusae argenteo in ecclesia sancti Petri seruantur, ac digno a cunctis honore uenerantur.

Union of  
Deira and  
Bernicia.

Huius industria regis Derorum <sup>8</sup> et Berniciorum prouinciae, quae eatenus ab inuicem discordabant, in

<sup>1</sup> domino C ; gode A.S.      <sup>2</sup> iamque C.      <sup>3</sup> diligata M ;  
deligata B<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> postulantes C.      <sup>5</sup> -rascat C. B<sup>2</sup>.  
<sup>6</sup> in om. M. N<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>7</sup> resectae C.      <sup>8</sup> deirorum N.

f. 48 b.

unam sunt pacem, | et uelut unum compaginatae in populum. Erat autem nepos Aeduini<sup>1</sup> regis ex sorore Acha, dignumque fuit, ut tantus praecessor talem haberet de sua consanguinitate et religionis heredem et regni.

## CAP. VII.

*Ut provincia Occidentalium Saxonum uerbum Dei, praedicante Birino, susceperit; et de successoribus eius Agilbercto et Leutherio.*

Eo tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum, qui antiquitus Geuissae uocabantur<sup>2</sup>, regnante Cynigilso<sup>3</sup> fidem Christi suscepit, praedicante illis uerbum Birino<sup>4</sup> episcopo, qui cum consilio papae Honorii uenerat Britanniam, promittens quidem se illo praesente in intimis ultra Anglorum partibus, quo nullus doctor praecessisset, sanctae fidei semina esse sparsurum. Unde et iussu eiusdem pontificis per Asterium Genuensem episcopum in episcopatus consecratus est gradum. Sed Britanniam perueniens, ac primum Geuissorum gentem ingrediens, cum omnes ibidem paganissimos inueniret, utilius esse ratus est ibi potius uerbum praedicare, quam ultra progrediens eos, quibus praedicare deberet, inquirere.

Conversion  
of the West  
Saxons by  
Birinus.

Itaque euangelizante illo in praefata prouincia, cum rex ipse cathecizatus, fonte baptismi cum sua gente ablueretur, contigit tunc temporis sanctissimum ac uictoriosissimum regem Nordanhymbrorum Osualdum<sup>5</sup> adfuisse, eumque de lauacro exeuntem suscepisse, ac<sup>6</sup> pulcherrimo prorsus et Deo digno consortio, cuius erat filiam accepturus in coniugem, ipsum prius secunda generatione Deo dedicatum sibi accepit in filium. Donauerunt autem ambo reges eidem episcopo ciuitatem, quae uocatur Dorcic, ad faciendum inibi sedem episcopalem; ubi factis dedicatisque ecclesiis, multisque ad

Baptism of  
Cynegils.

West Saxon  
See at  
Dorchester.

<sup>1</sup> eduini B. N; eduuini C. <sup>2</sup> uocantur M. <sup>3</sup> -gislo C. B. N.  
<sup>4</sup> berino N. <sup>5</sup> osualdum C. <sup>6</sup> ac sic C. B<sup>2</sup>.

Dominum pio eius labore populis aduocatis, migravit ad Dominum<sup>1</sup>, sepultusque est in eadem ciuitate, et post annos multos, Haedde episcopatum agente, translatus inde<sup>2</sup> in Uentam ciuitatem, atque in ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli positus est.

Succession  
of Cenwalh.

Defuncto autem et rege, successit in regnum filius eius Coinualch<sup>3</sup>, qui et fidem ac sacramenta regni caelestis suscipere rennuit, et non multo post etiam regni terrestris potentiam perdidit. Repudiata enim sorore Pendan regis Merciorum, quam duxerat, aliam accepit uxorem; ideoque bello petitus, ac regno priuatus ab illo, secessit ad regem Orientalium Anglorum, cui nomen erat Anna; apud quem triennio exulans fidem cognouit ac suscepit ueritatis. Nam et ipse, apud quem exulabat, rex erat uir bonus, et bona ac sancta sobole felix, | ut in sequentibus docebimus.

f. 49 a.

and restor-  
ation.

Cum uero restitutus esset in regnum Coinualch<sup>3</sup>, uenit in prouinciam de Hibernia<sup>4</sup> pontifex quidam nomine Agilberctus<sup>5</sup>, natione quidem Gallus, sed tunc legendarum gratia scripturarum in Hibernia non paruo tempore demoratus, coniunxitque se regi, sponte ministerium praedicandi assumens. Cuius eruditionem atque industriam uidens rex, rogauit eum, accepta ibi sede episcopali, suae gentis<sup>6</sup> manere pontificem; qui precibus eius adnuens, multis annis eidem genti sacerdotali iure praefuit. Tandem rex, qui Saxonum tantum linguam nouerat, pertaesus barbarae loquellae, subintroduxit in prouinciam alium suae linguae episcopum, uocabulo Uini<sup>7</sup>, et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum; <sup>4</sup> diuidensque in duas parrochias prouinciam, huic in ciuitate Uenta, quae a gente Saxonum Uintancaestir<sup>8</sup>

cf. Gal. ii.

Attempted  
division of  
the West  
Saxon  
Diocese.

<sup>1</sup> a later hand has added on margin of C. non. decb.  
added on margin of M.

<sup>2</sup> inde

<sup>3</sup> coenualh C; coinualach N.

<sup>4</sup> hibernica M.

<sup>5</sup> -berictus N; -berchtus C.

<sup>6</sup> genti M.

<sup>7</sup> uuini C; uuine B<sup>2</sup> (?).

<sup>8</sup> -caestir B; uintacaestir C.

appellatur, sedem episcopatus tribuit; unde offensus grauiter Agilberctus<sup>1</sup>, quod haec ipso inconsulto ageret rex, rediit Galliam, et accepto episcopatu Parisiaca ciuitatis, ibidem senex ac plenus dierum obiit. Non multis autem annis post abscessum eius a Britannia transactis, pulsus est<sup>3</sup> et Uini ab eodem rege de episcopatu; qui secedens ad regem Merciorum uocabulo Uulfheri, emit pretio ab eo sedem Lundoniae ciuitatis, eiusque episcopus usque ad uitae suae terminum mansit. Sicque prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum

The See  
vacant.

Quo etiam tempore rex praefatus ipsius gentis, grauissimis regni sui damnis saepissime ab hostibus afflictus, tandem ad memoriam reduxit, quod eum pridem perfidia regno pulerit<sup>4</sup>, fides agnita Christi in regnum reuocauerit; intellexitque, quod etiam tunc destituta pontifice prouincia recte pariter diuino<sup>5</sup> fuerit destituta praesidio. Misit ergo legatarios in Galliam ad Agilberctum<sup>6</sup>, summissa illum satisfactione deprecans ad episcopatum suae gentis redire. At ille se excusans, et<sup>7</sup> uenire non posse contestans, quia episcopatu propriae ciuitatis ac parrochiae teneretur adstrictus, ne tamen obnixe petenti nil ferret auxilii, misit pro se illo presbyterum Leutherium nepotem suum, qui ei, si uellet, ordinaretur episcopus; dicens, quod ipse eum dignum esse episcopatu iudicaret. Quo honorifice a populo et a rege suscepto, rogauerunt Theodorum, | tunc archiepiscopum Doruuernensis ecclesiae, ipsum sibi antistitem consecrari<sup>8</sup>; qui consecratus in ipsa ciuitate, multis annis episcopatum Geuissorum<sup>9</sup> ex synodica sanctione solus sedulo moderamine gessit.

Hlothhere  
bishop.

<sup>1</sup> -berchtus C; egilberictus N.      <sup>2</sup> hoc C. B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>3</sup> est om. M.      <sup>4</sup> depulerit B. R<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>5</sup> paterno, *instead of* pariter diuino C. D. O<sub>3</sub>. O<sub>8</sub>—, R<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>6</sup> -berchtum C.      <sup>7</sup> et eo C. B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>8</sup> -re C. N.      <sup>9</sup> geuissorum C.



## CAP. VIII.

*Ut rex Cantuariorum Earconberct<sup>1</sup> idola destrui praeceperit; et de filia eius Ercongota<sup>2</sup> et propinqua Aedilbergae<sup>3</sup>, sacris Deo uirginibus.*

Death of  
Eadbald,  
and suc-  
cession of Ear-  
conbert,  
A. D. 640.

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCXL, Eadbald rex Cantuariorum transiens ex hac uita, Earconbercto<sup>4</sup> filio regni gubernacula reliquit; quae ille suscepta XXIII annis et aliquot mensibus nobilissime tenuit. Hic primus regum Anglorum in toto regno suo idola relinqui ac destrui, simul et ieiunium XL dierum obseruari principali auctoritate praecepit. Quae ne facile a quopiam posset contemni, in transgressores dignas et competentes punitiones proposuit. Cuius filia Earcongota<sup>5</sup>, ut condigna parenti suboles, magnarum fuit uirgo uirtutum, seruiens Domino in monasterio, quod in regione Francorum constructum est ab abbatisa nobilissima uocabulo Fara, in loco, qui dicitur in Brige. Nam eo tempore needum multis in regione Anglorum monasteriis constructis, multi de Britannia monachicae<sup>6</sup> conuersationis gratia Francorum uel Galliarum monasteria adire solebant; sed et filias suas eisdem erudiendas, ac sponso caelesti copulandas mittebant; maxime in Brige, et in Cale, et in Andilegum monasterio; inter quas erat Saethryd<sup>7</sup>, filia uxoris Annae regis Orientalium Anglorum, cuius supra meminimus, et filia naturalis eiusdem regis Aedilberg<sup>8</sup>; quae utraque cum esset peregrina, prae merito uirtutum eiusdem monasterii Brigensis est abbatisa constituta. Cuius regis filia maior Sexburg, uxor Earconbercti<sup>9</sup> regis Cantuariorum, habuit filiam Earcongota<sup>10</sup>, de qua sumus dicturi.

English  
princesses  
in Frankish  
monas-  
teries.

<sup>1</sup> earconberht C.    <sup>2</sup> ercongota B; ercongata N.    <sup>3</sup> aeðil- C.  
<sup>4</sup> -berhto C; -brecto N.    <sup>5</sup> -tae B; -te N; eorcongota C<sup>1</sup>;  
-ta C<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> monasticae C<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>7</sup> saeðryth C; saedyrd B; saeth-  
rith N.    <sup>8</sup> aeðilberg C<sup>1</sup>; -burg C<sup>2</sup>; edilbere N.    <sup>9</sup> ercon- B;  
eoreconberhti C.    <sup>10</sup> earecogota B<sup>1</sup>; eorecon- C.

Huius autem uirginis Deo dicatae multa quidem ab incolis loci illius solent<sup>1</sup> opera uirtutum et signa miraculorum usque hodie narrari. Uerum nos de transitu tantum illius, quo caelestia regna petiit, aliquid breuiter dicere sufficiat.

Story of  
Earcn-  
gota,

Inminente ergo die suae uocationis, coepit circuire in monasterio casulas infirmarum Christi famularum, earumque uel maxime, quae uel aetate prouectae, uel probitate erant morum insigniores. Quarum se omnium precibus humiliter commendans, obitum proxime suum, quem reuelatione didicerat, non celauit esse futurum. Quam uidelicet reuelationem huiusmodi esse perhibebat: uidisse se<sup>2</sup> albatorum cateruam | hominum idem monasterium intrare; hosque a se interrogatos, quid quaererent, aut quid ibi uellent, respondisse, quod ob hoc illo<sup>3</sup> fuerint destinati, ut aureum illud nomisma, quod eo de Cantia uenerat, secum adsumerent. Ipsa autem nocte, in cuius ultima parte, id est incipiente aurora, praesentis mundi tenebras transiens supernam migravit ad lucem, multi de fratribus eiusdem monasterii, qui aliis erant in aedibus, iam manifeste se concentus angelorum psallentium audisse referebant, sed et sonitum quasi plurimae multitudinis monasterium ingredientis; unde mox egressi dignoscere<sup>4</sup> quid esset, uiderunt lucem caelitus emissam fuisse permaximam, quae sanctam illam animam carnis uinculis absolutam ad aeterna patriae caelestis gaudia ducebat. Addunt et alia, quae ipsa nocte in monasterio eodem diuinitus fuerint ostensa miracula; sed haec nos ad alia tendentes, suis narrare permittimus. Sepultum est autem corpus uenerabile uirginis et sponsae Christi in ecclesia beati protomartyris Stephani; placuitque post diem tertium, ut lapis, quo monumentum tegebatur, amoueretur, et altius ipso in

<sup>1</sup> solent *om.* M.

<sup>2</sup> se *added above the line both in M. and B.*

<sup>3</sup> illuc C.

<sup>4</sup> uolentes *add.* N<sup>2</sup>.

loco reponeretur<sup>1</sup>; quod dum fieret, tantae flagrantia suauitatis ab imis ebulliuit, ut cunctis, qui adstabant, fratribus ac sororibus, quasi opobalsami<sup>2</sup> cellaria esse uiderentur aperta.

and Ethel-  
berg.

Sed et matertera eius, de qua diximus, Aedilberg<sup>3</sup>, et ipsa Deo dilectam<sup>4</sup> perpetuae uirginitatis gloriam in magna corporis continentia seruauit<sup>5</sup>; quae cuius esset uirtutis, magis post mortem claruit. Cum enim esset abbatissa, coepit facere in monasterio suo ecclesiam in honorem omnium apostolorum, in qua suum corpus sepelli cupiebat. Sed cum opus idem ad medium ferme esset perductum, illa ne hoc perficeret, morte praerepta est, et in ipso ecclesiae loco, ubi desiderabat, condita. Post cuius mortem, fratribus alia magis curantibus, intermissum est hoc aedificium annis VII, quibus completis statuerunt ob nimietatem laboris, huius structuram ecclesiae funditus relinquere, ossa uero abbatissae illo de loco eleuata, in aliam ecclesiam, quae esset perfecta ac dedicata, transferre. Et aperientes sepulchrum eius, ita intemeratum corpus inuenere, ut a corruptione | concupiscentiae carnalis erat immune; f. 50 b, et ita denuo lotum, atque aliis uestibus indutum transtulerunt illud in ecclesiam beati Stephani martyris. Cuius uidelicet natalis ibi<sup>6</sup> solet in magna gloria celebrari die Nonarum Iuliarum.

### CAP. IX.

*Ut in loco, in quo occisus est rex Osuald<sup>7</sup>, crebra sanitarum miracula facta; utque ibi primo<sup>8</sup> iumentum cuiusdam uiantis ac deinde puella sit paralitica curata.*

REGNAUIT autem Osuald<sup>7</sup> christianissimus rex Northanhymbrorum VIII annos, adnumerato etiam illo<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> poneretur C.      <sup>2</sup> opo. i. succi balsami .i. ðæs [tea]res; gloss on lower margin of M.      <sup>3</sup> aedil. C<sup>2</sup> (?).      <sup>4</sup> dilecta B. W.      <sup>5</sup> conseruauit M. (due to continentia preceding).      <sup>6</sup> ibi om. C.      <sup>7</sup> osuald C.      <sup>8</sup> primo, added on margin M.      <sup>9</sup> illo anno C. D. A<sub>1</sub>. &c.

quem et feralis impietas regis Brettonum, et apostasia demens regum Anglorum detestabilem fecerat. Siquidem, ut supra docuimus, unanimo omnium consensu firmatum est, ut nomen et memoria apostatarum de catalogo regum Christianorum prorsus aboleri deberet, neque aliquis regno eorum annus adnotari. Quo completo annorum curriculo occisus est, commisso graui proelio, ab eadem pagana gente paganoque rege Merciorum, a quo et prodecessor eius Aeduini<sup>1</sup> peremptus fuerat, in loco, qui lingua Anglorum nuncupatur Maserfelth<sup>2</sup>, anno aetatis suae XXXVIII., die quinto mensis Augusti.

Oswald  
slain at  
Maserfelth.  
Aug. 5, 642.

Cuius quanta fides<sup>3</sup> in Deum, quae deuotio mentis fuerit, etiam post mortem uirtutum miraculis claruit. Namque in loco, ubi pro patria dimicans a paganis interfectus est, usque hodie sanitates infirmorum et hominum et pecorum celebrari non desinunt. Unde contigit, ut puluerem ipsum, ubi corpus eius in terram conruit, multi auferentes et in aquam mittentes suis per haec infirmis multum commodi adferrent<sup>4</sup>. Qui uidelicet mos adeo increbruit, ut paulatim ablata exinde terra fossam ad mensuram staturae uirilis altam reddiderit. Nec mirandum in loco mortis illius infirmos sanari, qui semper, dum uiueret, infirmis et pauperibus consulere, elimosynas dare, opem ferre non cessabat. Et multa quidem in loco illo uel de puluere loci illius facta uirtutum miracula narrantur; sed nos duo tantum, quae a maioribus audiuius, referre satis duximus.

Miracles  
wrought on  
the site.

Non multo post interfectionem eius exacto tempore, contigit, ut quidam equo sedens iter iuxta locum ageret illum; cuius equus subito lassescere, consistere, caput in terram declinare, spumas ex ore demittere, et, augescente dolore nimio, in terram coepit ruere. Desiluit eques, et stramine subtracto<sup>5</sup> coepit expectare

<sup>1</sup> eduini B<sup>1</sup>. N; eduine C. B<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> altered to -feld B.    <sup>3</sup> uis M. H<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> -ferent M.    <sup>5</sup> There is great variety of reading in

horam, qua aut melioratum reciperet iumentum, aut relinqueret mortuum. At ipsum diu graui dolore uexatum, cum diuersas in partes se torqueret, | repente f. 51 a. uolutando deuenit in illud loci, ubi rex memorabilis occubuit. Nec mora, quiescente dolore cessabat ab insanis membrorum motibus, et consueto equorum more, quasi post lassitudinem in diuersum latus uicissim sese uoluere, statimque exurgens quasi sanum per omnia, uirecta herbarum audius carpere coepit.

Quo ille uiso, ut uir sagacis ingenii, intellexit aliquid mirae sanctitatis huic loco, quo equus est curatus, inesse; et posito ibi signo, non multo post ascendit equum, atque ad hospitium, quo proposuerat, accessit; quo dum adueniret, inuenit puellam ibi neptem patris familias longo paralysis morbo grauata; et cum familiares domus illius de acerba<sup>1</sup> puellae infirmitate ipso praesente quererentur, coepit dicere ille de loco, ubi caballus suus esset curatus. Quid multa? inponentes eam carro, duxerunt ad locum, ibidemque deposuerunt. At illa posita in loco obdormiuit<sup>2</sup> parumper; et ubi euigilauit, sanata se ab illa corporis dissolutione sentiens, postulata aqua, ipsa lauit faciem, crines composuit, caput linteo cooperuit, et cum his, qui se adduxerant, sana pedibus incedendo reuersa est.

## CAP. X.

*Ut puluis loci illius contra ignem ualuerit.*

Another  
miracle.

EODEM<sup>3</sup> tempore uenit alius quidam de natione Britonum, ut ferunt, iter faciens iuxta ipsum locum, in

the MSS. here; the reading in the text is that of M. B. W. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>6</sub>. O<sub>11</sub>. O<sub>14</sub>; stramine substracto N. H<sub>1</sub>, so C. with the second s erased, and tracto written above by C<sup>2</sup>, so D. O<sub>1</sub> with c erased; stramine substrato O<sub>3,4</sub>. O<sub>7,10</sub>. [Ca<sub>2</sub>.] P. H<sub>2</sub> edd.; stamine substrato O<sub>5</sub>. The A.S. vers. has 7 fæst gebæte ofateah. i. e. et frenum subtraxit. <sup>1</sup> acerua M. C<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>1</sup>. N. <sup>2</sup> -muit M. <sup>3</sup> There is no break in the text of M. between these two chapters; but the rubricator has inserted a k (i. e. capitulum) above the line.



quo praefata erat pugna completa; et uidit unius loci spatium cetero campo uiridius ac uenustius; coepitque sagaci animo conicere, quod nulla esset alia causa insolitae illo in loco uiriditatis, nisi quia ibidem sanctior cetero exercitu uir aliquis fuisset interfectus. Tulit itaque de puluere terrae illius secum inligans in linteo, cogitans, quod futurum erat, quia ad medellam infirmantium idem puluis proficeret; et pergens itinere suo peruenit ad uicum quendam uespere, intrauitque in domum, in qua uicani<sup>1</sup> caenantes epulabantur; et susceptus a dominis domus, resedit et ipse cum eis ad conuiuium, adpendens linteolum cum puluere, quem adtulerat, in una posta parietis. Cumque diutius epulis atque ebrietati uacarent, accenso grandi igne in medio, contigit uolantibus in altum scintillis culmen domus, quod erat uirgis contextum, ac foeno tectum, subitaneis flammis impleri. Quod cum repente conuiuae terrore confusi<sup>2</sup> conspicerent, fugerunt foras nil ardenti domui | et iamiamque periturae prodesse ualentes. Consumpta ergo domu flammis, posta solummodo<sup>3</sup>, in qua puluis ille inclusus pendebat, tuta ab ignibus et intacta remansit. Qua uisa uirtute mirati sunt ualde; et perquirentes subtilius, inuenerunt, quia de illo loco adsumptus erat puluis, ubi regis Osualdi<sup>4</sup> sanguis fuerat effusus. Quibus patefactis ac diffamatis longe lateque miraculis, multi per dies locum frequentare illum, et sanitatum ibi gratiam capere sibi suisque coeperunt.

f. 51 b.

## CAP. XI.

*Ut super reliquias eius lux caelestis tota nocte steterit, et ut per eas sint daemoniaci curati.*

INTER quae nequaquam silentio praetereundum reor, quid uirtutis ac miraculi caelestis fuerit ostensum, cum

<sup>1</sup> uicini C<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>. N<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> con of confusi erased in M.      <sup>3</sup> -dum M.      <sup>4</sup> osuualdi C.

ossa eius inuenta, atque ad ecclesiam, in qua nunc seruantur, translata sunt. Factum est autem hoc per industriam reginae Merciorum Osthrydae<sup>1</sup>, quae erat filia fratris eius, id est Osuii, qui post illum regni apicem tenebat, ut in sequentibus dicemus.

Oswald's  
bones  
translated  
to Bardney.

Est monasterium nobile in prouincia Lindissi<sup>2</sup>, nomine Beardaneu<sup>3</sup>, quod eadem regina cum uiro suo Aedilredo<sup>4</sup> multum diligebat, uenerabatur, excolebat, in quo desiderabat honoranda patris sui ossa recondere. Cumque uenisset carrum, in quo eadem ossa ducebantur, incumbente uespera, in monasterium praefatum, noluerunt ea, qui erant in monasterio, libenter excipere; quia etsi sanctum eum nouerant, tamen, quia de alia prouincia ortus fuerat, et super eos regnum acceperat, ueteranis eum odiis etiam mortuum insequabantur. Unde factum est, ut ipsa nocte reliquiae adlatae foris permanerent, tentorio tantum maiore supra carrum, in quo inerant, extenso. Sed miraculi caelestis ostensio, quam reuerenter eae<sup>5</sup> suscipiendae a cunctis fidelibus essent, patefecit. Nam tota ea nocte columna lucis a carro illo ad caelum usque porrecta, omnibus pene eiusdem Lindissa<sup>6</sup> prouinciae locis conspicua stabat. Unde mane facto fratres monasterii illius, qui pridie abnuerant, diligenter ipsi petere coeperunt, ut apud se eadem<sup>7</sup> sanctae ac Deo dilectae reliquiae conderentur. Lota igitur ossa intulerunt in thecam, quam in hoc praeparauerant, atque in ecclesia iuxta honorem congruum posuerunt; et ut regia uiri sancti persona memoriam haberet aeternam, uexillum eius super tumbam auro et purpura compositum adposuerunt, ipsamque aquam, in qua lauerant ossa, in angulo sacrarii fuderunt. Ex quo tempore factum est, ut ipsa terra, quae lauacrum | uenerabile suscepit, ad f. 52 u.

<sup>1</sup> ostrydae N; ostryde C.    <sup>2</sup> lindisi N.    <sup>3</sup> -nig B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> aedil-  
C.    <sup>5</sup> eae *crased* n C. and B.    <sup>6</sup> -sae C. B.    <sup>7</sup> eadem  
M. B. C.    <sup>8</sup> -runt M. H<sub>1</sub>.

abigendos ex obsessis corporibus daemones gratiae salutaris haberet effectum.

Denique tempore sequente, cum praefata regina in eodem monasterio moraretur, uenit ad salutandam eam abbatissa quaedam uenerabilis, quae usque hodie superest, uocabulo Aedilhild <sup>1</sup>, soror uirorum sanctorum Aediluni <sup>2</sup> et Alduini <sup>3</sup>, quorum prior episcopus in Lindissi prouincia, secundus erat abbas in monasterio, quod uocatur Peartaneu <sup>4</sup>, a quo non longe et illa monasterium habebat. Cum ergo ueniens <sup>5</sup> illo <sup>6</sup> loqueretur cum regina, atque inter alia, sermone de Osualdo exorto <sup>7</sup>, diceret, quod et ipsa lucem nocte illa supra reliquias eius ad caelum usque altam <sup>8</sup> uidisset, adiecit regina, quia de puluere pauimenti, in quo aqua lauacri illius effusa est, multi iam sanati <sup>9</sup> essent infirmi. At illa petiit sibi portionem pulueris salutiferi dari; et accipiens inligatum <sup>10</sup> panno condidit in capsella, et rediit. Transacto autem tempore aliquanto, cum esset in suo monasterio, uenit illic quidam hospes, qui solebat nocturnis saepius horis repente ab immundo spiritu grauissime uexari. Qui cum benigne susceptus post caenam in lecto membra posuisset, subito a diabolo arreptus, clamare, dentibus frendere, spumare, et diuersis motibus coepit membra torquere. Cumque a nullo uel teneri uel ligari potuisset, cucurrit minister, et pulsans ad ostium nuntiauit abbatissae. At illa aperiens ianuam monasterii, exiuit ipsa cum una sanctimonialium feminarum ad locum uirorum, et euocans presbyterum, rogauit secum uenire ad patientem. Ubi cum uenientes uiderent multos adfuisse, qui uexatum tenere, et motus eius insanos comprimere

A demoniac  
healed.

<sup>1</sup> aedihild N; aeðil- C.

<sup>2</sup> aeðil- C; edil- N; aeðel- B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> eald- B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The first a erased in C; -nea N.

<sup>5</sup> ueniens

om. M. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> ille H<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>; illa H<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> ex. de os. C. B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> ad

altam H<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>; adultam H<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. <sup>9</sup> The scribe of M. at first wrote sanitati.

<sup>10</sup> -tam M; in panno ligatum C. D. O<sub>1</sub>. R<sub>1</sub>. &c.

conati nequaquam ualebant, dicebat presbyter exorcismos, et quaeque poterat, pro sedando miseri furore agebat. Sed nec ipse, quamuis multum laborans, proficere aliquid ualebat. Cumque nil salutis furenti superesse uideretur, repente uenit in mentem abbatisae pulvis ille praefatus; statimque iussit ire ministram, et capsellam, in qua erat, adducere. Et cum illa adferens, quae iussa est, intraret<sup>1</sup> atrium domus, in cuius interioribus daemoniosus torquebatur, conticuit ille subito, et quasi in somnum laxatus deposuit caput, membra in quietem omnia composuit.

‘Conticuere omnes, | intentique ora tenebant,’

f. 52 b.  
Verg.  
Aen. ii. 1.

quem res exitum haberet, solliciti expectantes. Et post aliquantum horae spatium resedit qui uexabatur, et grauiter suspirans: ‘Modo,’ inquit, ‘sanum sapio, recepi<sup>2</sup> enim sensum animi mei.’ At illi sedulo seiscitabantur, quomodo hoc contigisset. Qui ait: ‘Mox ut uirgo haec cum capsella, quam portabat, adpropinquauit<sup>3</sup> atrio domus huius, discessere omnes, qui me premebant, spiritus maligni, et me relicto nusquam conparuerunt.’ Tunc dedit ei abbatisa portiunculam de puluere illo, et sic data oratione a presbytero, noctem illam quietissimam duxit; neque aliquid ex eo tempore nocturni timoris aut uexationis ab antiquo hoste pertulit.

## CAP. XII.

*U<sup>4</sup> ad tumbam eius sit puerulus a febre curatus.*

A boy  
cured of  
fever.

SEQUENTE dehinc tempore fuit in eodem monasterio puerulus quidam, longo febrium incommodo grauiter uexatus. Qui cum die quadam<sup>5</sup> sollicitus horam

<sup>1</sup> intrauit N.    <sup>2</sup> recipi M.    <sup>3</sup> -abit M.    <sup>4</sup> This heading was omitted by the scribe from the capitula of M. It is inserted on the lower margin, and the numbers of all the subsequent chapters have been altered.    <sup>5</sup> quodam M.

accessionis expectaret, ingressus ad eum quidam de fratribus : ‘ Uis,’ inquit, ‘ mi nate, doceam te, quomodo cureris ab huius<sup>1</sup> molestia langoris? Surge, ingredere<sup>2</sup> ecclesiam, et accedens ad sepulchrum Osualdi, ibi reside, et quietus manens adhere tumbae. Uide, ne exeas inde, nec de loco mouearis, donec hora recessionis febrium transierit. Tunc ipse intrabo, et educam te inde.’ Fecit, ut ille suaserat; sedentemque ad<sup>3</sup> tumbam sancti [infirmas tangere nequaquam praesumsit; quin in tantum timens aufugit, ut nec secunda die, nec tertia, neque umquam exinde eum auderet contingere.] Quod ita esse gestum, qui referebat mihi, frater inde adueniens adiecit, quod eo adhuc tempore, quo mecum loquebatur, superesset in eodem monasterio iam iuuenis ille, in quo tunc puero factum erat hoc miraculum sanitatis. Nec mirandum preces regis illius iam cum Domino regnantis multum ualere apud eum, qui temporalis regni quondam<sup>4</sup> gubernacula tenens, magis pro aeterno regno<sup>5</sup> semper laborare ac deprecari solebat.

Denique ferunt, quia a tempore matutinae laudis saepius ad diem usque in orationibus persteterit, atque ob crebrum morem orandi, siue gratias agendi Domino semper ubicumque sedens, supinas super genua sua manus habere solitus sit. Uulgatum est autem, et in consuetudinem prouerbii uersum, quod etiam inter uerba orationis uitam finierit. Nam cum armis et hostibus circumseptus iamiamque uideret<sup>6</sup> se esse perimendum, | orauit pro animabus exercitus sui. Unde dicunt in prouerbio : ‘ Deus miserere animabus, dixit Osuald cadens in terram.’

Ossa igitur illius translata et condita sunt in monasterio, quo diximus. Porro caput et manus cum brachiis a corpore praecisas iussit rex, qui occiderat, in stipitibus

Traditions  
about  
Oswald.

Fate of his  
relics.

<sup>1</sup> huius modi C. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> -dire M.    <sup>3</sup> eum ad C.    <sup>4</sup> quondam om. M.    <sup>5</sup> regno om. M.    <sup>6</sup> uiderit C.



suspendi. Quo post annum deueniens<sup>1</sup> cum exercitu successor regni eius Osui abstulit ea, et caput quidem in cimiterio Lindisfarnensis<sup>2</sup> ecclesiae, in regia uero ciuitate manus cum brachiis condidit.

## CAP. XIII.

*Ut in Hibernia sit quidam per reliquias eius a mortis articulo reuocatus.*

Fame of  
Oswald in  
Germany  
and  
Ireland.

NEC solum inclyti fama uiri Britanniae fines lustrauit uniuersos, sed etiam trans oceanum longe radios<sup>3</sup> salutiferae lucis spargens, Germaniae simul et Hiberniae partes attigit. Denique reuerentissimus antistes Acca solet referre, quia, cum Romam uadens, apud sanctissimum Fresonum gentis archiepiscopum Uilbrordum cum suo antistite Uilfrido moraretur, crebro eum audierit de mirandis, quae ad reliquias eiusdem reuerentissimi regis in illa prouincia gesta fuerint, narrare. Sed et in<sup>4</sup> Hibernia cum presbyter adhuc peregrinam pro aeterna patria duceret uitam, rumore sanctitatis illius in ea quoque insula longe lateque iam percrebruisse ferebat; e quibus unum, quod inter alia rettulit, miraculum praesenti nostrae historiae inserendum credidimus.

A miracle  
in Ireland.

‘Tempore<sup>5</sup>,’ inquit, ‘mortalitatis, quae Britanniam Hiberniamque lata strage uastauit, percussus est eiusdem clade pestis inter alios scolasticus quidam de genere Scottorum, doctus quidem uir studio litterarum, sed erga curam perpetuae suae saluationis nihil omnino studii et industriae gerens. Qui cum se morti proximum uideret, timere coepit et pauere, ne mox mortuus ob merita scelerum ad inferni claustra raperetur, clamauitque me, cum essem in uicinia<sup>6</sup> positus, et inter

<sup>1</sup> ueniens M.    <sup>2</sup> -parnensis N.    <sup>3</sup> radio M.    <sup>4</sup> in om. M.

<sup>5</sup> The chapter begins here in C. W. D. O<sub>1-4</sub>. O<sub>6-11</sub>. &c.    <sup>6</sup> uicina M. N.

egra tremens suspiria, flebili uoce talia mecum querebatur: "Uides," inquit, "quia iamiamque crescente corporis molestia ad articulum subeundae mortis compellor; nec dubito me post mortem corporis<sup>1</sup> statim ad perpetuam animae mortem rapiendum, ac infernalibus subdendum esse tormentis; quia tempore non pauco inter studia diuinae lectionis, uitiorum potius implicamentis, quam diuinis solebam seruire mandatis. Inest autem animo, si mihi pietas superna aliqua uiuendi spatia donauerit, uitiosos mores corrigere, atque ad imperium | diuinae uoluntatis totam ex integro mentem uitamque transferre. Uerum noui non hoc esse meriti mei, ut indutias uiuendi uel accipiam, uel me accepturum esse confidam, nisi forte misero mihi et indigno uenia, per auxilium eorum, qui illi fideliter seruierunt, propitiari dignatus fuerit. Audiuimus autem, et fama est<sup>2</sup> creberrima, quia fuerit in gente uestra rex mirandae sanctitatis, uocabulo Osuald<sup>3</sup>, cuius excellentia fidei et uirtutis, etiam post mortem, uirtutum frequentium operatione claruerit; precorque, si aliquid reliquiarum illius penes te habes, adferas mihi, si forte mihi Dominus per eius meritum misereri uoluerit." At ego respondi: "Habeo quidem de ligno, in quo caput eius occisi a paganis infixum est; et, si firmo corde credideris, potest diuina pietas per tanti meritum uiri et huius<sup>4</sup> uitae spatia longiora concedere, et ingressu<sup>5</sup> te uitae perennis dignum reddere." Nec moratus ille integram se in hoc habere fidem respondebat.

'Tum benedixi aquam, et astulam roboris praefati<sup>6</sup> inmittens obtuli ego potandum. Nec mora, melius habere coepit, et conualescens ab infirmitate, multo deinceps tempore uixit; totoque ad Deum corde et opere conuersus, omnibus, ubicumque perueniebat,

<sup>1</sup> corporis, *added on margin* M.      <sup>2</sup> est *om.* M. N.      <sup>3</sup> osuald C.      <sup>4</sup> huius tibi C. D. &c.      <sup>5</sup> -sum M. N<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>6</sup> probati N.

clementiam pii Conditoris et fidelis eius famuli gloriam praedicabat.’

## CAP. XIV.

*Ut, defuncto Paulino, Ithamar pro eo Hrofensis<sup>1</sup> ecclesiae praesulatum suscepit; et de humilitate mirabili regis Osuini<sup>2</sup>, qui ab Osuiu<sup>3</sup> crudeli<sup>4</sup> caede peremptus est.*

Succession  
of Oswy,  
A. D. 642;  
His diffi-  
culties.

TRANSLATO<sup>5</sup> ergo ad caelestia regna Osualdo, suscepit regni terrestris sedem pro eo frater eius Osuiu, iuuenis XXX circiter annorum, et per annos XXVIII laboriosissime tenuit, inpugnatus uidelicet et ab ea, quae fratrem eius occiderat, pagana gente Merciorum, et a filio quoque suo Alchfrido<sup>6</sup>, nec non et a fratrui, id est fratris sui, qui ante eum regnauit, filio Oidilualdo<sup>7</sup>.

Death of  
Paulinus,  
Oct. 10, 644.

Cuius anno secundo, hoc est ab incarnatione dominica anno DCXLI<sup>8</sup>, reuerentissimus pater Paulinus, quondam quidem Eburacensis, sed tunc Hrofensis episcopus ciuitatis, transiuit ad Dominum sexto Iduum Octobrium<sup>9</sup> die; qui X et VIIII annos, menses duos, dies XXI episcopatum tenuit; sepultusque est in secretario beati apostoli Andreae, quod<sup>10</sup> rex Aedilberet<sup>11</sup> a fundamentis in eadem Hrofi ciuitate construxit. In cuius locum Honorius archiepiscopus ordinauit Ithamar<sup>12</sup>, oriundum quidem de gente Cantuariorum, sed uita et eruditione antecessoribus suis aequandum.

Succession  
of Oswine  
in Deira,  
A. D. 644.

Habuit autem Osuiu primis regni sui temporibus consortem regiae dignitatis, uocabulo Osuini<sup>13</sup>, de stirpe regis Aeduini<sup>14</sup>, hoc est filium Osrici, de quo supra f. 54 a. rettulimus, uirum eximiae pietatis et religionis; qui

<sup>1</sup> rhof- C.    <sup>2</sup> osuui C.    <sup>3</sup> osuio C; Osino N; Osio B. (?)

<sup>4</sup> crudili M.    <sup>5</sup> From here to the word Cynuisse, p. 178, inclusive, is wanting in H<sub>1</sub>, owing to the loss of a fold. The lacuna has been supplied in a hand of the 12th cent.    <sup>6</sup> alhfrido C. B; olchfrido N.    <sup>7</sup> sic B<sup>1</sup>; oedil- C; edil- N; aidel- B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>8</sup> DCXLVII N.    <sup>9</sup> octimbrium N.

<sup>10</sup> quam M.C.N<sup>1</sup>; quem N<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>11</sup> aedilberht C; -beret B<sup>2</sup> (?); edilberc N.    <sup>12</sup> inthamar N.    <sup>13</sup> -ne B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> eduini C. B. N.

provinciae Derorum septem annis in maxima omnium rerum affluentia, et ipse amabilis omnibus praefuit. Sed nec cum eo ille, qui ceteram Transhumbranae gentis partem ab Aquilone, id est Berniciorum provinciam, regebat, habere pacem potuit; quin potius, ingrauescentibus causis dissensionum, miserrima hunc caede peremit. Siquidem congregato contra inuicem exercitu, cum uideret se Osuini cum illo, qui plures habebat auxilios, non posse bello configere, ratus est utilius tunc demissa<sup>1</sup> intentione bellandi, seruare se ad tempora meliora. Remisit ergo exercitum, quem congregauerat, ac singulos domum redire praecepit a loco, qui uocatur Uilfaresdun<sup>2</sup>, id est mons Uilfari, et est a uico Cataractone X ferme milibus passuum contra solstitialem<sup>3</sup> occasum secretus; diuertitque ipse cum uno tantum milite sibi fidissimo, nomine Tondheri<sup>4</sup>, celandus in domum comitis Hunualdi, quem etiam ipsum sibi amicissimum autumabat. Sed heu, pro dolor! longe aliter erat; nam ab eodem comite proditum eum Osuium cum praefato ipsius milite per praefectum suum Ediluinum<sup>5</sup> detestanda omnibus morte interfecit. Quod factum est die XIII<sup>a</sup> Kalendarum Septembrium, anno regni eius nono, in loco, qui dicitur Ingetlingum; ubi postmodum, castigandi huius facinoris gratia, monasterium constructum est; in quo pro utriusque regis, et occisi uidelicet, et eius, qui occidere iussit, animae redemptione cotidie Domino preces offerri deberent.

He is foully murdered, Aug. 20, 651.

Erat autem rex Osuini<sup>6</sup> et aspectu uenustus, et statura sublimis, et affatu<sup>7</sup> iucundus, et moribus ciuilibus<sup>8</sup>, et manu omnibus, id est nobilibus simul atque ignobilibus, largus; unde contigit, ut ob regiam eius et

His beauty of person and character.

<sup>1</sup> dimissa N. C<sup>2</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>.

uifaraes-duun N.

<sup>5</sup> aediluuinum C.

<sup>8</sup> ciuibilis C.

<sup>2</sup> uilfaresdún C; uilfaresdun B;

<sup>3</sup> solemstitialem M.

<sup>6</sup> -ne B<sup>2</sup>; osuini C.

<sup>4</sup> -here N. B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> affectu N

animi, et uultus, et meritorum dignitatem ab omnibus diligeretur, et undique ad eius ministerium de cunctis prope prouinciis uiri etiam nobilissimi concurrerent. Cuius inter ceteras uirtutis<sup>1</sup> et modestiae, et, ut ita dicam, specialis benedictionis glorias etiam maxima fuisse fertur humilitas, ut uno probare sat erit exemplo.

His  
wonderful  
humility.

Donauerat equum optimum antistiti Aidano<sup>2</sup>, in quo ille, quamuis ambulare solitus, uel amnium fluentia transire, uel si alia quaelibet necessitas insisteret, uiam peragere<sup>3</sup> posset. Cui cum paruo interiecto tempore | pauper quidam occurreret elimosynam petens, f. 54 b. desiliens ille praecepit equum, ita ut erat stratus regaliter, pauperi dari; erat enim multum misericors, et cultor pauperum, ac uelut pater miserorum. Hoc cum regi esset relatum, dicebat episcopo, cum forte ingressuri essent ad prandium: 'Quid uoluisti, domine antistes, equum regium, quem te conueniebat proprium habere, pauperi dare? Numquid non habuimus equos uiliores plurimos, uel alias species, quae ad pauperum dona sufficerent, quamuis illum eis equum non dares, quem tibi specialiter possidendum elegi?' Cui statim episcopus: 'Quid loqueris,' inquit, 'rex? Numquid<sup>4</sup> tibi carior est ille filius equae, quam ille filius Dei?' Quibus dictis intrabant ad prandendum. Et episcopus quidem residebat in suo loco. Porro rex, uenerat enim de uenatu, coepit consistens ad focum calefieri cum ministris; et repente inter calefaciendum recordans uerbum, quod dixerat illi antistes, discinxit se gladio suo, et dedit illum ministro, festinusque accedens ante pedes episcopi conruit, postulans, ut sibi placatus esset, 'quia numquam,' inquit, 'deinceps aliquid loquar de hoc aut iudicabo, quid uel quantum de pecunia nostra filiis Dei tribuas.' Quod uidens episcopus,

cf. Ioh.  
xviii. 18.

<sup>1</sup> -tes C.  
nam N.

<sup>2</sup> aidono N.

<sup>3</sup> peragrarere M.

<sup>4</sup> num C;



multum pertimuit, ac statim exurgens leuauit eum, promittens se<sup>1</sup> multum illi esse placatum, dum modo ille residens ad epulas tristitiam deponeret. Dumque rex, iubente ac postulante episcopo, laetitiam reciperet, coepit e contra episcopus tristis usque ad lacrimarum profusionem effici. Quem dum presbyter suus lingua patria, quam rex et domestici eius non nouerant, quare lacrimaretur, interrogasset: 'Scio,' inquit, 'quia non multo tempore uicturus est rex; numquam enim ante haec uidi humilem regem. Unde animaduerto illum citius ex hac uita rapiendum; non enim digna est haec gens talem habere rectorem.' Nec multo post dira antistitis<sup>2</sup> praesagia tristi regis funere, de quo supra diximus, impleta sunt.

Sed et ipse antistes Aidan non plus quam XII<sup>o</sup> post occisionem regis, quem amabat, die, id est pridie Kalendas Septembres, de saeculo ablatus<sup>3</sup>, perpetua laborum suorum a Domino praemia recepit.

Death of  
Aidan,  
Aug. 31, 651.

## CAP. XV.

*Ut episcopus Aidan nautis et tempestatem futuram praedixerit, et oleum sanctum, quo hanc sedarent, dederit.*

Qui cuius meriti fuerit, etiam miraculorum signis internus arbiter edocuit, e quibus tria memoriae causa ponere satis sit. Presbyter quidam, nomine Utta, multae grauitatis ac ueritatis uir, et ob id omnibus, | etiam ipsis principibus saeculi honorabilis, cum mitteretur Cantiam ob adducendam inde coniugem regi Osuio<sup>4</sup>, filiam uidelicet Æduini<sup>5</sup> regis Eanfledam, quae<sup>6</sup> occiso patre illuc fuerat adducta; qui terrestri quidem itinere illo uenire, sed nauigio cum uirgine

Miracles  
wrought by  
Aidan.

<sup>1</sup> eum C.    <sup>2</sup> antistitis C<sup>1</sup>. B.    <sup>3</sup> sublatus C.    <sup>4</sup> osuuii C; osuu N<sup>1</sup>; osuui N.<sup>2</sup> B. (*the final u being on an erasure*).    <sup>5</sup> eduini C. B. N.    <sup>6</sup> quia C. D. O<sup>1</sup>. &c.

redire disponebat, accessit ad episcopum Aidanum, obsecrans eum pro se suisque, qui tantum iter erant adgressuri, Domino supplicare. Qui benedicens illos ac Domino commendans, dedit etiam oleum sanctificatum: 'Scio,' inquit, 'quia, ubi nauem ascenderitis, tempestas uobis, et uentus contrarius superueniet; sed tu memento, ut hoc oleum, quod tibi do, mittas in mare; et statim quiescentibus uentis, serenitas maris uos laeta prosequetur, ac cupito itinere domum remittet.' Quae cuncta, ut praedixerat antistes, ex ordine completa sunt; et quidem inprimis furentibus undis pelagi, temtabant nautae anchoris in mare missis nauem retinere, neque hoc agentes aliquid proficiebant. Cumque uerrentibus undique et implere incipientibus nauem fluctibus, mortem sibi omnes imminere, et iamiamque adesse uiderent, tandem presbyter reminiscens uerba antistitis, adsumta ampulla<sup>1</sup> misit de oleo in pontum, et statim, ut praedictum erat, suo quieuit a feruore. Sicque factum est, ut uir Dei et per prophetiae spiritum<sup>2</sup> tempestatem praedixerit futuram, et per uirtutem eiusdem spiritus hanc exortam. quamuis corporaliter absens, sopiuerit. Cuius ordinem miraculi non quilibet dubius relator, sed fidelissimus mihi nostrae ecclesiae presbyter, Cynimund<sup>3</sup> uocabulo, narrauit, qui se hoc ab ipso Utta presbytero, in quo et per quem completum est, audisse perhibebat.

## CAP. XVI.

*Ut idem admotum ab hostibus urbi regiae ignem orando amouerit.*

Another  
miracle.

ALIUD eiusdem patris memorabile miraculum ferunt multi, qui nosse potuerunt. Nam tempore episcopatus eius, hostilis Merciorum exercitus Penda duce Nordanhymbrorum regiones impia clade longe lateque deuastans peruenit ad urbem usque regiam, quae ex

<sup>1</sup> -pula M.

<sup>2</sup> -tus N.

<sup>3</sup> cyne- C. B<sup>2</sup>.

Bebbae quondam reginae uocabulo cognominatur, eamque, quia<sup>1</sup> neque armis neque obsidione capere poterat, flammis absumere conatus est; discissisque<sup>2</sup> uiculis, quos in uicinia urbis inuenit, aduexit illo plurimam congeriem trabium, tignorum, parietum, uirgeorum, et tecti fenei, et his urbem in magna altitudine circumdedit a parte, quae terrae est contigua<sup>3</sup>, et dum uentum<sup>4</sup> oportunum cerneret, | inlato igne conburere urbem nisus<sup>5</sup> est. Quo tempore reuerentissimus antistes Aidan in insula Farne, quae duobus ferme milibus passuum ab urbe procul abest, morabatur. Illo enim saepius secretae orationis et silentii causa secedere consuevit; denique usque hodie locum sedis illius solitariae in eadem insula solent ostendere. Qui cum uentis ferentibus globos<sup>6</sup> ignis ac fumum supra muros urbis exaltari conspiceret, fertur eleuatis ad caelum oculis manibusque cum lacrimis dixisse: 'Uide, Domine, quanta mala facit Penda.' Quo dicto statim mutati ab urbe uenti in eos, qui accenderant, flammarum incendia retorserunt, ita ut aliquot laesi, omnes territi, inpugnare ultra urbem cessarent, quam diuinitus iuuari cognouerant<sup>7</sup>.

## CAP. XVII.

*Ut apposta ecclesiae, cui idem adcumbens<sup>8</sup> obiit, ardente cetera domu, flammis absumi nequiuert; et de interna uita eius.*

Hunc cum dies mortis egredi e corpore cogeret, completis annis episcopatus sui XVII<sup>9</sup> erat<sup>10</sup> in uilla regia non longe ab urbe, de qua praefati sumus. In hac enim habens ecclesiam et cubiculum, saepius ibidem diuertere ac manere, atque inde ad praedicandum circumquaque exire consueuerat; quod ipsum et in

Last illness and death of Aidan.  
A. D. 651.

<sup>1</sup> quam C.<sup>2</sup> discissisque M. N. C<sup>1</sup>.<sup>3</sup> continua N.<sup>4</sup> uentu M.<sup>5</sup> misus M.<sup>6</sup> globos N<sup>1</sup>.<sup>7</sup> -runt M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>8</sup> occumbens N.<sup>9</sup> XVI M. N.<sup>10</sup> erat om. M.

aliis uillis regiis<sup>1</sup> facere solebat, utpote nil propriae possessionis, excepta ecclesia sua et adiacentibus agellis habens. Tetenderunt ergo ei egrotanti tentorium ad occidentalem ecclesiae partem, ita ut ipsum tentorium parieti hereret ecclesiae. Unde factum est, ut adelinis destinae, quae extrinsecus ecclesiae pro munimine erat adposita, spiritum uitae exhalaret ultimum. Obiit autem septimo decimo episcopatus sui anno, pridie Kalendarum Septembrium. Cuius corpus mox inde translatum ad insulam Lindisfarnensium<sup>2</sup>, atque in cymiterio fratrum sepultum est. At interiecto tempore aliquanto, cum fabricata esset ibi basilica<sup>3</sup> maior, atque in honorem beatissimi apostolorum principis dedicata, illo ossa eius translata, atque ad dexteram altaris iuxta uenerationem tanto pontifice dignam condita sunt.

Burial and translation.

Finan succeeds.

Successit uero ei in episcopatum Finan, et ipse illo ab Hii Scottorum insula ac monasterio destinatus, ac tempore non paucio in episcopatu permansit. Contigit autem post aliquot annos, ut Penda Merciorum rex cum hostili exercitu haec in loca perueniens, cum cuncta, quae poterat, ferro flammaque perderet, uicus quoque ille<sup>4</sup>, in quo antistes obiit, una cum ecclesia

A miracle.

memorata flammis absumeretur. Sed mirum in modum sola illa destina, cui incumbens obiit, ab ignibus circum cuncta uorantibus absumi non potuit. Quo clarescente miraculo, mox ibidem ecclesia restaurata, et haec eadem destina in munimentum est parietis. ut ante fuerat, forinsecus adposita. Rursumque peracto tempore aliquanto, euenit per culpam incuriae uicum eundem et ipsam pariter ecclesiam ignibus consumi. Sed ne tunc quidem eandem<sup>5</sup> tangere flamma destinam ualebat; et cum magno utique miraculo ipsa eius foramina ingrediens, quibus aedificio erat adfixa, perederet, ipsam tamen ledere nullatenus sinebatur. Unde tertio

<sup>1</sup> regis M. N.    <sup>2</sup> lindispar- N.    <sup>3</sup> ecclesia C. D. O.    <sup>4</sup> ille om. M.    <sup>5</sup> eandem om. C. D. R. O.

aedificata ibi ecclesia, destinam illam non, ut antea, deforis in fulcimentum domus adposuerunt, sed intro ipsam ecclesiam in memoriam miraculi posuerunt, ubi intrantes genu flectere, ac misericordiae caelesti supplicare deberent. Constatque multos ex eo tempore gratiam sanitatis in eodem loco consecutos; quin etiam astulis ex ipsa destina excisis, et in aquam<sup>1</sup> missis, plures sibi suisque langorum remedia conquisiere.

Scripsi autem haec de persona et operibus uiri praefati; nequaquam in eo laudans aut<sup>2</sup> eligens hoc, quod de observatione paschae minus perfecte sapiebat; immo hoc multum detestans, sicut in libro, quem de temporibus composui, manifestissime probaui; sed quasi uerax historicus, simpliciter ea, quae de illo siue per illum sunt gesta, describens, et quae laude sunt digna in eius actibus laudans, atque ad utilitatem legentium memoriae commendans; studium uidelicet pacis et caritatis, continentiae et humilitatis; animum irae et auaritiae uictorem, superbiae simul et uanae gloriae contemptorem; industriam faciendi simul et docendi mandata caelestia, solertiam lectionis et uigiliarum, auctoritatem sacerdote<sup>3</sup> dignam, redarguendi superbos ac potentes, pariter et infirmos consolandi, ac pauperes recreandi uel defendendi clementiam. Qui, ut breuiter multa comprehendam, quantum ab eis, qui illum nouere, didicimus, nil ex omnibus, quae in euangelicis uel<sup>4</sup> apostolicis siue propheticis litteris facienda cognouerat, praetermittere, sed cuncta pro suis uiribus operibus explere curabat. Haec in praefato antistite multum complector et amo, quia nimirum haec Deo placuisse non ambigo. Quod autem pascha non suo tempore obseruabat, | uel canonicum eius tempus ignorans, uel suae gentis auctoritate ne agnitum sequeretur deuictus, non adprobo nec laudo. In quo

Character  
of Aidan.

<sup>1</sup> aqua B.

<sup>2</sup> uel M.

<sup>3</sup> -dotii N.

<sup>4</sup> siue B. C. on

erasure.



tamen hoc adprobo, quia in celebratione<sup>1</sup> sui paschae non aliud corde tenebat, uenerabatur, et praedicabat, quam quod nos; id est, redemptionem<sup>2</sup> generis humani per passionem, resurrectionem, ascensionem in caelos mediatoris Dei et hominum hominis Iesu Christi. 1 Tim. ii  
Unde et hanc non, ut quidam falso opinantur, XIII<sup>a</sup><sup>5</sup> luna in qualibet feria cum Iudaeis, sed die dominica semper agebat, a luna XIII<sup>a</sup> usque ad XX<sup>am</sup>; propter fidem uidelicet dominicae resurrectionis, quam una sabbati factam, propterque spem nostrae resurrectionis, quam eadem una sabbati, quae nunc dominica dies dicitur, ueraciter futuram cum sancta ecclesia credebat.

## CAP. XVIII.

*De uita uel<sup>3</sup> morte religiosi regis Sigberti<sup>4</sup>.*

Sigbert.  
King of the  
East  
Angles.

His temporibus regno Orientalium Anglorum, post Erpualdum<sup>5</sup> Redualdi<sup>6</sup> successorem, Sigbert<sup>7</sup> frater eius praefuit, homo bonus ac religiosus; qui dudum in Gallia, dum inimicitias Redualdi<sup>6</sup> fugiens exularet, lauacrum baptismi percepit, et patriam reuersus, ubi regno potitus est, mox ea, quae in Galliis<sup>8</sup> bene disposita uidit, imitari cupiens, instituit scolam, in qua pueri litteris<sup>9</sup> erudirentur; iuuante se episcopo Felice, quem de Cantia acceperat, eisque pedagogos ac magistros iuxta morem Cantuariorum praebente.

His retire-  
ment and  
death.

Tantumque rex ille caelestis regni amator factus est, ut ad ultimum, relictis regni negotiis, et cognato suo Ecgrice<sup>10</sup> commendatis, qui et antea partem eiusdem regni tenebat, intraret<sup>11</sup> monasterium, quod sibi fecerat, atque accepta tonsura pro aeterno magis regno militare curaret. Quod dum multo tempore faceret, contigit

<sup>1</sup> celebritate B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> -nis M.      <sup>3</sup> et N.      <sup>4</sup> -berchti C.  
<sup>5</sup> sic M. B. N; eorp- C.      <sup>6</sup> ræd- C.      <sup>7</sup> -berht C; -berch N.  
<sup>8</sup> gallis MSS.      <sup>9</sup> -riis M.      <sup>10</sup> -co B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>11</sup> intrauit M.

gentem Merciorum duce rege Penda aduersus Orientales Anglos in bellum procedere, qui, dum se inferiores in bello hostibus conspicerent, rogauerunt Sigberctum<sup>1</sup> ad confirmandum militem secum uenire in proelium. Illo nolente ac contradicente, inuitum monasterio eruentes duxerunt in certamen, sperantes minus animos militum trepidare, minus praesente duce quondam strenuissimo et eximio posse fugam meditari. Sed ipse professionis suae non inmemor, dum opimo<sup>2</sup> esset uallatus exercitu, nonnisi uirgam tantum habere in manu uoluit: occisusque est una cum rege Ecgrice<sup>3</sup>, et cunctus eorum, insistentibus paganis, caesus siue dispersus<sup>4</sup> exercitus.

f. 57 a. Successor autem regni eorum<sup>5</sup> factus est Anna<sup>6</sup> filius Eni | de regio genere, uir optimus, atque optimae genitor sobolis, de quibus in sequentibus suo tempore dicendum est; qui et ipse postea ab eodem pagano Merciorum duce, a quo et prodecessores<sup>7</sup> eius, occisus est.

## CAP. XIX.

*Ut Furseus apud Orientales Anglos monasterium fecerit; et de uisionibus uel sanctitate eius, cui etiam caro post mortem incorrupta testimonium perhibuerit.*

Uita  
Fursei  
incerto  
auctore,  
§ 1.  
ib. § 26.

UERUM dum adhuc Sigberct<sup>8</sup> regni infulas teneret, Life of St. Fursa.  
superuenit de Hibernia uir sanctus nomine Furseus, uerbo et actibus clarus, sed et egregiis insignis uirtutibus, cupiens pro Domino, ubicumque sibi oportuno inueniret, peregrinam ducere uitam. Qui cum ad prouinciam Orientalium peruenisset Anglorum<sup>9</sup>, susceptus est honorifice a rege praefato, et solitum sibi opus euangelizandi exsequens, multos et exemplo uirtutis, et incitamento sermonis, uel incredulos ad Christum

<sup>1</sup> -berchtum C; -berectum N.      <sup>2</sup> opinio N.      <sup>3</sup> -co B<sup>2</sup>;  
egerico C<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> dispersus est B.      <sup>5</sup> illorum N.      <sup>6</sup> anni N.  
<sup>7</sup> -sor C. B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>8</sup> -bercht C; -berech N.      <sup>9</sup> angl. peru. C. B<sup>2</sup>.

conuertit, uel iam credentes amplius in fide atque amore Christi confirmauit.

Ubi *quadam infirmitate corporis arreptus, angelica* Uita  
Fursei.  
§ 27.  
meruit *uisione perfrui, in qua admonitus est coepto uerbi*  
ministerio sedulus *insistere, uigiliisque consuetis et*  
orationibus indefessus *incumbere; eo quod certus sibi*  
exitus, sed incerta eiusdem exitus esset hora futura,  
dicente Domino: ‘*Uigilate itaque, quia nescitis diem* Matth.  
XXV. 13.  
*neque horam.*’ Qua uisione confirmatus, curauit *locum*  
*monasterii, quem a praefato rege Sighercto* <sup>1</sup> *acceperat,*  
uelocissime *construere, ac regularibus instituere dis-*  
ciplinis. Erat autum *monasterium siluarum et maris*  
*uicinitate amoenum, constructum in castro quodam,*  
quod lingua Anglorum Cnobheresburg<sup>2</sup>, id est urbs  
Cnobheri<sup>3</sup>, *uocatur; quod deinde rex prouinciae illius*  
*Anna ac nobiles quique augustioribus aedificiis ac donariis*  
*adornarunt.*

Erat autem uir iste de nobilissimo genere Scottorum, ib. § 1.  
sed longe animo quam carne nobilior. Ab ipso tempore  
pueritiae suae curam non modicam lectionibus sacris  
simul et monasticis exhibebat disciplinis, et, quod  
maxime sanctos decet, cuncta, quae agenda didicerat,  
sollicitus agere curabat.

His vision  
of the un-  
seen world.

Quid multa? Procedente tempore et ipse sibi mona- ib. §§ 2-4.  
sterium, in quo liberius caelestibus studiis uacaret, *con-*  
*struxit; ubi correptus infirmitate, sicut libellus de uita*  
eius conscriptus sufficienter edocet, raptus est e corpore;  
et a *uespera usque ad galli cantum corpore exutus, an-*  
*gelicorum agminum et aspectus intueri, et laudes beatas*  
meruit audire. Referre autem erat solitus<sup>4</sup>, quod  
aperte eos inter alia resonare audiret: ‘*Ibunt sancti* Ps.  
lxxxiii. 7.  
*| de uirtute in uirtutem*’; et iterum: ‘*Uidebitur Deus*  
*deorum in Sion.*’ Qui *reductus in corpore, et die tertia* ib. § 7.

<sup>1</sup> r. note <sup>1</sup>, p. 163.      <sup>2</sup> cnobheraes- B; cnobheres burrug N<sup>1</sup>;  
conob- N<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>3</sup> cnobhere N<sup>1</sup>; conob- N<sup>2</sup>; Cnocberesbruch Sl.

<sup>4</sup> solitus erat C. B<sup>2</sup>.

rursum eductus, uidit non solum maiora beatorum gaudia, sed et maxima malignorum spirituum certamina, qui crebris accusationibus inprobi iter illi ib. §§ 8. 9. caeleste intercludere contendebant; nec tamen, protegentibus eum angelis, quicquam proficiebant. De quibus omnibus siqui plenius scire uult (id est, quanta fraudis solertia daemones et actus eius, et uerba superflua, et ipsas etiam cogitationes quasi in libro descriptas replicauerint<sup>1</sup>; quae ab angelis sanctis, quae a uiris iustis sibi inter angelos apparentibus laeta uel tristia cognouerit), legat ipsum, de quo dixi, libellum uitae eius, et multum ex illo, ut reor, profectus spiritalis accipiet.

In quibus tamen unum est, quod et nos in hac historia ponere multis commodum duximus. Cum ib. § 9. ergo in altum esset elatus<sup>2</sup>, iussus est ab angelis, qui eum ducebant, *respicere, in mundum*. At ille oculos in inferiora deflectens, uidit quasi uallem tenebrosam subtus se in imo positam. Uidit et quattuor ignes in aere non multo ab inuicem spatio distantes. Et interrogans angelos, qui essent hi ignes, audiuit hos esse ignes, qui mundum succedentes essent consumturi. Unum mendacii, cum hoc, quod in baptismo abrenuntiare nos Satanae et omnibus operibus eius promisimus, minime inplemus; alterum cupiditatis, cum mundi diuitias amori caelestium praeponimus; tertium dissensionis, cum animos proximorum etiam in superuacuis rebus offendere non formidamus; quartum impietatis, cum infirmiores spoliare et eis fraudem facere pro nihilo ducimus. Crescentes uero paulatim ignes usque ad inuicem sese extenderunt, atque in inmensam<sup>3</sup> adunati sunt flammam. Cumque adpropinquassent, pertimescens ille dicit angelo: 'Domine, ecce ignis mihi adpropinquat.' At ille: 'Quod non incendisti<sup>4</sup>,' inquit, 'non ardebit in te; nam etsi terribilis iste ac

cf. Is.  
xliii. 2.

<sup>1</sup> -runt M.    <sup>2</sup> eleuatus C. D. H.    <sup>3</sup> -sum M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> accendisti Sl. but Surius has in-

*grandis esse rogos uidetur, tamen iuxta merita operum singulos examinat; quia uniuscuiusque cupiditas in hoc igni ardebit. Sicut enim quis ardet in corpore per illicitam uoluptatem<sup>1</sup>, ita solutus corpore ardebit per debitam poenam.<sup>2</sup> Tunc uidit unum de tribus angelis, qui sibi in tota utraque uisione ductores adfuerunt<sup>2</sup>, praeedentem ignes flammae diuidere, et duos ab utroque latere | circumuolantes ab ignium se periculo defendere.* f. 58 a.

*Uidit autem et daemones per ignem uolantes incendia bellorum contra iustos struere. Sequuntur aduersus ipsum accusationes malignorum, defensiones spirituum bonorum, copiosior caelestium agminum uisio; sed et uirorum de sua natione<sup>3</sup> sanctorum, quos olim sacerdotii gradu non ignobiliter potitos, fama iam uulgante, conpererat; a quibus non pauca, quae uel ipsi, uel omnibus, qui audire uellent, multum salubria essent, audiuit. Qui cum uerba finissent, et cum angelicis spiritibus ipsi quoque ad caelos redirent, remanserunt cum beato Furseo tres angeli, de quibus diximus, qui eum ad corpus referrent. Cumque praefato igni maximo adpropiaerent, diuisit quidem angelus, sicut prius, ignem flammae. Sed uir Dei ubi ad patefactam<sup>4</sup> usque inter flammam ianuam peruenit, arripientes inmundi spiritus unum de eis, quos<sup>5</sup> in ignibus torrebant, iactauerunt in eum, et contingentes humerum maxillamque eius incenderunt; cognouitque hominem, et, quia uestimentum eius morientis acceperit, ad memoriam reduxit. Quem angelus sanctus statim adprehendens in ignem reiecit. Dicebatque hostis malignus: ‘Nolite repellere, quem ante suscepistis; nam sicut bona eius peccatoris suscepistis, ita et de poenis eius participes esse debetis<sup>6</sup>.’ Contradicens angelus: ‘Non,’ inquit, ‘propter auaritiam, sed propter saluandam eius animam suscepit’; cessauitque ignis. Et conuersus ad eum angelus: ‘Quod incendisti,’*

Uita  
Fursei.  
§ 10.

ib. §§ 11-  
21.

ib. § 22

<sup>1</sup> uoluntatem M.    <sup>2</sup> -rant C.    <sup>3</sup> natio M.    <sup>4</sup> -tum M. B<sup>1</sup>.  
<sup>5</sup> quod M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> debeatis M.



inquit, *'hoc arsit in te. Si enim huius uiri in peccatis suis mortui pecuniam non accepisses<sup>1</sup>, nec poena eius in te arderet.'* Et plura locutus, quid erga salutem eorum, qui ad mortem poeniterent, esset agendum, salubri sermone docuit. Qui postmodum in corpore restitutus, omni uitae suae tempore signum *incendii*, quod in anima pertulit, uisibile cunctis in humero maxillaque portauit; *mirumque<sup>2</sup> in modum, quid anima* in occulto passa sit, *caro palam praemonstrabat.* Curabat autem semper, sicut et antea facere consuerat, omnibus opus uirtutum et exemplis ostendere, et praedicare sermonibus. Ordinem autem uisionum suarum illis solummodo, qui propter desiderium compunctionis interrogabant, exponere uolebat. Superest adhuc frater quidam<sup>3</sup> senior monasterii nostri, | qui narrare solet dixisse sibi quendam multum ueracem ac religiosum hominem, quod ipsum Furseum uiderit in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum, illasque uisiones ex ipsius ore audierit; adiciens<sup>4</sup>, quia tempus hiemis fuerit acerrimum<sup>5</sup> et glacie constrictum, cum sedens in tenui ueste uir ita inter dicendum, propter magnitudinem memorati timoris uel suauitatis, quasi in mediae aetatis caumate sudauerit.

Cum ergo, ut ad superiora redeamus, multis annis in Scottia uerbum Dei omnibus adnuntians, tumultus inruentium barbararum non facile ferret, relictis omnibus, quae habere uidebatur, ab ipsa quoque insula patria discessit; et paucis cum fratribus per Brettones in prouinciam Anglorum<sup>6</sup> deuenit, ibique praedicans uerbum, ut diximus, monasterium nobile construxit. Quibus rite gestis, cupiens se ab omnibus saeculi huius et ipsius quoque monasterii negotiis alienare, reliquit monasterii<sup>7</sup> et animarum curam fratri suo Fullano<sup>8</sup>, et presbyteris

He mi-  
grates to  
East  
Anglia.

<sup>1</sup> accipisses M. B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> mirandumque N.      <sup>3</sup> quidem M.  
<sup>4</sup> adiciens M.      <sup>5</sup> accerrimum M.      <sup>6</sup> per Britanniam in Sax-  
oniam Sl.      <sup>7</sup> -rii altered to -rium C.      <sup>8</sup> fullano altered to  
ultano N; foylanum Sl.

ib. § 23.

ib. §§ 24 -  
25.

f. 58 b.

ib. § 26.

ib. § 28.

Gobbano et Dicullo<sup>1</sup>, et ipse ab omnibus mundi rebus liber in anchoretica<sup>2</sup> conuersatione uitam finire disposuit. *Habuit alterum fratrem uocabulo Ultanum*, qui de monasterii probatione diuturna ad heremiticam peruenerat uitam. Hunc ergo solus petens, annum totum cum eo in continentia et orationibus, in cotidianis manuum uixit laboribus.

and thence  
to Gaul.

Dein turbatam incursione gentilium<sup>3</sup> prouinciam uidens, et monasteriis quoque periculum imminere praeuidens, dimissis<sup>4</sup> ordinate<sup>5</sup> omnibus nauigauit Galliam, ibique a rege Francorum Hloduo<sup>6</sup> uel patricio Ercunualdo<sup>7</sup> honorifice susceptus, monasterium construxit in loco Latineaco<sup>8</sup> nominato, ac non multo post infirmitate correptus diem clausit ultimum. Cuius corpus idem  
Ercunualdus<sup>9</sup> patricius accipiens, seruauit in porticu quodam<sup>10</sup> ecclesiae, quam<sup>11</sup> in uilla sua, cui nomen est Perrona, faciebat, donec ipsa ecclesia dedicaretur. Quod dum post dies XXVII esset factum, et corpus ipsum de porticu ablatum prope altare esset recondendum, inuentum est ita inlesum, ac si eadem hora de hac luce fuisset egressus. Sed et post annos IIII, constructa domuncula cultiore receptui corporis eiusdem, ad orientem altaris, adhuc sine macula corruptionis inuentum, ibidem digno cum honore translatus est; ubi merita illius multis saepe constat Deo operante claruisse uirtutibus. Haec et<sup>12</sup> de corporis eius incorruptione breuiter attigimus<sup>13</sup>, ut, quanta esset uiri sublimitas, legentibus notius existeret. | Quae cuncta in libello eius sufficientius, sed et de aliis commilitonibus ipsius, quisque legerit<sup>14</sup>, inueniet.

Uita  
Fursei,  
§ 29.

His death  
and burial.

ib. § 30.

f. 50 a.

<sup>1</sup> dicollo N.    <sup>2</sup> anchorita M.    <sup>3</sup> gentium C.    <sup>4</sup> dismisit M.  
<sup>5</sup> -tis Sl.    <sup>6</sup> hlodui N; lodowico Sl.    <sup>7</sup> hercun'u'aldo N;  
erchanaldo Sl.    <sup>8</sup> latiniaco N.    <sup>9</sup> ercunualdus C. B; her-  
cunualdus N.    <sup>10</sup> quadam C.    <sup>11</sup> quem C.    <sup>12</sup> et om. M.  
<sup>13</sup> attingimus M; attinguimus N<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>14</sup> legerit librum B. R<sup>2</sup>.

## CAP. XX.

*Ut, defuncto<sup>1</sup> Honorio, pontificatu sit functus Deusdedit ; et qui tempore illo Orientalium Anglorum, qui Hrofensis ecclesiae fuerint antistites.*

INTEREA, defuncto Felice Orientalium Anglorum episcopo post X et VII annos accepti episcopatus, Honorius loco eius ordinauit Thomam diaconum eius de prouincia Gyruiorum ; et hoc post quinque annos sui episcopatus de hac uita subtracto<sup>2</sup>, Berctgilsum<sup>3</sup>, cognomine Bonifatium, de prouincia Cantuariorum, loco eius substituit. Et ipse quoque Honorius, postquam metas sui cursus inpleuit, ex hac luce migravit anno ab incarnatione Domini DCLIII, pridie Kalendarum Octobrium ; et cessante episcopatu per annum et sex menses, electus est archiepiscopus cathedrae Doruuer-nensis<sup>4</sup> sextus Deusdedit de gente Occidentalium Saxonum ; quem ordinaturus uenit illuc Ithamar, antistes ecclesiae Hrofensis. Ordinatus est autem die VII<sup>mo</sup> Kalendarum Aprilium, et rexit ecclesiam annos VIIII, menses IIII<sup>5</sup> et duos dies ; et ipse, defuncto Ithamar, consecrauit pro eo Damianum, qui de genere Australium Saxonum erat oriundus.

Episcopal  
succession  
in East  
Anglia.

## CAP. XXI.

*Ut prouincia Mediterraneorum Anglorum sub rege<sup>6</sup> Peada<sup>7</sup> christiana sit facta.*

HIS temporibus Middilangli<sup>8</sup>, id est Mediterranei Angli, sub principe Peada<sup>9</sup> filio Pandan regis fidem et sacramenta ueritatis perceperunt. Qui cum esset iuuenis optimus, ac regis nomine ac persona dignissimus, praelatus est a patre regno gentis illius ; uenitque ad regem Nordanhymbrorum<sup>10</sup> Osuiu, postulans filiam

Conversion  
of the  
Middle  
Angles,  
A. D. 653.

<sup>1</sup> -tu M.    <sup>2</sup> protracto M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>3</sup> -gislum B ; berechtgilsum C ; berechgislum N.    <sup>4</sup> doruuorn- C.    <sup>5</sup> VII altered into IIII M ; septem H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>6</sup> sub rege om. N ; angl. . . rege om. B.    <sup>7</sup> peda N.    <sup>8</sup> middel- N. C<sup>2</sup>. B<sup>2</sup> ; -engli B. N ; -ængli C.    <sup>9</sup> peoda B<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>10</sup> norðan- C.

eius Alchfledam<sup>1</sup> sibi coniugem dari. Neque aliter, quod petebat, inpetrare potuit, nisi fidem Christi ac baptismum cum gente, cui praeerat, acciperet<sup>2</sup>. At ille audita praedicatione ueritatis, et promissione regni caelestis, speque resurrectionis ac futurae immortalitatis, libenter se Christianum fieri uelle confessus est, etiamsi uirginem non acciperet; persuasus maxime ad percipiendam fidem a filio regis Osuiu, nomine Alchfrido<sup>3</sup>, qui erat cognatus et amicus eius, habens sororem ipsius coniugem, uocabulo Cyniburgam<sup>4</sup>, filiam Pendan<sup>5</sup> regis.

Baptism of  
Peada.

Baptizatus est ergo a Finano episcopo cum omnibus, qui secum uenerant, comitibus ac militibus, eorumque famulis uniuersis in uico regis inlustri, qui uocatur Ad Murum. Et acceptis IIII presbyteris, qui ad docendam baptizandamque gentem illius et eruditione et uita uidebantur idonei, multo cum gaudio reuersus est. Erant autem presbyteri, Cedd<sup>6</sup>, et Adda, et Betti, et Diuma, quorum ultimus natione Scottus, ceteri fuere de Anglis. Adda autem erat frater Uttan presbyteri inlustri, et abbatis monasterii, quod uocatur Ad f. 59 b.  
Caprae Caput, cuius supra meminimus. Uenientes ergo in prouinciam memorati sacerdotes cum principe, praedicabant uerbum, et libenter auditi sunt, multique cotidie, et nobilium, et infirmorum<sup>7</sup>, abrenuntiata sorde idolatriae, fidei sunt fonte abluti.

Nec prohibuit Penda rex, quin etiam in sua, hoc est Merciorum, natione uerbum, siqui uellent audire, praedicaretur. Quin potius odio habebat, et dispiciebat eos, quos fide Christi inbutos opera fidei non habere deprehendit, dicens contemnendos esse eos et miseros, qui Deo suo, in quem crederent, oboedire contemnerent. Coepta sunt haec biennio ante mortem Pendan<sup>5</sup> regis. Ipso autem occiso, cum Osuiu rex Christianus regnum

<sup>1</sup> alchfledam C.    <sup>2</sup> acceperit M.    <sup>3</sup> alchfrido C.    <sup>4</sup> cymburgam N.    <sup>5</sup> pendam N.    <sup>6</sup> ced C.    <sup>7</sup> infirmorum H<sub>1</sub>. R<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>15</sub>.

eius acciperet, ut in sequentibus dicemus, factus est  
 Diuna<sup>1</sup> unus ex praefatis IIII sacerdotibus episcopus  
 Mediterraneorum Anglorum simul et Merciorum,  
 ordinatus a Finano episcopo. Paucitas enim sacer-  
 dotum cogebat unum antistitem duobus populis praefici.  
 Qui cum paucis sub tempore non paucam Domino  
 plebem adquisisset, defunctus est apud Mediterraneos  
 Anglos in regione, quae uocatur Infepplingum. Sus-  
 cepitque<sup>2</sup> pro illo episcopatum Ceollach, et ipse de  
 natione Scottorum, qui non multo post, relicto episco-  
 patu, reuersus est ad insulam Hii, ubi plurimorum  
 caput et arcem Scotti habuere coenobiorum<sup>3</sup>; succedente  
 illi in episcopatum Trumheri<sup>4</sup>, uiro religioso et mona-  
 chica uita instituto, natione quidem Anglorum<sup>5</sup>, sed  
 a Scottis ordinato episcopo. Quod temporibus Uulfheri  
 regis, de quo in sequentibus dicemus, factum est.

Episcopal  
 succession  
 in Mercia.

## CAP. XXII.

*Ut Orientales Saxones fidem, quam dudum abiecerant<sup>6</sup>, sub rege  
 Sigbercto<sup>7</sup>, praedicante Ceddō, receperint.*

Eo tempore etiam Orientales Saxones fidem, quam  
 olim, expulso Mellito antistite, abiecerant, instantia  
 regis Osuii<sup>8</sup> receperunt. Erat enim rex eiusdem  
 gentis Sigberct<sup>9</sup>, qui post Sigberctum<sup>10</sup> cognomento  
 Paruum regnauit, amicus eiusdem Osuii regis, qui,  
 cum frequenter ad eum in prouinciam Nordanhym-  
 brorum<sup>11</sup> ueniret, solebat eum hortari ad intellegendum  
 deos esse non posse, qui hominum manibus facti  
 essent; dei creandi materiam lignum uel lapidem esse  
 non posse, quorum recisurae uel igni absumerentur,  
 uel in uasa quaelibet humani usus formarentur, uel  
 certe dispectui habita foras proicerentur, et pedibus

Reconver-  
 sion of the  
 East  
 Saxons,  
 A. D. 653.

<sup>1</sup> diuina N.    <sup>2</sup> que om. M.    <sup>3</sup> coenubiorum M.    <sup>4</sup> -here  
 B; triumphere N.    <sup>5</sup> anglo M.    <sup>6</sup> -runt M.    <sup>7</sup> -berch-  
 to C.    <sup>8</sup> osuiui C, with final u altered to i.    <sup>9</sup> -berht C;  
 -bereeth N.    <sup>10</sup> -berectum N; sigeberchtum C.    <sup>11</sup> nordan- C.



conculcata in terram uerterentur. Deum potius intelligendum maiestate inconprehensibilem, humanis oculis inuisibilem, omnipotentem, aeternum, qui caelum et terram et humanum genus creasset, | regeret, et iudicaturus esset orbem in aequitate; cuius sedes aeterna non in uili et caduco metallo, sed in caelis esset credenda; meritoque intellegendum, quia omnes, qui uoluntatem eius, a quo creati sunt, discerent et facerent, aeterna ab illo praemia essent percepturi. Haec et huiusmodi multa cum rex Osuii regi Sigbereto<sup>1</sup> amicali et quasi fraterno consilio saepe inculcaret, tandem iuuante amicorum consensu credidit, et, facto cum suis consilio, cum exhortatione, fauentibus cunctis et adnuentibus fidei, baptizatus est cum eis a Finano episcopo in uilla regia, cuius supra meminimus, quae<sup>2</sup> cognominatur Ad Murum. Est enim iuxta murum<sup>3</sup>, quo olim Romani Britanniam insulam praecinxere, XII milibus<sup>4</sup> passuum a mari orientali secreta.

Igitur rex Sigbert<sup>5</sup> aeterni regni iam ciuis effectus. temporalis sui regni sedem repetiit<sup>6</sup>, postulans ab Osuii<sup>7</sup> rege, ut aliquos sibi doctores daret, qui gentem suam ad fidem Christi conuerterent, ac fonte salutari abluerent. At ille mittens ad prouinciam Mediterraneorum Anglorum clamauit ad se uirum Dei Cedd, et dato illi socio altero quodam presbytero, misit praedicare uerbum genti Orientalium Saxonum. Ubi cum omnia perambulantes multam Domino ecclesiam congregassent, contigit tempore quodam<sup>8</sup> eundem Cedd redire domum, ac peruenire ad ecclesiam Lindisfaronensem<sup>9</sup> propter conloquium Finani episcopi. Qui ubi prosperatum ei opus euangelii conperit, fecit eum episcopum in gentem Orientalium Saxonum, uocatis

f. 60 a.  
Ps. xcv.  
13.

Baptism of  
Sigbert.

Mission  
and con-  
secration  
of Cedd.

<sup>1</sup> -berchto C; -berecto N. <sup>2</sup> qui MSS. <sup>3</sup> est . . . murum om. B.  
<sup>4</sup> milia C. <sup>5</sup> -berht C; -berect N. <sup>6</sup> petiit M. at beginning of  
a line. <sup>7</sup> osuio N. C<sup>2</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>. <sup>8</sup> quadam M. <sup>9</sup> -farnensem C.

ad se in ministerium ordinationis aliis duobus episcopis. Qui accepto gradu episcopatus rediit ad provinciam, et maiore auctoritate coeptum opus explens. fecit per loca ecclesias, presbyteros et diaconos ordinavit, qui se in verbo fidei et ministerio baptizandi adiuuarent, maxime in ciuitate, quae lingua Saxonum Ythancaestir<sup>1</sup> appellatur, sed et in illa, quae Tilaburg<sup>2</sup> cognominatur; quorum prior locus est in ripa Pentæ<sup>3</sup> amnis, secundus in ripa Tamensis. In quibus, collecto examine famulorum Christi, disciplinam uitae regularis, in quantum rudes adhuc capere poterant, custodiri<sup>4</sup> docuit.

Cumque tempore non paucō in praefata prouincia, gaudente rege, congaudente uniuerso populo, uitae caelestis institutio cotidianum sumeret augmentum, contigit ipsum regem instigante omnium | bonorum inimico, propinquorum suorum manu interfici. Erant autem duo germani fratres, qui hoc facinus patrarunt; qui cum interrogarentur, quare hoc facerent, nil aliud respondere potuerunt, nisi ob<sup>5</sup> hoc se iratos fuisse et inimicos regi, quod ille nimium suis parcere soleret<sup>6</sup> inimicis, et factas ab eis iniurias mox obsecrantibus placida mente dimitteret. Talis erat culpa regis, pro qua occideretur, quod euangelica praecepta deuoto corde seruaret. In qua tamen eius morte innoxia, iuxta praedictum uiri Dei, uera est eius culpa punita. Habuerat enim unus ex his, qui eum occiderunt, comitibus illicitum coniugium; quod cum episcopus prohibere et corrigere non posset, excommunicauit<sup>7</sup> eum atque omnibus, qui se audire uellent, praecepit, ne domum eius intrarent, neque de cibis illius acciperent. Contempsit autem rex praeceptum, et rogatus

Murder of  
Sigbert.

1. 60 b.

<sup>1</sup> -ter C; -tyr N.

<sup>2</sup> tiila- C<sup>1</sup>; tilla- C<sup>2</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>; -burug N.

<sup>3</sup> paente C<sup>1</sup>; pante C<sup>2</sup>; pente B<sup>1</sup>(?); pentæ B<sup>2</sup>; paentae N.

<sup>4</sup> -re C. N.

<sup>5</sup> ab N. C<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> solet M.

<sup>7</sup> excommuni-

cavit M. N.

a comite, intrauit epulaturus domum eius. Qui cum abisset, obuiauit ei antistes. At rex intuens eum, mox tremefactus desiluit <sup>1</sup> equo, ceciditque ante pedes eius, ueniam reatus <sup>2</sup> postulans. Nam et episcopus pariter desiluit <sup>1</sup>; sederat enim et ipse in equo. Iratus autem tetigit regem iacentem uirga, quam tenebat manu, et pontificali auctoritate protestatus: 'Dico tibi,' inquit, 'quia noluisti te continere a domu perdit et damnati illius, tu in ipsa domu mori habes.' Sed credendum est, quia talis mors uiri religiosi non solum talem culpam diluerit, sed etiam meritum eius auxerit; quia nimirum ob causam pietatis, quia propter obseruantiam mandatorum Christi contigit.

Successit autem Sigbereto <sup>3</sup> in regnum Suidhelm. filius Sexbaldi, qui baptizatus est ab ipso Cedde in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum, in uico regio, qui dicitur Rendlæsham <sup>4</sup>, id est mansio Rendili <sup>5</sup>; suscepitque eum ascendentem de fonte sancto Aediluald <sup>6</sup> rex ipsius gentis Orientalium Anglorum, frater Anna regis eorundem.

### CAP. XXIII.

*Ut idem episcopus Cedd <sup>7</sup> locum monasterii construendi ab Oidilualdo <sup>8</sup> rege accipiens orationibus et ieiuniis Domino consecrauerit; et de obitu ipsius.*

Founda-  
tion of  
Lasting-  
ham by  
Ethelwald  
of Deira.

SOLEBAT autem idem uir Domini, cum apud Orientales Saxones episcopatus officio fungeretur, saepius etiam suam, id est Nordanhymbrorum, prouinciam exhortandi gratia reuisere: quem cum Oidiluald <sup>9</sup>, filius Osualdi regis, qui in Derorum <sup>10</sup> partibus regnum habebat, uirum sanctum et sapientem, probumque moribus uideret, postulauit <sup>11</sup> eum possessionem terrae aliquam

<sup>1</sup> -liuit C. N.      <sup>2</sup> reatus sui B.      <sup>3</sup> -bercto C.      <sup>4</sup> raend-  
lesham C.      <sup>5</sup> raendili C.      <sup>6</sup> aeðil- C; edil- N.      <sup>7</sup> cedda C.

<sup>8</sup> cedil- N; oidilualdo C.      <sup>9</sup> oedil- C.      <sup>10</sup> deirorum B.

<sup>11</sup> -uitque M.

f. 61 a. a se ad construendum monasterium accipere, in quo ipse rex et frequentius ad deprecandum | Dominum uerbumque audiendum aduenire, et defunctus sepeliri deberet. Nam et se ipsum fideliter credidit multum iuuari eorum orationibus cotidianis, qui illo in loco Domino seruirent. Habuerat autem idem rex secum fratrem germanum eiusdem episcopi, uocabulo Caelin, uirum aeque Deo deuotum, qui ipsi ac familiae ipsius uerbum et sacramenta fidei, erat enim presbyter, ministrare solebat, per cuius notitiam maxime ad diligendum noscendumque episcopum peruenit. Fauens ergo uotis regis antistes elegit<sup>1</sup> sibi locum monasterii construendi in montibus arduis ac remotis, in quibus latronum magis latibula, ac lustra ferarum, quam habitacula fuisse uidebantur hominum; ut, iuxta prophetiam Isaiae, 'in cubilibus, in quibus prius dracones habitabant, oriretur<sup>2</sup> uiror calami et iunci,' id est fructus bonorum operum ibi nascerentur, ubi prius uel bestiae commorari, uel homines bestialiter uiuere consueuerant.

Is. xxxv. 7. Studens autem uir Domini acceptum monasterii locum primo precibus ac ieiuniis a pristina flagitiorum sorde purgare, et sic in eo monasterii fundamenta iacere, postulauit a rege, ut sibi totum XL<sup>mae</sup> tempus, quod instabat, facultatem ac licentiam ibidem orationis causa demorandi concederet. Quibus diebus cunctis, excepta dominica, ieiunium ad uesperam usque<sup>3</sup> iuxta morem protelans, ne tunc quidem<sup>4</sup> nisi panis permodicum, et unum ouum gallinaceum<sup>5</sup> cum paruo lacte aqua mixto percipiebat. Dicebat enim hanc esse consuetudinem eorum, a quibus normam disciplinae regularis didicerat, ut accepta nuper loca ad faciendum monasterium uel ecclesiam, prius orationibus ac ieiuniis Domino consecrent. Cumque X dies XL<sup>mae</sup>

<sup>1</sup> eligit N.<sup>2</sup> orietur N; reproducing the Latin text of Isaiah.<sup>3</sup> usque om. C.<sup>4</sup> quidem added on margin M.<sup>5</sup> -cium M.

restarent, uenit qui clamaret eum ad regem. At ille, ne opus religiosum negotiorum regaliū causa intermitteretur, petiit presbyterum suum Cynibillum<sup>1</sup>, qui etiam frater germanus erat ipsius, pia coepta complere. Cui cum ille libenter adquiesceret, expleto studio ieiuniorum et orationis, fecit ibi monasterium, quod nunc Laestingaeu<sup>2</sup> uocatur, et religiosis moribus iuxta ritus Lindisfarnensium, ubi educatus erat, instituit.

Qui cum annis multis et in praefata prouincia episcopatum administraret, et huius quoque monasterii statutis propositis curam gereret, casu contigit, ut ad ipsum monasterium tempore mortalitatis adueniens, tactus | ibidem infirmitate corporis obiret. Qui primo f. 61 b. quidem foris sepultus est; tempore autem procedente, in eodem monasterio ecclesia est in honorem beatae Dei genetricis de lapide facta, et in illa corpus ipsius ad dexteram altaris reconditum.

Death of  
Cedd, A. D.  
664.

His  
brothers.

Dedit autem episcopus regendum post se monasterium fratri suo Ceadda, qui postea episcopus factus est, ut in sequentibus dicemus. IIII siquidem hi, quos diximus, germani fratres, Cedd, et Cynibill<sup>3</sup>, et Caelin, et Ceadda, quod raro inuenitur, omnes sacerdotes Domini fuere praeclari, et duo ex eis etiam summi sacerdotii gradu functi sunt. Cum ergo episcopum defunctum ac sepultum in prouincia Nordanhymbrorum audirent fratres, qui in monasterio eius erant in prouincia Orientalium Saxonum, uenerunt illo de suo monasterio homines circiter XXX, cupientes ad corpus sui patris, aut uiuere, si sic Deo placeret, aut morientes ibi sepeliri. Qui libenter a suis fratribus et commilitonibus suscepti, omnes ibidem superueniente praefatae pestilentiae clade defuncti sunt, excepto uno puerulo, quem orationibus patris sui a morte constat esse seruatum. Nam cum multo post haec tempore uiueret, et scripturis legendis operam daret, tandem

<sup>1</sup> added on margin C; cyne- B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> -gaig B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> -bil C. N.



didicit se aqua baptismatis non esse regeneratum, et mox fonte lauacri salutaris ablutus, etiam postmodum ad ordinem presbyterii promotus est, multisque in ecclesia utilis fuit ; de quo dubitandum non crediderim, quin intercessionibus, ut dixi, sui patris, ad cuius corpus dilectionis ipsius gratia uenerat, sit ab articulo mortis retentus, ut et ipse sic mortem euaderet aeternam, et aliis quoque fratribus ministerium uitae ac salutis docendo exhiberet.

## CAP. XXIV.

*Ut prouincia Merciorum, occiso rege Penda, fidem Christi suscepit ; et Osuii, pro adepta uictoria, possessiones et territoria Deo ad construenda monasteria dederit.*

His temporibus rex Osuii, cum acerbas<sup>1</sup> atque intolerabiles pateretur inruptiones saepe dicti regis Merciorum, qui fratrem eius occiderat, ad ultimum necessitate cogente promisit se ei innumera et maiora, quam credi potest, ornamenta regia uel donaria in pretium pacis largiturum, dummodo ille domum rediret, et prouincias regni eius usque ad internicionem uastare desineret. Cumque rex perfidus nullatenus precibus illius assensum praeberet, qui totam eius gentem a paruo usque ad magnum delere atque exterminare decreuerat, respexit ille ad diuinae auxilium pietatis, | quo ab impietate barbarica posset eripi ; uotoque se obligans : ‘ Si paganus,’ inquit, ‘ nescit accipere nostra donaria, offeramus ei, qui nouit, Domino Deo nostro.’ Uouit ergo, quia, si uictor existeret<sup>2</sup>, filiam suam Domino sacra uirginitate dicandam offerret. simul et XII possessiones praediorum ad construenda monasteria donaret ; et sic cum paucissimo exercitu se certamini dedit. Denique fertur, quia tricies maiorem pagani habuerint exercitum ;

Penda defeated and slain by Oswy at the Win-waed, Nov. 15, 655.

<sup>1</sup> aceruas M. C<sup>l</sup>. B<sup>l</sup>. N.<sup>2</sup> exstiterit B.

siquidem ipsi XXX legiones ducibus nobilissimis<sup>1</sup> instructas in bello habuere, quibus Osui rex cum Alchfrido<sup>2</sup> filio, perparuum, ut dixi, habens exercitum, sed Christo duce confisus, occurrit. Nam alius filius eius Ecgfrid<sup>3</sup> eo tempore in prouincia Merciorum apud reginam Cynuisse<sup>4</sup> obses tenebatur; filius autem Osualdi regis Oidiluald, qui eis auxilio esse debuerat, in parte erat aduersariorum, eisdemque contra patriam et patrum suum pugnaturis ductor exstiterat, quamuis ipso<sup>5</sup> tempore pugnandi sese pugnae subtraxerat, euentumque discriminis tuto in loco exspectabat. Inito ergo certamine fugati sunt et caesi pagani, duces regii XXX, qui ad auxilium uenerant, pene omnes interfecti; in quibus Aedilheri<sup>6</sup>, frater Anna regis Orientalium Anglorum, qui post eum regnauit, auctor ipse belli, perditis militibus siue auxiliis interemtus est<sup>7</sup>. Et quia prope fluuium Uinuaed<sup>8</sup> pugnatum est, qui tunc prae inundantia pluuiarum late alueum suum immo omnes ripas suas transierat<sup>9</sup>, contigit, ut multo plures aqua fugientes, quam bellantes perderet ensis.

Oswy's  
votive  
offerings.

Tum<sup>10</sup> rex Osui, iuxta quod Domino uouerat, pro conlata sibi uictoria gratias Deo referens dedit filiam suam Aelfledam<sup>11</sup>, quae uixdum unius anni aetatem inpleuerat, perpetua ei uirginitate consecrandam; donatis insuper XII possessiunculis terrarum, in quibus ablato studio militiae terrestres, ad exercendam militiam caelestem, supplicandumque pro pace gentis eius aeterna, deuotioni sedulae monachorum locus facultasque suppeteret. E quibus uidelicet possessiunculis sex in prouincia Derorum, sex in Berniciorum dedit. Singulae uero possessiones X erant familiarum, id est simul omnes CXX. Intrauit autem praefata regis

<sup>1</sup> nouilissimis C<sup>l</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> alhfrido C.    <sup>3</sup> eefrid N.    <sup>4</sup> cynuisse B. Here the original hand of H<sub>1</sub> resumes after the lacuna; see note <sup>5</sup>, p. 154.    <sup>5</sup> ipse N.    <sup>6</sup> aedilhere C; edilheri N.

<sup>7</sup> est om. M.    <sup>8</sup> uinued C. B. N.    <sup>9</sup> -rit M<sup>l</sup>.    <sup>10</sup> tunc C.

<sup>11</sup> aelbftedam B. N.

f. 62 b.

Osuui filia Deo dedicanda<sup>1</sup> monasterium, | quod nuncupatur Heruteu<sup>2</sup>, id est insula cerui, cui tunc Hild abbatissa praefuit. Quae post biennium comparata possessione X familiarum in loco, qui dicitur Strea-næshalch<sup>3</sup>, ibi monasterium construxit; in quo memorata regis filia primo discipula uitae regularis, deinde etiam magistra extitit, donec completo unde LX annorum numero, ad complexum et nuptias sponsi caelestis uirgo beata intraret. In quo monasterio et ipsa, et pater eius Osuii, et mater eius Aeanfled<sup>4</sup>, et pater matris eius<sup>5</sup> Aeduini<sup>6</sup>, et multi alii nobiles in ecclesia sancti apostoli Petri sepulti sunt. Hoc autem bellum rex Osuii in regione Loidis tertio decimo regni sui anno, XVII<sup>a</sup> die Kalendarum Decembrium cum magna utriusque populi utilitate confecit. Nam et suam gentem ab hostili paganorum depopulatione liberauit, et ipsam gentem Merciorum finitimarumque prouinciarum, desecto capite perfido, ad fidei Christianae gratiam conuertit.

Primus autem in prouincia Merciorum, simul et Lindisfarorum<sup>7</sup> ac Mediterraneorum Anglorum, factus est episcopus Diuma<sup>8</sup>, ut supra diximus, qui apud Mediterraneos Anglos defunctus ac sepultus est; secundus Cellach, qui relicto episcopatus officio uiuens ad Scottiam rediit, uterque de genere Scottorum; tertius Trumheri<sup>9</sup>, de natione quidem Anglorum, sed edoctus et ordinatus a Scottis, qui erat abbas in monasterio, quod dicitur Ingetlingum. Ipse est locus<sup>10</sup>, ubi occisus est rex Osuini<sup>11</sup>, ut supra meminimus. Nam regina Aeanfled<sup>12</sup> propinqua illius, ob castigationem necis eius iniustae, postulauit a rege Osuio<sup>13</sup>, ut do-

Mercian  
bishops.<sup>1</sup> dicanda B.<sup>2</sup> heorutesig B<sup>2</sup>.<sup>3</sup> streaneshalh C;

streonaeshalh B.

<sup>4</sup> eanfled C; enflet N<sup>2</sup>.<sup>5</sup> osuiu ...matris eius om. N<sup>1</sup>.<sup>6</sup> eduini B<sup>1</sup>. N; -ne C<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>; -nus C<sup>3</sup>.<sup>7</sup> -fororum N.<sup>8</sup> diuina N. and probably C<sup>1</sup>.<sup>9</sup> -here C<sup>1</sup>. B.<sup>10</sup> locus om. M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>11</sup> -ne B<sup>2</sup>.<sup>12</sup> eanfled C. B. N.<sup>13</sup> osuiuC. B<sup>1</sup>. N.

Extent of  
Oswy's  
power.

naret ibi<sup>1</sup> locum monasterio construendo<sup>2</sup> praefato Dei famulo Trumheræ<sup>3</sup>, quia propinquus et ipse erat regis occisi; in quo uidelicet monasterio orationes assiduæ pro utriusque regis, id est et occisi, et eius, qui occidere iussit, salute aeterna fierent. Idem autem rex Osuii tribus annis post occisionem Pendan regis, Merciorum genti necnon et ceteris australium prouinciarum populis praefuit; qui etiam gentem Pictorum maxima ex parte regno Anglorum subiecit.

Murder of  
Peada.  
Mercia  
throws off  
the North-  
umbrian  
yoke.

Quo tempore donauit praefato Peada<sup>4</sup> filio regis Pendan<sup>5</sup>, eo quod esset cognatus suus, regnum Australium Merciorum, qui sunt, ut dicunt, familiarum quinque milium, discreti fluuiio Treanta<sup>6</sup>, ab Aquilonaribus<sup>7</sup> Mercii<sup>8</sup>, quorum terra est familiarum VII milium. | Sed idem Peada proximo uere multum f. 63 a. nefarie peremptus est, proditione, ut dicunt, coniugis suae in ipso tempore festi paschalis. Conpletis autem tribus annis post interfectionem Pendan regis, rebel- larunt aduersus regem Osuii duces gentis Merciorum, Immin, et Eafa<sup>9</sup>, et Eadberet<sup>10</sup>, leuato in regem Uulfhere filio eiusdem Pendan adulescente, quem occultum seruauerant, et eiectis<sup>11</sup> principibus regis non proprii, fines suos fortiter simul et libertatem receperunt; sicque cum suo rege liberi, Christo uero regi pro sempiterno in caelis regno seruire gaudebant. Praefuit autem rex idem genti Merciorum annis X et VII, habuitque primum episcopum Trumheri<sup>12</sup>, de quo supra diximus, secundum Iaruman<sup>13</sup>, tertium Ceaddan, quartum Uynfridum. Omnes hi per ordinem sibimet succedentes sub rege Uulfhere, gentis Merciorum episcopatu sunt functi.

<sup>1</sup> illi M.

<sup>2</sup> -di B.

<sup>3</sup> -rae C.

<sup>4</sup> peadan C; peoda B<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> penda C.

<sup>6</sup> treante N.

<sup>7</sup> -nalibus M.

<sup>8</sup> -cis MSS.

<sup>9</sup> eaba C.

<sup>10</sup> -berht C; -brect N.

<sup>11</sup> iectis M. B<sup>1</sup>. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>12</sup> -re B.

<sup>13</sup> -mann N.

## CAP. XXV.

*Ut quaestio sit mota de tempore paschae aduersus eos, qui de Scottia uenerant.*

INTEREA Aidano episcopo de hac uita sublato, Finan pro illo gradum episcopatus a Scottis ordinatus ac missus acceperat. Qui in insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi congruam; quam tamen more Scottorum non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque harundine textit; quam tempore sequente reuerentissimus archiepiscopus Theodorus in honore beati apostoli Petri dedicauit. Sed et episcopus loci ipsius Eadberct<sup>1</sup> ablata harundine, plumbi lamminis eam totam, hoc est et tectum, et ipsos quoque parietes eius, cooperire curauit.

Finan builds a wooden church at Lindisfarne.

His<sup>2</sup> temporibus quaestio facta est frequens et magna de obseruatione paschae, confirmantibus eis, qui de Cantia uel de Galliis<sup>3</sup> aduenerant, quod Scotti dominicum paschae diem contra uniuersalis ecclesiae morem celebrarent. Erat<sup>4</sup> in his acerrimus ueri paschae defensor nomine Ronan, natione quidem Scottus, sed in Galliae uel Italiae partibus regulam ecclesiasticae<sup>5</sup> ueritatis edoctus. Qui cum Finano configens, multos quidem correxit, uel ad solertiores ueritatis inquisitionem accendit, nequaquam tamen Finanum emendare potuit; quin potius, quod esset homo ferocis animi, acerbior<sup>6</sup> castigando et apertum ueritatis aduersarium reddidit. Obseruabat autem Iacob diaconus quondam, ut supra docuimus, uenerabilis archiepiscopi Paulini, | uerum et catholicum pascha cum omnibus, quos ad correctiorem uiam erudire poterat. Obseruabat et regina Eanfled cum suis, iuxta quod in Cantia fieri uiderat, habens secum de Cantia presbyterum

The Paschal controversy.

<sup>1</sup> -berht C.

<sup>2</sup> O, begins a new chapter here.

<sup>3</sup> sic C;

gallis M. B.

<sup>4</sup> erat enim C. W. D. &c.

<sup>5</sup> ecclesiasticae M.

<sup>6</sup> aceriorem M. C<sup>1</sup>. B. N.



catholicae obseruationis, nomine Romanum. Unde nonnumquam contigisse fertur illis temporibus, ut bis in anno uno pascha celebraretur, et cum rex pascha dominicum solutis ieiuniis faceret, tum regina cum suis persistens adhuc in ieiunio diem palmarum celebraret. Haec autem dissonantia paschalis obseruantiae uiuente Aidano patienter ab omnibus tolerabatur, qui patenter intellexerant, quia, etsi pascha contra morem eorum, qui ipsum miserant, facere non potuit, opera tamen fidei, pietatis, et dilectionis, iuxta morem omnibus sanctis consuetum, diligenter exsequi curauit. Unde ab omnibus, etiam his, qui de pascha aliter sentiebant, merito diligebatur; nec solum a mediocribus, uerum ab ipsis quoque episcopis, Honorio Cantuariorum, et Felice Orientalium Anglorum, uenerationi habitus est.

Colman  
succeeds  
Finan.

Defuncto autem Finano, qui post illum fuit, cum Colmanus in episcopatum succederet, et ipse missus a Scottia, grauior<sup>1</sup> de obseruatione paschae, necnon et de aliis ecclesiasticae uitae disciplinis controuersia nata est. Unde merito<sup>2</sup> mouit haec quaestio sensus et corda multorum, timentium, ne forte accepto Christianitatis uocabulo, in uacuum currerent aut euecurrerent. Peruenit et ad ipsas principum aures, Osui uidelicet regis, et filii eius Alehfridi<sup>3</sup>. Quia nimirum Osui a Scottis edoctus ac baptizatus, illorum etiam lingua optime inbutus, nil melius, quam quod illi docuissent, autumabat; porro Alehfrid magistrum habens eruditionis Christianae Ulfridum uirum doctissimum (nam et Romam prius propter doctrinam ecclesiasticam adierat, et apud *Dalfinum archiepiscopum* Galliarum Lugdoni<sup>4</sup> multum temporis egerat, a quo etiam *tonsurae ecclesiasticae coronam suscepit*), huius doctrinam omnibus Scottorum traditionibus iure praefarendam sciebat; unde ei etiam donauerat monaste-

cf. Gal.  
ii. 2.

Eddius,  
c. 6.

ib. c. 8.

<sup>1</sup> grauior M.    <sup>2</sup> merito om. M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>3</sup> alehridi N.    <sup>4</sup> lugduni C.

rium XL familiarum in loco, qui dicitur *Inhryppum*. Quem uidelicet locum paulo ante eis, qui Scottos sequebantur, in possessionem monasterii dederat. Sed quia illi postmodum | data sibi optione magis loco cedere, quam suam mutare consuetudinem uolebant, dedit eum illi, qui dignam loco et doctrinam haberet, et uitam. Uenerat eo tempore *Agilbertus*<sup>1</sup> Occidentali-um Saxonum *episcopus*, cuius supra meminimus, amicus *Alchfridi*<sup>2</sup> regis et *Uilfridi abbatis*, ad prouinciam Nordanhymbrorum<sup>3</sup>, et apud eos aliquandiu demorabatur; qui etiam Uilfridum rogatu Alchfridi in praefato suo monasterio *presbyterum* fecit. Habebat autem secum ipse *presbyterum* nomine Agathonem<sup>4</sup>. Mota ergo ibi quaestione de pascha, uel tonsura, uel aliis rebus ecclesiasticis, dispositum est, ut in monasterio, quod dicitur *Streneshalc*<sup>5</sup>, quod interpretatur sinus Fari, cui tunc *Hild* abbatissa Deo deuota femina praefuit, synodus fieri, et haec quaestio terminari deberet. Ueneruntque illo reges ambo, pater scilicet et filius; *episcopi*, *Colman* cum clericis suis de Scottia, *Agilbertus*<sup>6</sup> cum *Agathone* et *Uilfrido presbyteris*. Iacobus et Romanus in horum parte erant; *Hild* abbatissa cum suis in parte Scottorum, in qua erat etiam uenerabilis episcopus *Cedd*, iamdudum ordinatus a Scottis, ut supra docuimus, qui et<sup>7</sup> interpret in eo concilio uigilantissimus utriusque partis extitit.

Primusque *rex Osui* praemissa<sup>8</sup> praefatione, quod oporteret eos, qui uni Deo seruirent, unam uiuendi regulam tenere, nec discrepare in celebratione sacramentorum caelestium, qui unum omnes in caelis regnum expectarent; inquirendum potius, quae esset uerior traditio, et hanc ab omnibus communiter esse sequendam; iussit primo dicere *episcopum* suum

Synod of  
Whitby,  
A. D. 664.

Oswy's  
opening  
speech.

<sup>1</sup> -berhtus C.  
thonem N.

<sup>6</sup> -berchtus C. B.

<sup>2</sup> alhfridi C.

<sup>5</sup> streneshalc C; streanaeshalc B; -alc N.

<sup>7</sup> et om. C.

<sup>3</sup> norðan- C.

<sup>8</sup> -misa M.

<sup>4</sup> ago

Colman  
defends the  
Celtic  
usage,

*Colmanum*, qui esset ritus et unde originem ducens ille, quem ipse sequeretur. Tum<sup>1</sup> *Colmanus*: ‘Pascha,’ inquit, ‘hoc<sup>2</sup>, quod agere soleo, a maioribus meis accepi, qui me huc episcopum miserunt, quod omnes *patres nostri*, uiri Deo dilecti, eodem modo celebrasse noscuntur<sup>3</sup>. Quod ne cui contemnendum et reprobandum esse uideatur, ipsum est, quod beatus euangelista *Iohannes*, discipulus specialiter Domino dilectus, cum omnibus, quibus praeerat, ecclesiis celebrasse legitur.’ Quo haec et his similia dicente, iussit rex et *Agilberetum*<sup>4</sup> proferre in medium morem suae observationis, unde initium haberet, uel qua hunc auctoritate sequeretur. Respondit *Agilberctus*<sup>4</sup>: ‘Loquatur, obsecro, | uice mea discipulus meus *Uilfrid presbyter*, quia f. 64 b. unum ambo sapimus cum ceteris, qui hic adsident, ecclesiasticae traditionis cultoribus; et ille melius ac manifestius ipsa lingua Anglorum, quam ego per interpretem. potest explanare, quae sentimus.’ Tum *Uilfrid*, iubente rege, ut diceret, ita exorsus est: ‘Pasca, quod facimus,’ inquit, ‘uidimus Romae, ubi beati apostoli Petrus et Paulus uixere, docuere, passi sunt, et sepulti, ab omnibus celebrari; hoc in Italia, hoc in Gallia, quas discendi uel orandi studio pertransiimus, ab omnibus agi conspeximus<sup>5</sup>; hoc Africam, Asiam, Aegyptum, Greciam, et omnem orbem, quaecunque Christi ecclesia diffusa est. per diuersas nationes et linguas, uno ac non diuerso temporis ordine geri conperimus; praeter hos tantum et obstinationis eorum complices, Pictos dico et Brettones. cum quibus de duabus ultimis oceani insulis, et his non totis, contra totum orbem stulto labore pugnant.’ Cui haec dicenti respondit *Colmanus*: ‘Mirum quare stultum appellare uelitis laborem nostrum, in quo tanti apostoli, qui super pectus Domini recumbere dignus

Wilfrid.  
the Roman.

<sup>1</sup> tunc B.

<sup>2</sup> hoc om. M.

<sup>3</sup> cognoscuntur C. D.

<sup>4</sup> -bercht- C; -bereet- N.

<sup>5</sup> conpeximus M.

fuit, *exempla* sectamur; cum ipsum sapientissime uixisse omnis mundus nouerit.' At Uilfridus: 'Absit.' inquit, 'ut Iohannem stultitiae reprehendamus, cum scita legis Mosaicae iuxta litteram seruaret, iudaizante adhuc in multis ecclesia, nec subito ualentibus apostolis omnem legis obseruantiam, quae a Deo instituta est, abdicare (quomodo simulacra, quae a daemonibus inuenta sunt, repudiare omnes, qui ad fidem ueniunt, necesse est), uidelicet ne scandalum facerent eis, qui inter gentes erant Iudaeis. Hinc est enim, quod

Act. xvi. 3. Paulus Timotheum circumcidit, quod hostias in templo  
ib. xxi. 26. immolauit, quod cum Aquila et Priscilla caput Chorinti  
ib. xviii. 18. totondit; ad nihil uidelicet utile, nisi ad scandalum uitandum Iudaeorum. Hinc <sup>1</sup> quod eidem Paulo Iacobus ait: "Uides, frater, quot milia sunt in Iudaeis, qui crediderunt; et omnes hi aemulatores sunt legis." Nec tamen hodie clarescente per mundum euangelio necesse est, immo nec licitum fidelibus uel circumcidi, uel hostias Deo uictimarum offerre carnalium. Itaque Iohannes secundum legis consuetudinem XIII<sup>a</sup> die mensis primi ad uesperam incipiebat celebrationem festi paschalis, nil curans, utrum haec sabbato, an alia qualibet feria proueniret. | At uero Petrus cum Romae praedicaret, memor, quia Dominus prima sabbati resurrexit a mortuis, ac mundo spem resurrectionis contulit, ita pascha faciendum intellexit <sup>2</sup>, ut secundum consuetudinem ac praecepta legis XIII<sup>am</sup> lunam primi mensis, aequae sicut Iohannes, orientem ad uesperam semper exspectaret; et hac exorta, si dominica dies, quae tunc prima sabbati uocabatur, erat mane uentura, in ipsa uespera pascha dominicum celebrare incipiebat, quomodo et nos omnes <sup>3</sup> hodie facere solemus. Sin autem dominica non proximo mane post lunam XIII<sup>am</sup>, sed XVI<sup>a</sup> aut XVII<sup>a</sup> aut alia qualibet luna usque ad XXI<sup>am</sup> esset uentura, exspectabat eam <sup>4</sup>, et

<sup>1</sup> hinc est B.    <sup>2</sup> -legit M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> omnes *om.* M.    <sup>4</sup> eum M. N<sup>1</sup>. C.

Act. xvi. 3.

ib. xxi. 26.

ib. xviii.  
18.

ib. xxi. 20.

f. 65 a.

praecedente sabbato, uespere, sacrosancta paschae sollemnia inchoabat; sicque fiebat, ut dominica paschae dies nonnisi a XV<sup>a</sup> luna usque ad XXI<sup>am</sup> seruaretur. Neque haec euangelica et apostolica traditio legem soluit, sed potius adimplet, in qua obseruandum pascha a XIII<sup>a</sup> luna primi mensis ad uesperam usque ad XXI<sup>am</sup> lunam eiusdem mensis ad uesperam praeceptum est; in quam obseruantiam imitandam omnes beati Iohannis successores in Asia post obitum eius, et omnis per orbem ecclesia conuersa est. Et hoc esse uerum pascha, hoc solum fidelibus celebrandum, Niceno concilio non statutum nouiter, sed confirmatum est, ut ecclesiastica docet historia. Unde constat uos, Colmane, neque Iohannis, ut autumatis, exempla sectari, neque Petri, cuius traditioni scientes contradicitis, neque legi, neque euangelio in obseruatione uestri paschae congruere. Iohannes enim ad legis Mosaicae decreta tempus paschale<sup>1</sup> custodiens, nil de prima sabbati curabat; quod uos non facitis, qui nonnisi prima sabbati pascha celebratis. Petrus a XV<sup>a</sup> luna usque ad XXI<sup>am</sup> diem paschae dominicum celebrabat; quod uos non facitis, qui a XIII<sup>a</sup> usque ad XX<sup>am</sup> lunam diem dominicum paschae obseruatis; ita ut XIII<sup>a</sup> luna ad uesperam saepius pascha incipiatis, cuius neque lex ullam fecit mentionem, neque auctor ac dator euangelii Dominus in ea, sed in XIII<sup>a</sup> uel uetus pascha manducauit ad uesperam, uel noui testamenti sacramenta in commemorationem suae passionis ecclesiae celebranda tradidit. Item lunam XXI<sup>am</sup>, quam lex maxime celebrandam commendauit, a celebratione uestri paschae | funditus eliminatis; sicque, ut f. 65 b. dixi, in celebratione summae festiuitatis neque Iohanni, neque Petro, neque legi, neque euangelio concordatis.’

Reply of  
Colman.

His contra Colmanus: ‘Numquid,’ ait, ‘Anatolius uir sanctus, et in praefata historia ecclesiastica multum

<sup>1</sup> paschae M<sup>l</sup>.



laudatus, legi uel euangelio contraria sapuit, qui a XIII<sup>ia</sup> usque ad XX<sup>am</sup> pascha celebrandum scripsit? Numquid reuerentissimum patrem nostrum Columbam et successores eius uiros Deo dilectos, qui eodem modo pascha fecerunt, diuinis paginis contraria<sup>1</sup> sapuisse uel egisse credendum est? cum plurimi fuerint in eis, quorum sanctitati caelestia signa, et uirtutum quae fecerunt miracula testimonium prae-buerunt; quos ipse sanctos esse non dubitans, semper eorum uitam, mores, et disciplinam sequi non desisto.’

At Uilfridus<sup>2</sup>: ‘Constat,’ inquit, ‘Anatolium uirum sanctissimum, doctissimum, ac laude esse dignissimum; sed quid uobis cum illo, cum nec eius decreta seruetis? Ille enim in pascha suo regulam utique ueritatis sequens, circulum X et VIII annorum posuit, quem uos aut ignoratis, aut agnitum et a tota<sup>3</sup> Christi ecclesia custoditum pro nihilo contemnitis. Ille sic in pascha dominico XIII<sup>iam</sup> lunam computauit, ut hanc eadem ipsa die more Aegyptiorum XV<sup>am</sup> lunam ad uesperam esse fateretur. Sic item XX<sup>am</sup> die dominico paschae adnotauit, ut hanc declinata eadem die esse XXI<sup>am</sup> crederet. Cuius regulam distinctionis uos ignorasse probat, quod aliquoties pascha manifestissime ante plenilunium, id est in XIII<sup>ia</sup> luna, facitis. De patre autem uestro Columba et sequacibus eius, quorum sanctitatem uos imitari, et regulam ac praecepta caelestibus signis confirmata sequi perhibetis, possem<sup>4</sup> respondere; quia multis in iudicio dicentibus Domino, quod in nomine eius prophetauerint<sup>5</sup>, et daemonia eiecerint<sup>6</sup>, et uirtutes multas fecerint, responsurus sit Dominus, quia numquam eos nouerit. Sed absit, ut hoc de patribus uestris dicam, quia iustius multo est de incognitis bonum credere quam malum. Unde et illos Dei famulos ac Deo dilectos esse non nego, qui

Reply of  
Wilfrid.

cf. Matth.  
vii. 22, 23.

<sup>1</sup> contra B.

<sup>2</sup> uuil.-C.

<sup>3</sup> toto M.

<sup>4</sup> possum C.

<sup>5</sup> -runt N, and so the following verbs.

<sup>6</sup> iecerint M; eiecerint B.

simplicitate rustica, sed intentione pia Deum dilexerunt. Neque illis multum <sup>1</sup> obesse <sup>2</sup> reor talem paschae obseruantiam, quamdiu nullus aduenerat, qui eis instituti perfectioris decreta, | quae sequerentur, ostenderet; f. 66 a. quos utique credo, siqui tunc ad eos catholicus calculator adueniret, sic <sup>3</sup> eius monita fuisse secuturos, quomodo ea, quae nouerant ac didicerant, Dei mandata probantur fuisse secuti. Tu autem et socii tui, si audita decreta sedis apostolicae, immo uniuersalis ecclesiae, et haec litteris sacris confirmata sequi contemnitis, absque ulla dubietate <sup>4</sup> peccatis. Etsi enim patres tui sancti fuerunt, numquid uniuersali, quae per orbem est, ecclesiae Christi eorum est paucitas uno de angulo extremae <sup>5</sup> insulae praeferenda? Et si sanctus erat, ac potens uirtutibus ille Columba uester, immo et noster, si Christi erat, num praeferri potuit beatissimo apostolorum principi, cui Dominus ait: “*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praeualebunt aduersus* <sup>6</sup> *eam, et tibi dabo clauis regni caelorum* <sup>7</sup>”?

Matth.  
xvi. 18. 10.

Conclusion  
of Oswy.

Haec perorante Uilfrido <sup>8</sup>, dixit rex: ‘Uerene, Colmane, haec illi Petro dicta sunt a Domino?’ Qui ait: ‘Uere, rex.’ At ille: ‘Habetis,’ inquit, ‘uos proferre <sup>9</sup> aliquid tantae potestatis uestro Columbae datum?’ At ille ait <sup>10</sup>: ‘Nihil.’ Rursum rex: ‘Si utrique uestrum,’ inquit, ‘in hoc sine ulla controuersia consentiunt, quod haec principaliter Petro dicta, et ei clauis regni caelorum sint datae <sup>11</sup> a Domino?’ Responderunt: ‘Etiam,’ utrique. At ille ita conclusit: ‘Et ego uobis dico, quia hic est *ostiarius ille*, cui ego *contradicere* nolo; sed, in quantum noui uel ualeo,

<sup>1</sup> multum, inserted on margin, M.    <sup>2</sup> esse B.    <sup>3</sup> sicque M. H<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>4</sup> dubitatione M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>5</sup> extrimae M.    <sup>6</sup> -sum C.    <sup>7</sup> from B. C; M has petram et cetera usque regni caelorum; so H<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>8</sup> uuil- C.    <sup>9</sup> profere M.    <sup>10</sup> ait ille M, at being written above the line.  
<sup>11</sup> dati M. C<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>1</sup>.

huius cupio in omnibus oboedire statutis ; ne forte, me adueniente ad fores regni caelorum, non sit qui reserat<sup>1</sup>, auerso illo, qui claues tenere probatur.<sup>2</sup>

Haec dicente rege, fauerunt adsidentes quique siue adstantes maiores una cum mediocribus, et abdicata minus perfecta institutione, ad ea, quae meliora cognouerant, sese transferre festinabant.

## CAP. XXVI.

*Ut Colman uictus domum redierit ; et Tuda pro illo episcopatu sit functus ; qualisque illis doctoribus fuerit habitus ecclesiae.*

FINITOQUE conflictu, ac soluta contione<sup>2</sup>, Agilberetus domum rediit. Colman uidens spretam suam doctrinam, sectamque esse dispectam, adsumtis his, qui se sequi uoluerunt, id est qui pascha catholicum et tonsuram coronae (nam et de hoc quaestio non minima erat) recipere nolebant, Scottiam regressus est, tractaturus cum suis, quid de his facere deberet. Cedd, relictis Scottorum uestigiis, ad suam sedem rediit, utpote agnita obseruatione catholici paschae. Facta est autem haec quaestio anno dominicae incarnationis DCLXIII<sup>o</sup>, qui fuit annus Osuii regis XXII<sup>us</sup>, | episcopatus autem Scottorum, quem<sup>3</sup> gesserunt in prouincia Anglorum, annus XXX<sup>us</sup> ; siquidem Aidan X et VII annis, Finan decem, Colman tribus episcopatum tenuere.

Colman  
retires to  
the Scots.

Reuerso autem patriam Colmano, suscepit pro illo pontificatum Nordanhymbrorum<sup>4</sup> famulus Christi Tuda, qui erat apud Scottos austrinos eruditus, atque ordinatus episcopus, habens iuxta morem prouinciae illius coronam tonsurae ecclesiasticae<sup>5</sup>, et catholicam temporis paschalis regulam obseruans ; uir quidem bonus ac religiosus, sed permodico tempore ecclesiam

Tuda  
succeeds

<sup>1</sup> reseret B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> contentio N ; contentione. D. H<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>2</sub>. &c.

<sup>3</sup> quam M. C. N, obscure in B.

<sup>4</sup> nordan- C.

<sup>5</sup> -cam N.

Eata, abbot  
of Lindis-  
farne.

regens. Uenerat autem de Scottia, tenente adhuc pontificatum Colmano, et diligenter ea, quae ad fidem ac ueritatem pertinent, et uerbo cunctos docebat, et opere. Porro fratribus, qui in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia. Scottis abeuntibus, remanere maluerunt, praepositus<sup>1</sup> est abbatis iure uir reuerentissimus ac mansuetissimus Eata, qui erat abbas in monasterio, quod dicitur<sup>2</sup> Mailros; quod aiunt Colmanum abiturum petisse et inpetrasse a rege Osuiu<sup>3</sup>, eo quod esset idem Eata unus de XII pueris Aidani, quos primo episcopatus sui tempore de natione Anglorum erudiendos in Christo accepit. Multum namque eundem episcopum Colmanum rex pro insita illi prudentia diligebat. Ipse est Eata, qui non multo post eidem ecclesiae Lindisfarnensi<sup>4</sup> episcopus factus est. Abiens autem domum Colman adsumsit secum partem ossuum reuerentissimi patris Aidani; partem uero in ecclesia, cui praeerat, reliquit, et in secretario eius condi praecepit.

Character  
of Colman  
and his pre-  
decessors.

Quantae autem parsimoniae, cuius continentiae fuerit ipse cum prodecessoribus suis, testabatur etiam locus ille, quem regebant, ubi abeuntibus eis, excepta ecclesia, paucissimae domus repertae sunt, hoc est illae solummodo, sine quibus conuersatio civilis esse nullatenus poterat. Nil pecuniarum absque pecoribus habebant. Siquid enim pecuniae a diuitibus accipiebant, mox pauperibus dabant. Nam neque ad susceptionem potentium saeculi, uel pecunias colligi, uel domus praeuideri necesse fuit, qui<sup>5</sup> numquam ad ecclesiam nisi orationis tantum et audiendi uerbi Dei causa ueniebant. Rex ipse, cum oportunitas exegisset<sup>6</sup>, cum V tantum aut VI ministris ueniebat<sup>7</sup>, et expleta in ecclesia oratione discedebat. | Quod si forte eos ibi f. 67 a.

<sup>1</sup> propositus N.    <sup>2</sup> uocatur C. N. W. *illegible in B.*    <sup>3</sup> osuio C. N. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> -farnensi N.    <sup>5</sup> quia M. C<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> ex-  
gisset M.    <sup>7</sup> rex . . . ueniebat *om. B, perhaps added on lower margin, which is now lost. There is a mark of reference in the text.*

refici contingeret, simplici tantum et cotidiano fratrum cibo contenti, nil ultra quaerebant. Tota enim fuit tunc sollicitudo doctoribus illis Deo seruiendi, non saeculo; tota cura cordis excolendi, non uentris. Unde et in magna erat <sup>1</sup> ueneratione tempore illo religionis habitus; ita ut, ubicumque clericus aliqui<sup>2</sup> aut monachus adueniret, gaudenter ab omnibus tamquam Dei famulus exciperetur. Etiam si in itinere pergens inueniretur, adcurrerant, et flexa<sup>3</sup> ceruice uel manu signari, uel ore illius se benedici gaudebant; uerbis quoque horum exhortatoriis diligenter auditum praebebant. Sed et diebus dominicis ad ecclesiam siue ad monasteria certatim, non reficiendi corporis, sed audiendi sermonis Dei gratia confluebant; et si quis sacerdotum in uicem forte deueniret, mox congregati in unum uicani uerbum uitae ab illo expetere curabant. Nam neque alia ipsis sacerdotibus aut clericis uicis adeundi, quam praedicandi, baptizandi, infirmos uisitandi, et, ut breuiter<sup>4</sup> dicam, animas curandi causa fuit; qui in tantum erant ab omni auaritiae peste castigati, ut nemo territoria ac possessiones ad construenda monasteria, nisi a potestatibus<sup>5</sup> saeculi coactus, acciperet. Quae consuetudo per omnia aliquanto post haec tempore in ecclesiis Nordanhymbrorum<sup>6</sup> seruata est. Sed de his satis dictum.

## CAP. XXVII.

*Ut Egbert<sup>7</sup>, uir sanctus de natione Anglorum, monachicam in Hibernia uitam duxerit.*

EODEM autem anno dominicae incarnationis DCLXIII<sup>o</sup>, facta erat eclipsis solis die tertio mensis Maii, hora circiter X<sup>a</sup> diei; quo etiam anno subita pesti-

Eclipse and  
pestilence.  
A. D. 664.

<sup>1</sup> erat om. M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>2</sup> -quis C. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> flexo M. N.    <sup>4</sup> brebiter C.    <sup>5</sup> potentibus M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>6</sup> nordan- C.    <sup>7</sup> -bercht C; egberc N.



lentie<sup>1</sup> lues, depopulatis prius australibus Britanniæ plagis, Nordanhymbrorum quoque prouinciam corripuens, atque acerba<sup>2</sup> clade diutius longe lateque desaeuiens, magnam hominum multitudinem strauit. Qua plaga praefatus Domini sacerdos Tuda raptus est de mundo, et in monasterio, quod uocatur<sup>3</sup> Pægnalæch<sup>4</sup>, honorifice sepultus. Haec autem plaga Hiberniam quoque insulam pari clade premebat. Erant ibidem eo tempore multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum, relicta insula patria, uel diuinæ lectionis, uel continentioris uitae gratia illo secesserant. Et quidam quidem mox se monasticae conuersationi fideliter mancipauerunt, alii magis circueundo per cellas magistrorum, lectioni operam dare gaudebant; quos omnes Scotti libentissime suscipientes, uictum eis cotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque | ad legendum, f. 67 b. et magisterium gratuitum praeberere curabant.

English students in Ireland.

Story of Ethelhun and Egbert.

Erant inter hos duo<sup>5</sup> iuuenes magnae indolis de nobilibus Anglorum, Edilhun<sup>6</sup> et Egberet<sup>7</sup>, quorum prior frater fuit Ediluini<sup>8</sup>, uiri aequae Deo dilecti, qui et ipse aeuo sequente Hiberniam gratia legendi adiit, et bene instructus patriam<sup>9</sup> rediit, atque episcopus in prouincia Lindissi<sup>10</sup> factus, multo ecclesiam tempore nobilissime rexit. Hi ergo cum essent in monasterio, quod lingua Scottorum Rathmelsigi<sup>11</sup> appellatur, et omnes socii ipsorum<sup>12</sup> uel mortalitate de saeculo rapti, uel per alia essent loca dispersi, correpti sunt ambo morbo eiusdem mortalitatis, et grauissime afflicti; e quibus Egberet<sup>13</sup>, sicut mihi referebat quidam ueracissimus et uenerandae canitiei presbyter, qui se haec ab ipso audisse perhibebat, cum se aestimaret esse

<sup>1</sup> pestilentia M.

<sup>2</sup> acerua M. C. B<sup>1</sup>. N.

<sup>3</sup> dicitur M.

<sup>4</sup> -lech C. N.

<sup>5</sup> duos M.

<sup>6</sup> aedil- C.

<sup>7</sup> eberht C;

egleberet N.

<sup>8</sup> aedil- C.

<sup>9</sup> in patriam N.

<sup>10</sup> lindisi N.

<sup>11</sup> -ge B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> eorum N.

<sup>13</sup> egberet N; ebercht C.

moriturum, egressus est tempore matutino de cubiculo<sup>1</sup>, in quo infirmi quiescebant, et residens solus in loco oportuno, coepit sedulus cogitare de actibus suis, et conpunctus memoria peccatorum suorum faciem lacrimis abluebat, atque intimo ex corde Deum precabatur, ne adhuc mori deberet, priusquam uel praeteritas negligentias, quas in pueritia siue infantia commiserat, perfectius ex tempore castigaret, uel in bonis se operibus habundantius exerceret. Uouit etiam uotum, quia adeo peregrinus uiuere uellet, ut numquam in insulam, in qua natus est, id est Britanniam, rediret; quia praeter sollemnem<sup>2</sup> canonici temporis psalmodiam, si non ualetudo corporis obsisteret<sup>3</sup>, cotidie psalterium totum in memoriam diuinae laudis decantaret; quia<sup>4</sup> in omni septimana diem cum nocte ieiunus transiret. Cumque finitis lacrimis, precibus, et uotis domum rediret, inuenit sodalem dormientem; et ipse quoque lectulum conscendens, coepit in quietem membra laxare. Et cum paululum quiesceret, expergefactus sodalis respexit eum, et ait: 'O frater Ecgbercte<sup>5</sup>, o quid fecisti? Sperabam, quia pariter ad uitam aeternam intraremus. Uerumtamen scito<sup>6</sup>, quia, quae postulasti, accipies.' Didicerat enim per uisionem et quid ille petisset, et quia petita inpetrasset. Quid multa? Ipse Edilhun<sup>7</sup> proxima nocte defunctus est; at uero Ecgberect<sup>5</sup> decussa molestia egritudinis conualuit, ac multo postea tempore uiuens, acceptumque sacerdotii gradum | condignis ornans actibus, post multa uirtutum bona, ut ipse desiderabat, nuper, id est anno dominicae incarnationis DCCXXVIII<sup>o</sup>, cum esset ipse annorum XC, migrauit ad regna caelestia. Duxit autem uitam in magna humilitatis, mansuetu-

Death and  
character  
of Egbert,  
A. D. 725.

<sup>1</sup> cubilo M. N. (*with the l written over a c*); cf. p. 222, note <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *the scribe at first wrote sollemnitatem* M. <sup>3</sup> -rit B. <sup>4</sup> et

quia C. <sup>5</sup> ecgberct N; egeberht C. <sup>6</sup> scio, *added on margin* M.

<sup>7</sup> aedil- C<sup>1</sup> (?); aedel- C<sup>2</sup> (?).

dinis, continentiae, simplicitatis, et iustitiae perfectione. Unde et genti suae et illis, in quibus exulabat, nationibus Scottorum siue Pictorum, exemplo<sup>1</sup> uiuendi, et instantia docendi, et auctoritate corripiendi, et pietate largiendi de his, quae a diuitibus acceperat, multum profuit. Addidit autem uotis, quae diximus, ut semper in XL<sup>ma</sup> non plus quam semel in die reficeret, non aliud quam panem ac lac tenuissimum, et hoc cum mensura gustaret; quod uidelicet lac pridie nouum in fiala ponere solebat, et post noctem ablata superficie crassiore, ipse residuum cum modico, ut diximus, pane bibebat. Cuius modum continentiae etiam XL diebus ante natale Domini, totidem quoque post peracta sollemnia pentecostes, hoc est L<sup>mae</sup>, semper obseruare curabat.

## CAP. XXVIII.

*Ut defuncto Tuda, Ulfrid<sup>2</sup> in Gallia, Ceadda apud Occidentales<sup>3</sup> Saxones, in provinciam Nordanhymbrorum sint ordinati episcopi.*

Wilfrid  
consec-  
rated in  
Gaul.

INTEREA rex Alehfrid<sup>4</sup> misit Ulfridum<sup>2</sup> presbyterum Eddius.  
ad regem Galliarum, qui eum sibi suisque consecrari CC. 11, 12.  
faceret episcopum. At ille misit eum ordinandum ad  
Agilberectum<sup>5</sup>, de quo supra diximus, qui, relicta Brit-  
tania, Parisiacae ciuitatis factus erat *episcopus*; et con-  
secratus est magno cum *honore* ab ipso, conuenientibus  
plurimis episcopis in uico regio, qui uocatur In Con-  
pendio. Quo adhuc in transmarinis<sup>6</sup> partibus propter<sup>7</sup>  
ordinationem demorante, imitatus industriam filii *rex* ib. c. 14  
*Osuui*<sup>8</sup> misit Cantiam uirum sanctum, modestum mori-  
bus, scripturarum lectione sufficienter instructum, et  
ea, quae in scripturis agenda didicerat, operibus solerter  
exsequentem, qui *Eburacensis* ecclesiae ordinaretur  
episcopus. Erat autem presbyter uocabulo *Ceadda*,

<sup>1</sup> et ex. B. N.    <sup>2</sup> uuil- C.    <sup>3</sup> orientales M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>4</sup> alh-  
frid C.    <sup>5</sup> -berectum B. N; -berhtum C.    <sup>6</sup> -mirinis M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> pro C<sup>2</sup>; post B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>8</sup> osuio M.

frater reuerentissimi antistitis<sup>1</sup> Ceddi, cuius saepius meminimus, et abbas monasterii illius, quod uocatur Laestingaeu<sup>2</sup>. Misitque cum eo rex presbyterum suum uocabulo Eadhaedum<sup>3</sup>, qui postea regnante Ecgrido<sup>4</sup>, Hrypensis ecclesiae praesul factus est. Uerum illi Cantiam peruenientes, inuenerunt archiepiscopum Deusdedit iam migrasse de saeculo, et necdum alium pro eo constitutum fuisse pontificem. Unde deuertunt<sup>5</sup> ad prouinciam Occidentalium<sup>6</sup> Saxonum, ubi erat Uini<sup>7</sup> episcopus; et ab illo est uir praefatus consecratus antistes, adsumtis in societatem ordinationis duobus | de Bretonum gente episcopis, qui dominicum paschae diem, ut saepius dictum est, secus morem canonicum a XIII<sup>am</sup><sup>a</sup> usque ad XX<sup>am</sup> lunam celebrant<sup>8</sup>. Non enim erat tunc ullus, excepto illo Uine<sup>7</sup>, in tota Brittania canonice ordinatus episcopus. Consecratus ergo in episcopum<sup>9</sup> Ceadda maximam mox coepit ecclesiasticae ueritati et castitati curam inpendere; humilitati, continentiae, lectioni operam dare; oppida, rura, casas, uicos, castella propter euangelizandum, non equitando, sed apostolorum more pedibus incedendo peragraré. Erat enim de discipulis Aidani, eisdemque actibus ac moribus iuxta exemplum eius ac fratris sui Ceddi suos instituere curauit auditores. Ueniens quoque Britanniam *Uilfrid* iam episcopus factus et ipse perplura catholicae obseruationis moderamina ecclesiis Anglorum sua doctrina contulit. Unde factum est, ut, crescente per dies institutione catholica, Scotti omnes, qui inter Anglos morabantur, aut his manus darent, aut suam redirent ad patriam<sup>10</sup>.

and Ceadda  
(Chad) in  
Wessex.

<sup>1</sup> -ti M; antistitis B<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> -ga ig B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> -hedum N.    <sup>4</sup> ecgrido C.    <sup>5</sup> diuert- C. B.    <sup>6</sup> -cci'd'-on erasure M, the scribe no doubt wrote orient- originally, as in the heading; and this is the reading of the text in H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>7</sup> uuini C.    <sup>8</sup> -brarant C<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>9</sup> -patum C.  
<sup>10</sup> unde . . . patriam, added on lower margin M.

## CAP. XXIX.

*Ut Uighard<sup>1</sup> presbyter ordinandus in archiepiscopum Romam de Britannia sit missus; quem remissa mox scripta papae apostolici ibidem obisse narrauerint.*

His temporibus reges Anglorum nobilissimi, Osuii prouinciae Nordanhymbrorum<sup>2</sup>, et Ecgberet<sup>3</sup> Cantuariorum, habito inter se consilio, quid de statu ecclesiae Anglorum esset agendum, intellexerat enim ueraciter Osuii, quamuis educatus a Scottis, quia Romana esset catholica et apostolica ecclesia, adsumscrunt cum electione et consensu sanctae ecclesiae gentis Anglorum, uirum bonum et aptum episcopatu<sup>4</sup>, presbyterum nomine Uighardum<sup>5</sup>, de clero Deusdedit episcopi, et hunc antistitem ordinandum Romam miserunt; quatinus accepto ipse gradu archiepiscopatus, catholicos per omnem Britanniam ecclesiis Anglorum ordinare posset antistites.

Uerum Uighard<sup>6</sup> Romam perueniens, priusquam consecrari in episcopatum posset, morte praereptus est, et huiusmodi litterae regi Osuii<sup>7</sup> Britanniam remissae:

*Domino excellenti filio Osuio<sup>8</sup> regi Saxonum Uitalianus episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei.*

*Desiderabiles litteras excellentiae uestrae suscepimus; quas relegentes cognouimus eius piissimam deuotionem, feruentissimumque amorem, quem habet propter beatam uitam; et quia dextera Domini<sup>9</sup> protegente, ad ueram et apostolicam fidem sit conuersus, sperans, sicut<sup>10</sup> in sua gente regnat, ita et cum Christo de futuro conregnare. Benedicta igitur gens, quae talem sapientissimum et Dei cultorem promeruit habere regem; quia non solum ipse Dei cultor extitit, sed etiam omnes subiectos suos medi-*

<sup>1</sup> -har M; uuigheard C.      <sup>2</sup> norðan- C.      <sup>3</sup> egeberht C; ecgberiet N.      <sup>4</sup> -tui H<sub>1</sub>.      uuigheardum C.

<sup>6</sup> uig'h'ar N; uigheard C.      <sup>7</sup> osuio M<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>8</sup> osuii B. C. N.

<sup>9</sup> dei M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>10</sup> ut sicut M. B. C. H<sub>1</sub>. W. D., sicut being written above the line in M.

Wighard  
sent to  
Rome to  
be con-  
secrated,

where he  
dies.

Letter of  
Vitalian to  
Oswy.



tatur die ac nocte ad fidem catholicam atque apostolicam pro suae animae redemptione conuerti. Quis enim audiens haec suauia non laetetur? Quis non exultet et gaudeat in his piis operibus? | Quia et gens uestra<sup>1</sup> Christo omnipotenti Deo credidit secundum diuinorum prophetarum uoces, sicut scriptum est in Isaia: 'In die illa radix Iesse, qui stat in signum populorum, ipsum gentes deprecantur.' Et iterum: 'Audite insulae, et<sup>2</sup> adtendite populi de longe.' Et post paululum<sup>3</sup>: 'Parum<sup>4</sup>,' inquit, 'est, ut mihi sis seruus ad suscitandas tribus Iacob, et feces Israel conuertendas. Dedi te in lucem gentium, ut sis salus mea usque ad extremum<sup>5</sup> terrae.' Et rursum: 'Reges uidebunt, et consurgent principes, et adorabunt.' Et post pusillum: 'Dedi te in foedus populi, ut suscitares terram, et<sup>6</sup> possideres hereditates dissipatas, et diceres his, qui uincti sunt: "Exite," et his, qui in tenebris: "Reuelamini." ' Et rursum: 'Ego Dominus uocaui te in iustitia, et adprehendi manum tuam, et seruaui, et dedi te in foedus populi, in lucem gentium, ut aperires oculos caecorum, et educeres de conclusione uinctum, de domo carceris sedentes in tenebris.' Ecce, excellentissime fili, quam luce clarius est, non solum de uobis, sed etiam de omnibus prophetatum gentibus, quod sint crediturae in Christo omnium conditore. Quamobrem oportet uestram celsitudinem, utpote membrum existens Christi, in omnibus piam regulam sequi perenniter principis apostolorum, siue in pascha celebrandum<sup>7</sup>, siue in omnibus, quae tradiderunt sancti apostoli Petrus et Paulus, qui ut duo luminaria caeli inluminant mundum, sic doctrina eorum corda hominum cotidie inlustrat credentium.'

Et post nonnulla, quibus de celebrando per orbem totum uno uero pascha loquitur:

'Hominem denique,' inquit, 'docibilem et in omnibus

<sup>1</sup> pro inserted before Christo, and then struck out M.

<sup>2</sup> et

om. M.

<sup>3</sup> paulum N.

<sup>4</sup> paruum N.

<sup>5</sup> extrimum M.

<sup>6</sup> ut N.

<sup>7</sup> -do D. H<sub>2</sub>.

ornatum antistitem, secundum uestrorum scriptorum tenorem, minime ualuimus nunc repperire pro longinquitate itineris. Profecto enim dum huiusmodi apta reppertaque persona fuerit, eum instructum ad uestram dirigemus patriam, ut ipse et uiua uoce, et per diuina oracula omnem inimici zizaniam ex omni uestra insula cum diuino nutu eradicet. Munuscula a uestra celsitudine beato principi apostolorum directa pro aeterna eius memoria suscepimus, gratiasque ei<sup>1</sup> agimus, ac pro eius incolumitate iugiter Deum deprecamur cum Christi clero. Itaque qui haec obtulit munera, de hac subtractus est luce, situsque ad limina apostolorum, pro quo ualde sumus contristati, cum<sup>2</sup> hic esset defunctus. Ueruntamen gerulis harum nostrarum litterarum uestris missis, et<sup>3</sup> beneficia sanctorum, hoc est reliquias beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et sanctorum | martyrum Laurentii, Iohannis, et Pauli, et f. 69 b. Gregorii<sup>4</sup>, atque Pancratii cis fecimus dari<sup>5</sup>, uestrae excellentiae profecto omnes contradendas. Nam et coniugi uestrae, nostrae spiritali filiae, direximus per praefatos gerulos crucem clauem auream habentem de sacratissimis uinculis beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum; de cuius pio studio cognoscentes, tantum cuncta sedes apostolica una nobiscum laetatur, quantum eius pia opera coram Deo flagrant et uernant. Festinet igitur, quaesumus, uestra celsitudo, ut optamus, totam suam insulam Deo Christo dicare. Profecto enim habet protectorem, humani generis redemptorem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui ei cuncta prospera impertiet, uti nouum Christi populum coaceruet, catholicam ibi et apostolicam constituens fidem. Scriptum est enim: 'Quaeritè primum regnum Dei et iustitiam eius, et haec omnia adicientur uobis.' Nimirum enim quaerit et impetrabit<sup>6</sup>, et ei omnes suae insulae, ut optamus, subdentur. Paterno itaque affectu salutes uestram excellentiam, diuinam precamur iugiter clemen-

Matth. vi  
33; cf.  
Luc. xii.  
31.

<sup>1</sup> ei om. M.<sup>2</sup> cur M.<sup>3</sup> et om. M.<sup>4</sup> grig- M.<sup>5</sup> dare M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>6</sup> -rauit M. C.

*tiam, quae uos uestrosque omnes in omnibus bonis operibus auxiliari dignetur, ut cum Christo in futuro regnetis saeculo. Incolumem excellentiam uestram gratia superna custodiat.'*

Quis sane pro Uighardo reppertus ac dedicatus sit antistes, libro sequente opportunius dicetur.

## CAP. XXX.

*Ut Orientales Saxones tempore mortalitatis ad idolatriam reuersi, sed per instantiam Iarumanni<sup>1</sup> episcopi mox sint ab errore correcti.*

EODEM tempore prouinciae Orientalium Saxonum post Suidhelimum<sup>2</sup>, de quo supra diximus, praefuere<sup>3</sup> reges Sigheri<sup>4</sup> et Sebbi, quamuis ipsi regi Merciorum Uulfheræ<sup>5</sup> subiecti. Quae uidelicet prouincia cum praefatae mortalitatis clade premeretur, Sigheri<sup>4</sup> cum sua parte populi, relictis Christianae fidei sacramentis, ad apostasiam conuersus est. Nam et ipse rex et plurimi de plebe siue optimatibus, diligentes hanc uitam, et futuram non quaerentes, siue etiam non esse credentes, coeperunt fana, quae derelicta erant<sup>6</sup>, restaurare, et adorare simulacra, quasi per haec possent a mortalitate defendi. Porro socius eius et coheres regni eiusdem, Sebbi, magna fidem perceptam cum suis omnibus deuotione seruauit, magna, ut in sequentibus dicemus, uitam fidelem felicitate compleuit. Quod ubi rex Uulfheri<sup>7</sup> conperit, fidem uidelicet prouinciae ex parte profanatam, misit ad corrigendum errorem, reuocandamque ad fidem ueritatis prouinciam Iaruman<sup>8</sup> episcopum, qui successor erat Trumheri. | Qui multa agens solertia, iuxta quod mihi presbyter, qui comes itineris illi et cooperatore uerbi extiterat, referebat, erat enim religiosus et bonus uir,

Apostasy  
and recon-  
version of  
part of  
Essex.

<sup>1</sup> iaro- N.<sup>2</sup> suithelmum C ; suidelmum N.<sup>3</sup> pro- M.<sup>4</sup> -re C. B<sup>2</sup>.<sup>5</sup> -re C. N.<sup>6</sup> erat M<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>1</sup>.<sup>7</sup> -re C.<sup>8</sup> iuru- C.

longe lateque omnia peruagatus, et populum et regem praefatum ad uiam iustitiae reduxit; adeo<sup>1</sup> ut relictis siue destructis fanis arisque, quas fecerant, aperirent ecclesias, ac nomen Christi, cui contradixerant, confiteri gauderent, magis cum fide resurrectionis in illo mori, quam in perfidiae sordibus inter idola uiuere cupientes. Quibus ita gestis, et ipsi sacerdotes doctoresque eorum domum rediere laetantes<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *from adeo to laetantes is almost entirely lost in C, owing to the folio being mutilated.*

## LIBER QUARTUS.

### CAP. I.

*Ut defuncto Deusdedit, Uighard<sup>1</sup> ad suscipiendum episcopatum Romam sit missus; sed illo ibidem defuncto, Theodorus archiepiscopus ordinatus<sup>2</sup>, et cum Hadriano<sup>3</sup> abbate sit Britanniam missus.*

f. 70 b.

ANNO<sup>4</sup> memorato<sup>5</sup> praefatae eclypsis et mox sequentis<sup>6</sup> pestilentiae, quo et Colman episcopus unanima catholicorum intentione superatus ad suos reuersus est, Deusdedit VI<sup>us</sup> ecclesiae Doruuernensis episcopus obiit pridie<sup>7</sup> Iduum Iuliarum; sed et Erconberet<sup>8</sup> rex Cantuariorum<sup>9</sup> eodem mense ac die defunctus, Ecgbercto filio sedem regni reliquit, quam ille susceptam per VIII<sup>us</sup><sup>10</sup> annos tenuit. Tunc cessante non paucio tempore episcopatu, missus est Romam ab ipso simul et a rege Nordanhymbrorum Osuio<sup>11</sup>, ut in<sup>12</sup> praecedente libro paucis diximus, Uighard presbyter, uir in ecclesiasticis disciplinis doctissimus, de genere Anglorum, petentibus hunc ecclesiae Anglorum archiepiscopum ordinari; missis pariter apostolico papae donariis, et aureis atque argenteis uasis non paucis. Qui ubi Romam peruenit, cuius sedi apostolicae tempore illo Uitalianus praeerat, postquam itineris sui | causam praefato papae apos-

Death of King Earconbert and Archbishop Deusdedit on the same day, July 14, 664.

Death of Wighard at Rome.

f. 71 a.

<sup>1</sup> uuigheard C. <sup>2</sup> -tur M. <sup>3</sup> adriano C. B. N. <sup>4</sup> in anno C. <sup>5</sup> M adds on margin DCLXIII. <sup>6</sup> subsequentis M. H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>7</sup> II M. <sup>8</sup> -bercht C. <sup>9</sup> sed . . . cantuariorum om. N<sup>1</sup>; erc̃bere rex contuariorum N<sup>2</sup>. <sup>10</sup> x. et nouem C, x. et being on erasure; so B, x. et being inserted above the line. <sup>11</sup> osuii N. C. <sup>12</sup> in om. M.



tolico patefecit, non multo post et ipse, et omnes pene qui cum eo aduenerant socii<sup>1</sup>, pestilentia superueniente deleti sunt.

At apostolicus papa habito de his consilio, quaesivit sedulus, quem ecclesiis Anglorum archiepiscopum mitteret. Erat autem in monasterio Niridano<sup>2</sup>, quod est non longe a Neapoli Campaniae, abbas Hadrianus, uir natione Afr<sup>3</sup>, sacris litteris diligenter inbutus, monasterialibus simul et ecclesiasticis<sup>4</sup> disciplinis institutus, Graecae pariter et Latinae linguae peritissimus. Hunc ad se accitum papa iussit episcopatu accepto Britanniam uenire. Qui indignum se tanto gradui respondens, ostendere posse se dixit alium, cuius magis ad suscipiendum episcopatum et eruditio conueniret, et aetas. Cumque monachum quendam de uicino uirginum monasterio, nomine Andream, pontifici offerret, hic ab omnibus, qui nouere, dignus episcopatu iudicatus est. Uerum pondus<sup>5</sup> corporeae infirmitatis, ne episcopus fieri posset, obstitit. Et rursum Hadrianus ad suscipiendum episcopatum actus est; qui petens indutias, si forte alium, qui episcopus ordinaretur, ex tempore posset inuenire.

Erat ipso tempore Romae monachus Hadriano notus, nomine Theodorus, natus Tarso Ciliciae, uir et saeculari et diuina litteratura, et Grece instructus et Latine, probus moribus, et aetate uenerandus, id est annos habens aetatis LX et VI. Hunc offerens Hadrianus pontifici, ut episcopus ordinaretur, obtinuit; his tamen condicionibus interpositis, ut ipse eum perduceret Britanniam, eo quod iam bis partes Galliarum diuersis ex causis adisset, et ob id maiorem huius itineris peragendi notitiam haberet, sufficiensque esset in possessione hominum propriorum; et ut ei

Abbot  
Hadrian.

Theodore of  
Tarsus con-  
secrated  
archbishop  
of the  
English,  
March 26,  
668.

Act. xxii.  
3; cf. ib.  
xxi. 39.

<sup>1</sup> socii eius C. B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> sic B. C. AS. O<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>3-11</sub>. O<sub>14-16</sub>. D. R<sub>1</sub>; hiridano M. N. A<sub>1</sub>; iridano H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>3</sup> afer M<sup>2</sup>. N<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> -cae M.  
<sup>5</sup> pondus, added on margin M.

doctrinae cooperatores existens diligenter attenderet, ne quid ille contrarium ueritati fidei, Grecorum more, in ecclesiam, cui praeesset, introduceret. Qui subdiaconus ordinatus IIII exspectauit menses, donec illi coma cresceret, quo in coronam tondi posset; habuerat enim tonsuram more orientalium sancti apostoli Pauli. Qui ordinatus est a Uitaliano papa anno dominicae incarnationis DCLXVIII, sub die VII. Kalendarum Aprilium, dominica. Et ita una cum Hadriano VI.<sup>1</sup> Kalendas Iunias Britanniam missus est. Qui cum pariter per mare ad Massiliam, ac deinde per terram Arhelas peruenissent, et tradidissent Iohanni archiepiscopo ciuitatis illius scripta | commendaticia Uitaliani pontificis, retenti sunt ab eo, quousque Ebrinus maior domus regiae copiam pergendi, quoquo uellent, tribuit eis. Qua accepta Theodorus profectus est ad Agilbertum<sup>2</sup> Parisiorum<sup>3</sup> episcopum, de quo superius diximus, et ab eo benigne susceptus, et multo tempore habitus est. Hadrianus perrexit primum ad Emme<sup>4</sup> Senonum, et postea ad Faronem<sup>5</sup> Meldorum episcopos, et bene sub eis diutius fuit; coegerat<sup>6</sup> enim eos imminens hiems, ut, ubicumque potuissent, quieti manerent. Quod cum nuntii certi narrassent regi Ecgercto<sup>7</sup>, esse scilicet episcopum, quem petierant a Romano antistite in regno Francorum, misit illo continuo Raedfridum praefectum suum ad adducendum eum; quo cum uenisset, adsumsit Theodorum cum Ebrini licentia, et perduxit eum ad portum, cui nomen est Quentauc; ubi<sup>8</sup> fatigatus infirmitate aliquantis per moratus est, et, cum conualescere coepisset, nauigauit Britanniam. Hadrianum autem Ebrinus retinuit, quoniam suspicabatur eum habere aliquam legationem imperatoris ad Britanniae reges

<sup>1</sup> v. N.<sup>2</sup> -berhtum C.<sup>3</sup> -seorum M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>4</sup> -men M<sup>2</sup>.<sup>5</sup> fororem N<sup>1</sup>; foronem N<sup>2</sup>.<sup>6</sup> coegerat M.<sup>7</sup> -bercto C.<sup>8</sup> ibi M.

aduersus regnum, cuius tunc ipse maximam curam gerebat. Sed cum nihil tale illum habere uel habuisse ueraciter conperisset, absoluit eum, et post Theodorum ire permisit. Qui statim ut ad illum uenit<sup>1</sup>, dedit ei<sup>2</sup> monasterium beati Petri apostoli, ubi archiepiscopi Cantiae sepeliri, ut praefatus sum, solent. Praeceperat<sup>3</sup> enim Theodoro abeunti domnus apostolicus, ut in diocesi sua prouideret, et daret ei locum, in quo cum suis apte degere potuisset.

## CAP. II.

*Ut Theodoro cuncta peragrante, Anglorum ecclesiae cum catholica ueritate, litterarum quoque sanctorum coeperint studiis inbui; et ut Putta pro Damiano<sup>4</sup> Hrofensis ecclesiae sit factus antistes.*

Theodore  
arrives at  
Canter-  
bury, May  
27, 669.

PERUENIT<sup>5</sup> autem Theodorus ad ecclesiam suam secundo postquam consecratus est anno, sub die VI. Kalendarum Iuniarum<sup>6</sup>, dominica, et fecit in ea annos XX et unum, menses III, dies XXVI. Moxque<sup>7</sup> peragrata insula tota, quaquauersum Anglorum gentes morabantur, nam et libentissime ab omnibus suscipiebatur, atque audiebatur, rectum uiuendi ordinem. ritum celebrandi paschae canonicum, per omnia comitante et cooperante Hadriano disseminabat. Isque primus erat in archiepiscopis, cui omnis Anglorum ecclesia manus dare consentiret. Et quia litteris sacris simul et saecularibus, ut diximus, abundanter ambo erant<sup>8</sup> instructi, congregata discipulorum caterua. scientiae salutaris cotidie flumina inrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant; ita ut etiam metricae artis, astronomiae, et arithmeticae ecclesiasticae disciplinam f. 72 a. inter sacrorum apicum uolumina suis auditoribus

Unity and  
progress of  
the English  
Church  
under him.

<sup>1</sup> peruenit C. B<sup>2</sup>. <sup>2</sup> ei om. M. <sup>3</sup> -ciperat M<sup>1</sup>. <sup>4</sup> -na C.

<sup>5</sup> There is no mark of a new chapter here in the text of B; but a later hand has inserted the figure ii on the margin. <sup>6</sup> iuniarum by B<sup>2</sup> on an erasure.

<sup>7</sup> The chapter begins with moxque peragrata in C. W. O<sub>1-11</sub>. O<sub>14-16</sub>. D. R<sub>1</sub>. <sup>8</sup> erant om. B.

contraderent. Indicio est, quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Grecamque Schools. linguam aequae ut propriam, in qua nati sunt, norunt. Neque umquam prorsus, ex quo Britanniam petierunt Angli, feliciora fuere tempora; dum et fortissimos Christianosque habentes reges cunctis barbaris nationibus essent terrori, et omnium vota ad nuper audita caelestis regni gaudia penderent, et quicumque lectionibus sacris cuperent erudiri, haberent in promptu magistros, qui docerent.

Sed et sonos cantandi in ecclesia, quos eatenus in Music. Cantia tantum nouerant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere coeperunt; primusque, excepto Iacobo, de quo supra<sup>1</sup> diximus, cantandi magister Nordanhymbrorum<sup>2</sup> ecclesiis Aeddi<sup>3</sup> cognomento Stephanus fuit, inuitatus de Cantia a reuerentissimo uiro Uilfrido, qui primus inter episcopos, qui de Anglorum gente essent, catholicum uiuendi morem ecclesiis Anglorum tradere didicit.

Itaque Theodorus perlustrans uniuersa, ordinabat Deposition of Ceadda (Chad). locis oportunis episcopos, et ea, quae minus perfecta repperit, his quoque iuuantibus corrigebat. In quibus et Ceadda episcopum cum argueret non fuisse rite consecratum, respondens ipse<sup>4</sup> uoce humillima: 'Si me,' inquit, 'nosti episcopatum non rite suscepisse, libenter ab officio discedo; quippe qui neque me umquam hoc esse dignum arbitrabar; sed oboedientiae causa iussus subire hoc, quamuis indignus, consensi.' At ille audiens humilitatem responsi eius, dixit non eum episcopatum dimittere<sup>5</sup> debere; sed ipse ordinationem eius denuo catholica ratione consummauit. Eo autem tempore, quo defuncto Deusdedit Doruuer-nensi ecclesiae episcopus quaerebatur, ordinabatur, ib. c. 14. mittebatur, Uilfrid quoque de Brittaniam Galliam<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> superius C.<sup>2</sup> norðan- C.<sup>3</sup> aedi N.<sup>4</sup> ipsi B.<sup>5</sup> de- M.<sup>6</sup> in galliam B.

ordinandus est missus; et quoniam ante Theodorum rediit, ipse etiam in Cantia *presbyteros et diaconos*, usquedum archiepiscopus ad sedem suam perueniret, *ordinabat*. At ipse ueniens mox in ciuitate Hrofi, ubi defuncto Damiano episcopatus iam diu cessauerat, ordinauit uirum magis ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutum, et uitae simplicitate contentum, quam in saeculi rebus strenuum, cui nomen erat Putta<sup>1</sup>; maxime autem modulandi in ecclesia more | Romanorum, f. 72 b quem a discipulis beati papae Gregorii didicerat, peritum.

Putta con-  
secrated to  
Rochester.

## CAP. III.

*Ut Ceadda, de quo supra dictum est, prouinciae Merciorum sit episcopus datus, et de uita et<sup>2</sup> obitu et sepultura eius.*

Ceadda  
(Chad)  
made  
bishop of  
the  
Mercians.

Eo tempore prouinciae Merciorum rex Uulfheri praefuit, qui, cum mortuo Iarumanno sibi quoque suisque a Theodoro episcopum dari peteret, non eis nouum uoluit ordinare episcopum; sed postulauit a rege Osuio<sup>4</sup>, ut illis episcopus Ceadda daretur, qui tunc in monasterio suo, quod est in Læstingae<sup>5</sup>, quietam uitam agebat, Ulfrido administrante episcopatum Eboracensis<sup>6</sup> ecclesiae, nec non et omnium Nordanhymbrorum, sed et Pictorum, quousque rex Osuii<sup>7</sup> imperium protendere poterat. Et quia moris erat eidem reuerentissimo antistiti opus euangelii magis ambulando per loca, quam equitando perficere, iussit eum Theodorus, ubicumque longius iter instaret, equitare, multumque renitentem, studio et amore pii laboris, ipse eum manu sua leuauit<sup>8</sup> in equum; quia nimirum sanctum esse uirum conperiit, atque equo uehi, quo esset necesse, conpulit. Susceptum itaque

cf.  
Eddius.  
c. 15.

cf. ib. c.  
21.

<sup>1</sup> puta N.      <sup>2</sup> et de M. N.      <sup>3</sup> -re B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> osuii C. N.  
<sup>5</sup> -ga e B<sup>1</sup>; -ga ig B<sup>2</sup>; læstinge C; lestingahe N.      <sup>6</sup> ebur-  
C. N.      <sup>7</sup> osuio B.      <sup>8</sup> leuabit B<sup>1</sup>.



episcopatum gentis Merciorum simul et Lindisfarorum Ceadda, iuxta exempla patrum antiquorum, in magna uitae perfectione administrare curauit; cui etiam rex Uulferi<sup>1</sup> donauit terram L familiarum ad construendum monasterium in loco, qui dicitur Adbaruae<sup>2</sup>, id est Ad Nemus, in prouincia Lindissi, in quo usque hodie instituta ab ipso regularis uitae uestigia permanent.

Habuit autem sedem episcopalem in loco, qui uocatur Lyccidfelth<sup>3</sup>, in quo et defunctus ac sepultus est; ubi usque hodie sequentium quoque prouinciae illius episcoporum sedes est. Fecerat uero sibi mansionem non longe ab ecclesia remotiorem; in qua secretius cum paucis, id est VII siue VIII, fratribus, quoties a labore et ministerio uerbi uacabat, orare ac legere solebat. Qui cum in illa prouincia duobus annis ac dimidio ecclesiam gloriosissime rexisset, adfuit superno dispensante iudicio tempus, de quo loquitur Ecclesiastes, quia: 'Tempus mittendi lapides, et tempus colligendi.' Superuenit namque clades diuinitus missa, quae per mortem carnis uiuos ecclesiae lapides de terrenis sedibus ad aedificium caeleste transferret. Cumque plurimis de ecclesia eiusdem reuerentissimi antistitis de carne subtractis, ueniret hora ipsius, ut transiret ex hoc mundo ad Dominum, contigit die quadam, ut in praefata | mansionem forte ipse cum uno tantum fratre, cui uocabulum erat Ouini<sup>4</sup>, commoraretur, ceteris eius sociis pro causa oportuna ad ecclesiam reuersis. Erat autem idem Ouini<sup>5</sup> monachus magni meriti, et pura intentione supernae retributionis mundum derelinquens, dignusque per omnia, cui Dominus specialiter sua reuelaret arcana, dignus, cui fidem narranti audientes accommodarent. Uenerat enim

He fixes his  
see at Lich-  
field.

Story of  
his death.

Eccl. iii.  
5.

cf. 1 Pet.  
ii. 5.

cf. Ioh.  
xiii. 1.  
f. 73 a.

<sup>1</sup> -re C. B<sup>2</sup>; uulferi N.      <sup>2</sup> -bearuae C.      <sup>3</sup> licid- B;  
liccid- B<sup>2</sup>; liccidfeld C; licidfelt N.      <sup>4</sup> -ne B<sup>2</sup>; ouuini C.  
<sup>5</sup> ouuini C.

cum regina Aedilthryde<sup>1</sup> de prouincia Orientalium Anglorum, eratque primus ministrorum, et princeps domus eius. Qui cum crescente fidei feruore saeculo abrenuntiare disponderet, non hoc segniter fecit; sed adeo se mundi rebus exuit, ut relictis omnibus, quae habebat, simplici tantum habitu indutus, et securim atque asciam in manu ferens, ueniret ad monasterium eiusdem reuerentissimi patris, quod uocatur Laestingaeu<sup>2</sup>. Non enim ad otium, ut quidam, sed ad laborem se monasterium intrare signabat. Quod ipsum etiam facto monstrauit; nam quo minus sufficebat meditationi scripturarum, eo amplius operi manuum studium inpendebat. Denique cum episcopo in praefata mansione pro suae reuerentia deuotionis inter fratres habitus<sup>3</sup>, cum illi intus lectioni uacabant, ipse foris, quae opus esse uidebantur, operabatur. Qui cum die quadam tale aliquid foris ageret, digressis ad ecclesiam sociis, ut dicere coeperam, et episcopus solus in oratorio loci lectioni uel orationi operam daret,

diuit repente, ut postea referebat, uocem suauissimam cantantium atque laetantium de caelo ad terras usque descendere; quam uidelicet uocem ab Euroaustro, id est ab alto brumalis exortus, primo se audisse dicebat, ac deinde paulatim eam sibi adpropiare, donec ad tectum usque oratorii, in quo erat episcopus, perueniret; quod ingressa, totum impleuit, atque in gyro circumdedit. At ille dum sollicitus in ea, quae audiebat, animum intenderet, audiuit denuo, transacto quasi dimidiae horae spatio, ascendere de tecto eiusdem oratorii idem laetitiae canticum, et ipsa, qua uenerat, uia ad caelos usque cum ineffabili dulcedine<sup>4</sup> reuerti. Qui cum aliquantulum horae quasi adtonitus maneret,

<sup>1</sup> -dæ B; aedyldrydæ N; æðilðryda C, *the cross bars of the ð's being probably by C<sup>2</sup>, who has also altered the i into e.* <sup>2</sup> sic C. B<sup>1</sup>;

-ga ig B<sup>2</sup>; lestringaeu N. <sup>3</sup> habet M. W<sup>1</sup>; habetur, *altered to haberetur* C. <sup>4</sup> dulcedine M<sup>1</sup>. C.

f. 73 b. et, quid haec essent, solerti animo scrutaretur, aperuit episcopus | fenestram oratorii, et sonitum manu faciens, ut saepius consueuerat, siqui foris esset, ad se intrare praecepit. Introiuit ille concitus, cui dixit antistes: 'Uade cito ad ecclesiam, et hos VII fratres huc uenire facito; tu quoque simul adesto.' Qui cum uenissent, primo admonuit eos, ut uirtutem dilectionis et pacis ad inuicem et ad omnes fideles seruarent; instituta quoque disciplinae regularis, quae uel ab ipso didicissent, et in ipso<sup>1</sup> uidissent, uel in patrum praecedentium factis siue dictis inuenissent, indefessa instantia sequerentur. Deinde subiunxit diem sui obitus iam proxime instare. 'Namque hospes,' inquit, 'ille amabilis, qui fratres nostros uisitare solebat, ad me quoque hodie uenire, meque de saeculo euocare dignatus est. Propter quod reuertentes ad ecclesiam dicite fratribus, ut et meum exitum Domino precibus commendent, et suum quoque exitum, cuius hora incerta est, uigiliis, orationibus, bonis operibus praeuenire meminerint.' Cumque haec et huiusmodi plura loqueretur, atque illi percepta eius benedictione iam multum tristes exissent, rediit ipse solus, qui carmen caeleste audierat, et prosternens se in terram: 'Obsecro,' inquit, 'pater; licet aliquid interrogare?' 'Interroga,' inquit, 'quod uis.' At ille: 'Obsecro,' inquit, 'ut<sup>2</sup> dicas, quod erat canticum illud laetantium, quod audiui, uenientium de caelis super oratorium hoc, et post tempus redeuntium ad caelos?' Respondet ille: 'Si uocem carminis audisti, et caelestes superuenire coetus cognouisti, praecipio tibi in nomine Domini, ne hoc cuiquam ante meum obitum dicas. Re uera autem angelorum fuere spiritus, qui me ad caelestia, quae semper amabam, ac desiderabam, praemia uocare uenerunt, et post dies VII se redituros, ac me secum adducturos esse promiserunt.' Quod

<sup>1</sup> didicissent . . . ipso *om.* B<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> ut *om.* M<sup>1</sup>.

quidem ita, ut dictum ei erat, opere completum est. Nam confestim langore corporis tactus est, et hoc per dies ingrauescente, septimo, ut promissum ei fuerat, die, postquam obitum suum dominici corporis et sanguinis perceptione munivit, soluta ab ergastulo corporis anima sancta, ducentibus, ut credi fas est, angelis comitibus aeterna gaudia petiuit. Non autem<sup>1</sup> mirum, si diem mortis uel potius<sup>2</sup> diem Domini laetus aspexit, quem semper, usquedum ueniret, sollicitus expectare curauit.

cf. Ioh.  
viii. 56.

His character.

Namque inter plura continentiae, humilitatis, doctrinae, orationum, | uoluntariae paupertatis, et ceterarum f. 74 a. uirtutum merita, in tantum erat timori Domini subditus, in tantum nouissimorum suorum in omnibus operibus suis memor, ut, sicut mihi frater quidam de his, qui me in scripturis erudiebant<sup>3</sup>, et erat in monasterio ac magisterio illius educatus, uocabulo Trumberct<sup>4</sup>, referre solebat, si forte legente eo uel aliud quid agente, repente flatus uenti maior adsurgeret<sup>5</sup>, continuo misericordiam Domini inuocaret, et eam generi humano propitiari rogaret. Si autem uiolentior aura insisteret, iam clauso codice procideret<sup>6</sup> in faciem, atque obnixius orationi incumberet. At si procella fortior aut nimbus perurgeret, uel etiam corusci ac tonitrua terras et aera terrent, tunc ueniens ad ecclesiam sollicitus orationibus ac psalmis, donec serenitas aeris rediret, fixa<sup>7</sup> mente uacaret. Cumque interrogaretur a suis, quare hoc faceret, respondebat: 'Non legistis, quia "intonuit de caelo Dominus, et Altissimus dedit uocem suam; misit sagittas suas<sup>8</sup>, et dissipauit eos, fulgora multiplicauit, et conturbauit eos?<sup>9</sup>" Mouet<sup>10</sup> enim aera Dominus, uentos excitat,

Ps. xvii.  
13, 14.

<sup>1</sup> enim N.      <sup>2</sup> positus M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>3</sup> -bat C; -ba'n't B; sum broðor . . . of þæm þe me . . . cýðe 7 lærde AS.      <sup>4</sup> -berht C; -brect N.      <sup>5</sup> adresurgeret C.      <sup>6</sup> -cederet M.      <sup>7</sup> uixa C<sup>1</sup>.  
<sup>8</sup> suas om. B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>9</sup> from B. C; dominus et cetera usque conturbauit eos M.      <sup>10</sup> mouit C.

iaculatur fulgora, de caelo intonat, ut terrigenas ad timendum se suscitet, ut corda eorum in memoriam futuri iudicii<sup>1</sup> reuocet<sup>2</sup>, ut superbiam eorum dissipet, et conturbet audaciam, reducto ad mentem tremendo illo tempore, quando ipse caelis ac terris ardentibus uenturus est in nubibus, in potestate magna et maiestate, ad iudicandos uiuos et mortuos. Propter quod,' inquit, 'oportet nos admonitioni eius caelesti, debito cum timore et amore respondere; ut, quoties aere commoto manum quasi ad ferendum minitans exerit, nec adhuc tamen percutit, mox inploremus eius misericordiam, et discussis penetralibus<sup>4</sup> cordis nostri, atque expurgatis uitiorum rudibus, solliciti, ne umquam percuti mereamur, agamus.'

Luc. xxi.  
27; cf.  
2 Tim. iv.  
1; 1 Pet.  
iv. 5;  
Apoc. i. 7.

Conuenit autem reuelationi et relationi praefati fratris de obitu huius antistitis etiam sermo reuerentissimi patris Ecgbereti<sup>5</sup>, de quo supra diximus, qui dudum cum eodem Ceadda adolescente, et ipse adulescens in Hibernia monachicam in orationibus et continentia, et meditatione diuinarum scripturarum uitam sedulus agebat. Sed illo postmodum patriam reuerso, ipse peregrinus pro Domino usque ad finem uitae permansit. Cum ergo ueniret ad eum longo post tempore gratia uisitationis de Brittaniam uir sanctissimus et continen-

f. 74 b.

Vision of  
his death  
seen in  
Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> -ci M.    <sup>2</sup> -caret C.    <sup>3</sup> erexerit N.    <sup>4</sup> penetrabilibus C. B<sup>2</sup>. W.    <sup>5</sup> egeberht-C; egbrecht-N.    <sup>6</sup> -ti M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>7</sup> illius N, and in B. ips. is written on an erasure.    <sup>8</sup> -dentium C.



Quod utrum de se an de alio aliquo diceret, nobis manet incertum, dum tamen hoc, quod tantus uir dixit, quia uerum sit, esse non possit incertum.

Obiit autem Ceadda sexto die Nonarum Martiarum, et sepultus est primo quidem iuxta ecclesiam sanctae Mariae; sed postmodum constructa ibidem ecclesia beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri, in eandem sunt eius ossa translata. In quo utroque loco, ad indicium uirtutis illius, solent crebra sanitatum miracula operari. Denique nuper freneticus quidam, dum per cuncta errando discurreret, deuenit ibi uespere, nescientibus siue non curantibus loci custodibus, et ibi tota nocte requiescens, mane sanato sensu egressus, mirantibus et gaudentibus cunctis, quid ibi sanitatis Domino largiente consequeretur, ostendit. Est autem locus idem sepulchri tumba lignea in modum domunculi facta coopertus, habente foramen in pariete, per quod solent hi, qui causa deuotionis illo adueniunt, manum suam inmittere, ac partem pulueris inde adsumere; quam cum in aquas miserint<sup>1</sup>, atque has infirmantibus iumentis siue hominibus gustandas dederint<sup>2</sup>, mox infirmitatis ablata<sup>3</sup> molestia, cupitae sospitatis gaudia redibunt.

Miracles.

Wynfrid  
succeeds.

In cuius locum ordinauit Theodorus Uynfridum, uirum bonum ac modestum, qui, sicut prodecessores eius, prouinciis Merciorum et Mediterraneorum Anglorum et Lindisfarorum episcopatus officio praeesset; in quibus cunctis Uulfheri<sup>4</sup>, qui adhuc supererat, sceptrum<sup>5</sup> regni tenebat. Erat autem Uynfrid de clero eius, cui ipse successerat, antistitis<sup>6</sup>, et diacognatus officio sub eo non pauco tempore fungebatur.

<sup>1</sup> -runt C.

<sup>2</sup> -runt C; dedirent, *altered into* dedirint M.

<sup>3</sup> oblata C<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> -re B<sup>2</sup>; uulferi N.

<sup>5</sup> septum M.

<sup>6</sup> antistitis B.

## CAP. IV.

*Ut Colman episcopus, relicta Britannia, duo monasteria in Scottia, unum Scottis, alterum Anglis, quos secum adduxerat, fecerit.*

f. 75 a.

INTEREA Colmanus, qui de Scottia erat episcopus, relinquens Britanniam, tulit secum omnes, quos in Lindisfarnensium<sup>1</sup> insula congregauerat Scottos; sed et de gente Anglorum uiros circiter XXX, qui utrique monachicae conuersationis | erant studiis inbuti. Et relictis in ecclesia sua fratribus aliquot, primo uenit ad insulam Hii, unde erat ad praedicandum uerbum Anglorum genti destinatus<sup>2</sup>. Deinde secessit ad insulam quandam paruam, quae ad occidentalem plagam ab Hibernia procul secreta, sermone Scottico Inisboufinde<sup>3</sup>, id est insula uitulae albae, nuncupatur. In hanc<sup>4</sup> ergo perueniens, construxit<sup>5</sup> monasterium, et monachos inibi, quos de utraque natione collectos adduxerat, collocauit. Qui cum inuicem concordare non possent, eo quod Scotti tempore aestatis, quo fruges erant colligendae, relicto monasterio per nota sibi loca dispersi uagarentur, at uero hieme succedente redirent, et his, quae Angli praeparauerant, communiter uti desiderarent; quaeiuit Colmanus huic dissensionis remedium, et circuiens omnia prope uel longe, inuenit locum in Hibernia<sup>6</sup> insula aptum monasterio construendo, qui lingua Scottorum<sup>7</sup> Mag éo<sup>8</sup> nominatur; emitque partem eius non grandem, ad constituendum<sup>9</sup> ibi monasterium, a comite, ad cuius possessionem pertinebat; ea condicione addita, ut pro ipso etiam, qui eis locum commodaret, consistentes ibi monachi Domino preces offerrent<sup>10</sup>. Et constructo statim monasterio, iuuante etiam comite ac uicinis omnibus, Anglos ibidem locauit, relictis in praefata insula Scottis. Quod

Monasteries founded by Colman in Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> -si C.    <sup>2</sup> dis- M.    <sup>3</sup> inhis- B; inisbo- C. N.    <sup>4</sup> hac M.

<sup>5</sup> construit C.    <sup>6</sup> ibernia C.    <sup>7</sup> -um om. M.    <sup>8</sup> mageu N.

<sup>9</sup> construendum C.    <sup>10</sup> offerent M.

uidelicet monasterium usque hodie ab Anglis tenetur incolis. Ipsum namque est, quod nunc grande de modico effectum, Muigéo consuete uocatur, et conuersis iamdudum ad meliora instituta omnibus, egregium examen continet monachorum, qui de prouincia Anglorum ibidem collecti, ad exemplum uenerabilium patrum sub regula et abbate canonico in magna continentia et sinceritate proprio labore manuum uiuant <sup>1</sup>.

## CAP. V.

*De morte Osuii et Ecgebercti <sup>2</sup> regum, et de synodo <sup>3</sup> facta ad locum Herutforda <sup>4</sup>, cui praesidebat archiepiscopus Theodorus.*

Death of  
Oswy; suc-  
cession of  
Egfrid.

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCLXX<sup>mo</sup>, qui est annus secundus ex quo Britanniam uenit Theodorus, Osuii rex Nordanhymbrorum pressus est infirmitate, qua et mortuus est anno aetatis suae LVIII<sup>o</sup>. Qui in tantum eo tempore tenebatur amore Romanae et apostolicae institutionis, ut, si ab infirmitate saluaretur, etiam Romam uenire, ibique ad loca sancta uitam finire disponderet, Uilfridumque episcopum ducem sibi itineris fieri, promissa | non parua pecuniarum dona- f. 75 b.  
tione, rogaret. Qui defunctus die XV Kalendarum Martiarum Ecgfridum <sup>5</sup> filium regni heredem reliquit; cuius anno regni III<sup>o</sup>, Theodorus cogit concilium episcoporum, una cum eis, qui canonica patrum statuta et diligenter, et nossent, magistris ecclesiae pluribus. Quibus pariter congregatis, diligenter ea, quae unitati pacis ecclesiasticae congruerent, eo quo pontificem decebat, animo, coepit obseruanda docere. Cuius synodicae actionis huiusmodi textus est:

Council of  
Hertford,  
Sept. 24,  
673.

*In nomine Domini Dei et Saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, regnante in perpetuum ac gubernante suam ecclesiam eodem Domino Iesu Christo, placuit conuenire*

<sup>1</sup> uiuunt B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> ecbercti C.    <sup>3</sup> -da C.    <sup>4</sup> heorut- C.  
<sup>5</sup> ecfridum C.

*nos iuxta morem canonum uenerabilium, tractaturos de necessariis ecclesiae negotiis. Conuenimus autem die XX<sup>o</sup>IIII<sup>o</sup> mensis Septembris<sup>1</sup>, indictione prima, in loco, qui dicitur Herutford<sup>2</sup>; ego quidem Theodorus, quamuis indignus, ab apostolica sede destinatus Doruuernensis<sup>3</sup> ecclesiae episcopus, et consacerdos ac frater noster, reuerentissimus Bisi, Orientalium Anglorum episcopus; quibus etiam frater et consacerdos noster Uilfrid<sup>4</sup>, Nordanhymbrorum gentis episcopus, per proprios legatarios adfuit. Adfuerunt et fratres ac consacerdotes nostri, Putta<sup>5</sup>, episcopus castelli Cantuariorum, quod dicitur Hrofescæstir<sup>6</sup>, Leutherius, episcopus Occidentalium Saxonum, Uynfrid, episcopus prouinciae Merciorum. Cumque in unum conuenientes iuxta ordinem quique suum resedissemus: ‘Rogo,’ inquam, ‘dilectissimi fratres, propter timorem et amorem Redemptoris nostri, ut in commune omnes pro nostra fide tractemus; ut, quaeque decreta ac definita sunt a sanctis ac probabilibus patribus, incorrupte ab omnibus nobis seruentur.’ Haec et alia quamplura, quae ad caritatem pertinebant, unitatemque ecclesiae conseruandam, prosecutus sum. Cumque explessem prae-locationem<sup>7</sup>, interrogauī unumquemque eorum per ordinem, si consentirent ea, quae a patribus canonice sunt antiquitus decreta, custodire. Ad quod omnes consacerdotes nostri respondentes dixerunt: ‘Optime omnibus placet, quaeque definierunt sanctorum canones patrum, nos quoque omnes alaeri animo libentissime seruare.’ Quibus statim protuli eundem librum canonum, et ex eodem libro X capitula, quae per loca notaueram, quia<sup>8</sup> maxime nobis necessaria sciebam, illis coram ostendi, et, ut haec diligentius ab omnibus susciperentur, rogaui.*

f. 76 a. *Primum capitulum: ‘Ut sanctum diem paschae in*

<sup>1</sup> -bri M<sup>1</sup>. C. N.      <sup>2</sup> heorut- C; herud- B<sup>1</sup>; hered- B<sup>2</sup>; herut-frod N.      <sup>3</sup> doruern- C.      <sup>4</sup> uilfrid, added on margin M.

<sup>5</sup> puta N.      <sup>6</sup> hrofaescaestir B<sup>1</sup>. N; -ter B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>7</sup> pro- N.

<sup>8</sup> quae N. C<sup>2</sup>.

*commune omnes seruemus dominica post XIII<sup>am</sup> lunam mensis primi.'*

*Secundum: 'Ut nullus episcoporum parrochiam alterius inuadat, sed contentus sit gubernatione creditae sibi plebis.'*

*III: 'Ut, quaeque monasteria Deo consecrata sunt, nulli episcoporum liceat ea in aliquo inquietare, nec quicquam de eorum rebus uiolenter abstrahere.'*

*IIII: 'Ut ipsi monachi non migrent de loco ad locum, hoc est de monasterio ad monasterium, nisi per dimissionem<sup>1</sup> proprii abbatis; sed in ea permaneant oboedientia, quam tempore suae conuersionis promiserunt.'*

*V: 'Ut nullus clericorum relinquens proprium episcopum, passim quolibet discurrat, neque alicubi ueniens absque commendaticijs litteris sui praesulis suscipiatur. Quod si semel susceptus noluerit imitatus redire, et susceptor, et is, qui susceptus est, excommunicationi<sup>2</sup> subiacebit.'*

*VI: 'Ut episcopi atque clerici peregrini contenti sint hospitalitatis munere oblato; nullique eorum liceat ullum officium sacerdotale, absque permissu episcopi, in cuius parrochia esse cognoscitur, agere.'*

*VII: 'Ut bis in anno synodus congregetur. Sed quia diuersae causae impediunt, placuit omnibus in commune, ut Kalendis Augustis in loco, qui appellatur Cløfeshoch<sup>3</sup>, semel in anno congregemur.'*

*VIII: 'Ut nullus episcoporum se praeferat alteri per ambitionem; sed omnes agnoscant tempus et ordinem consecrationis<sup>4</sup> suae.'*

*VIII capitulum in commune tractatum est: 'Ut plures episcopi crescente numero fidelium augerentur'; sed de hac re ad praesens siluimus.*

*X capitulum pro coniugiis: 'Ut nulli liceat nisi legiti-*

<sup>1</sup> de- M<sup>l</sup>. N<sup>l</sup>. B<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> -ne M.

<sup>3</sup> -ho'c'h M; cløfæshooh C;

cløfæshooh N. B.

<sup>4</sup> congregationis M. H<sub>l</sub>. D; halgunge AS.

i. e. consecrationis.



*mum habere conubium. Nullus incestum faciat, nullus coniugem propriam, nisi, ut sanctum euangelium docet, fornicationis causa, relinquat. Quod si quisquam propriam expulerit<sup>1</sup> coniugem legitimo sibi matrimonio coniunctam, si Christianus esse recte uoluerit, nulli alteri copuletur; sed ita permaneat, aut propriae reconcilietur coniugi.'*

*His itaque capitulis in commune tractatis ac definitis, ut nullum deinceps ab aliquo nostrum<sup>2</sup> oriatur contentionis scandalum, aut alia pro aliis diuulgarentur, placuit, ut, quaeque definita sunt, unusquisque nostrum manus propriae subscriptione confirmaret. | Quam sententiam definitionis nostrae Titillo<sup>3</sup> notario scribendam dictaui. Actum in mense et indictione supra scripta. Quisquis igitur contra hanc sententiam, iuxta decreta canonum, nostra etiam consensione ac subscriptione manus nostrae confirmatam, quoquo modo uenire, eamque infringere temptauerit, nouerit se ab omni officio sacerdotali et nostra societate separatam<sup>4</sup>. Diuina nos gratia in unitate sanctae suae ecclesiae uiuentes custodiat incolumes.*

Facta est autem haec synodus anno ab incarnatione Domini DCLXX tertio, quo anno rex Cantuariorum Ecgberet<sup>5</sup> mense Iulio obierat, succedente in regnum fratre Hlothere, quod ipse annos XI et menses VII tenuit. Bisi autem episcopus Orientalium Anglorum, qui in praefata<sup>6</sup> synodo fuisse perhibetur, ipse erat successor Bonifatii, cuius supra meminimus, uir multae sanctitatis et religionis. Nam Bonifatio post X et VII episcopatus sui annos defuncto, episcopus ipse pro eo, Theodoro ordinante, factus est. Quo adhuc superstitie, sed grauissima infirmitate ab administrando episcopatu prohibito, duo sunt pro illo, Aecci et Baduini<sup>7</sup>, electi et consecrati episcopi; ex quo usque hodie prouincia illa duos habere solet episcopos.

Death of Egbert, and succession of Hlothere, in Kent, July, 673.

Division of the East-Anglian diocese.

<sup>1</sup> expulit B.      <sup>2</sup> nostrorum B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>3</sup> titula N. B' on erasure.

<sup>4</sup> seper- M.      <sup>5</sup> -bercht C.      <sup>6</sup> -to C.      <sup>7</sup> -ne B<sup>2</sup>; baduini C; balluini altered into bad- or bald- N.

## CAP. VI.

*Ut deposito Uynfrido,<sup>1</sup> Sæxulf<sup>2</sup> episcopatum eius acceperit, et Earconuald<sup>3</sup> Orientalibus Saxonibus sit episcopus<sup>4</sup> datus.*

Deposition  
of Wyn-  
frid; con-  
secration of  
Sexulf.

Non multo post hæc elapso tempore, offensus a Uynfrido Merciorum episcopo per meritum cuiusdam inoboedientiae, Theodorus archiepiscopus deposuit eum de episcopatu post annos accepti episcopatus non multos; et in loco eius ordinavit episcopum Sexulfum<sup>5</sup>, qui erat constructor et abbas monasterii, quod dicitur Medeshamsted<sup>6</sup>, in regione Gyruiorum. Depositus uero Uynfrid rediit ad monasterium suum, quod dicitur Adbaruae, ibique in optima uitam conuersatione finiuit.

Earcon-  
waldbishop  
of the East  
Saxons.  
His char-  
acter.

Tum etiam Orientalibus Saxonibus, quibus eo tempore prae fuerunt Sebba<sup>7</sup> et Sigheri<sup>8</sup>, quorum supra meminimus, Earconualdum<sup>9</sup> constituit episcopum in ciuitate Lundonia; cuius<sup>10</sup> uidelicet uiri, et in episcopatu, et ante episcopatum, uita et conuersatio fertur fuisse sanctissima, sicut etiam nunc caelestium signa uirtutum indicio sunt. Etenim usque hodie feretrum eius caballarium, quo infirmus uehi solebat, seruatum a discipulis eius, multos febricitantes, uel alio quolibet incommodo | fessos, sanare non desistit. Non solum f. 77 a-  
autem subpositi eidem feretro, uel adpositi curantur egroti, sed et astulae de illo abscissae, atque ad infirmos adlatae citam illis solent adferre medellam.

He founds  
monas-  
teries at  
Chertsey  
and Bar-  
king.

Hic sane priusquam episcopus factus esset, duo praeclara monasteria, unum sibi, alterum sorori suae Aedilburgae<sup>11</sup> construxerat, quod utrumque regularibus disciplinis optime instituerat; sibi quidem in regione Sudergeona<sup>12</sup>, iuxta fluuium Tamensem<sup>13</sup>, in loco, qui

<sup>1</sup> uin- N.      <sup>2</sup> sex- B; saxulf C.      <sup>3</sup> erc- C      <sup>4</sup> ep. sit  
M.      <sup>5</sup> saex- N; saexulfum C.      <sup>6</sup> -de C. B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>7</sup> -be C.  
<sup>8</sup> -re C. B.      <sup>9</sup> eorcun- C; eancon- N.      <sup>10</sup> cui M.      <sup>11</sup> -bergae,  
altered to -burgae M; -ge N; aedil- C.      <sup>12</sup> sic B<sup>1</sup>. N; suderge  
B<sup>2</sup>; suthriena C; suthri'o'ei C<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>13</sup> tamisam C.

uocatur Cerotaesei<sup>1</sup>, id est Ceroti<sup>2</sup> insula ; sorori autem in Orientalium<sup>3</sup> Saxonum prouincia, in loco, qui nuncupatur In Berecingum<sup>4</sup>, in quo ipsa Deo deuotarum mater ac nutrix posset existere feminarum. Quae suscepto monasterii regimine, condignam se in omnibus episcopo fratre, et ipsa recte uiuendo, et subiectis regulariter ac<sup>5</sup> pie consulendo prae-buit ; ut etiam caelestia indicio fuere miracula.

## CAP. VII.

*Ut in monasterio Bericinensi<sup>6</sup>, ubi corpora sanctimonialium feminarum<sup>7</sup> poni deberent, caelesti sit luce monstratum.*

In hoc etenim monasterio plura uirtutum sunt signa patrata, quae et<sup>8</sup> ad memoriam aedificationemque sequentium ab his, qui nouere, descripta habentur a multis ; e quibus et nos aliqua historiae nostrae ecclesiasticae inserere curauimus. Cum tempestas saepe dictae<sup>9</sup> cladis late cuncta depopulans, etiam partem monasterii huius<sup>10</sup> illam, qua uiri tenebantur, inuasisset, et passim cotidie raperentur ad Dominum ; sollicita mater congregationis, qua hora etiam eam monasterii<sup>11</sup> partem, qua ancillarum Dei caterua a uirorum erat secreta contubernio, eadem plaga tangeret, crebrius in conuentu sororum perquirere coepit, quo loci in monasterio corpora sua poni, et cymiterium fieri uellent, cum eas eodem, quo ceteros exterminio raptari e mundo contingeret. Cumque nihil certi responsi, tametsi saepius inquirens, a sororibus accepisset, accepit ipsa cum omnibus certissimum supernae prouisionis responsum. Cum enim nocte quadam, expletis matutinae laudis psalmodiis, egressae de oratorio famulae

Miracles at  
Barking.

<sup>1</sup> cerotesei C.      <sup>2</sup> ceoroti C ; cerothi N.      <sup>3</sup> abbreviated in M ; -libus C ; -li edd.      <sup>4</sup> berecingum C.      <sup>5</sup> et M.  
<sup>6</sup> bernicensi N.      <sup>7</sup> feminarum, added on margin M.      <sup>8</sup> et om. B. A<sub>1</sub>. R<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>1</sub> &c.      <sup>9</sup> dicta M.      <sup>10</sup> eius N.      <sup>11</sup> -ri M.

Christi, ad sepulchra fratrum, qui eas ex hac luce praecesserant, solitas Domino laudes decantarent, ecce subito lux emissa caelitus, ueluti linteum magnum, cf. Act. x. 11; xl. 5. uenit super omnes, tantoque eas stupore perculit, ut f. 77 b. etiam | canticum, quod canebant, tremefactae intermitterent. Ipse autem splendor emissae lucis, in cuius comparatione sol meridianus uideri posset obscurus, non multo post illo eleuatus de loco, in meridianum<sup>1</sup> monasterii, hoc est ad occidentem oratorii, secessit, ibique aliquandiu remoratus, et ea loca operiens, sic uidentibus cunctis ad caeli se alta subduxit; ut nulli esset dubium, quin ipsa lux, quae animas<sup>2</sup> famularum Christi esset ductura uel susceptura in caelis, etiam corporibus earum locum, in quo requietura, et diem resurrectionis essent expectatura, monstraret. Cuius radius lucis tantus extitit<sup>3</sup>, ut quidam de fratribus senior, qui ipsa hora in oratorio eorum cum alio iuniore positus fuerat, referret mane, quod ingressi per rimas<sup>4</sup> ostiorum uel fenestrarum radii lucis, omnem diurni luminis uiderentur superare fulgorem.

## CAP. VIII.

*Ut in eodem monasterio puerulus moriens uirginem, quae se erat secutura, clamauerit; utque alia de corpore egressura, iam particulam futurae lucis aspexerit.*

Further  
miracles.

ERAT in eodem monasterio puer trium circiter non amplius annorum, Aesica nomine, qui propter infantilem adhuc aetatem in uirginum Deo dedicatarum solebat cella nutrirī, ibique meditari<sup>5</sup>. Hic praefata pestilentia tactus, ubi ad extrema peruenit, clamauit tertio unam de consecratis Christo uirginibus, proprio

<sup>1</sup> sic B; -nam M. C. N; C inserting partem after monasterii.

<sup>2</sup> animas, added on margin M. <sup>3</sup> erat C. D. &c. <sup>4</sup> ripas C. R<sup>1</sup>. O.

<sup>5</sup> medicari Smith, followed by Hussey, and (silently) by Stevenson and Moberly. It has no manuscript authority.

eam nomine quasi praesentem alloquens, 'Eadgyd<sup>1</sup>, Eadgyd, Eadgyd'; et sic terminans temporalem uitam, intrauit aeternam. At uirgo illa, quam moriens uocabat, mox in loco, quo erat, eadem adtacta infirmitate, ipso, quo uocitata<sup>2</sup> est die de hac luce subtracta, et illum, qui se uocauit, ad regnum caeleste secuta est.

Item quaedam ex eisdem ancillis Dei, cum praefato<sup>3</sup> tacta morbo, atque ad extrema esset perducta, coepit subito circa mediam noctem clamare his, quae sibi ministrabant, petens, ut lucernam, quae inibi accensa erat, extinguerent. Quod cum frequenti uoce repeteret, nec tamen ei aliquis obtemperaret, ad extremum intulit: 'Scio, quod me haec insana mente loqui arbitramini; sed iam nunc non ita esse cognoscite; nam uere dico uobis, quia<sup>4</sup> domum hanc tanta luce inpletam esse perspicio, ut uestra illa lucerna mihi omnimodis esse uideatur obscura.' Et cum ne adhuc quidem talia loquenti quisquam responderet, uel adsensum praeberet, iterum dixit: 'Accendite ergo lucernam | illam, quamdiu uultis; attamen scitote, quia non est mea; nam mea lux, incipiente aurora, mihi aduentura est.' Coepitque narrare, quia apparuerit sibi quidam uir Dei, qui eodem anno fuerat defunctus, dicens, quod adueniente diluculo perennem esset exitura ad lucem. Cuius ueritas uisionis cita circa exortum diei puellae morte probata est.

f. 78. a.

## CAP. IX.

*Quae sint ostensa caelitus signa, cum et ipsa mater congregationis illius e mundo transiret.*

Cum autem et ipsa mater pia Deo deuotae congregationis Aedilburga<sup>5</sup> esset rapienda de mundo, apparuit uisio miranda cuidam de sororibus, cui nomen erat

Story of the death of Abbess Ethelberg.

-gyð C, which has the name only once.

<sup>2</sup> uocata M. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> -ta M. C<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> quod C.

<sup>5</sup> -bur'u'g N; aedil- C.



Toretgyd<sup>1</sup>, quae multis iam annis in eodem monasterio commorata, et ipsa semper in omni humilitate ac cf. Act. xx. 19. sinceritate Deo servire satagebat, et adiutrix disciplinae regularis eidem matri existere, minores docendo uel castigando curabat. Cuius ut uirtus, iuxta apostolum, in infirmitate perficeretur, tacta est repente grauissimo 2 Cor. xii. 9 corporis morbo, et per annos VIII pia Redemptoris nostri prouisione multum fatigata; uidelicet ut, quicquid in ea uitii sordidantis inter uirtutes per ignorantiam uel incuriam resedisset, totum hoc caminus diutinae tribulationis excoqueret. Haec ergo<sup>2</sup> quadam nocte incipiente crepusculo, egressa de cubiculo<sup>3</sup>, quo manebat, uidit manifeste quasi corpus hominis, quod esset sole clarius, sindone inuolutum in sublime ferri, elatum uidelicet de domo, in qua sorores pausare solebant. Cumque diligentius intueretur, quo trahente leuaretur sursum<sup>4</sup> haec, quam contemplabatur species corporis gloriosi, uidit, quasi funibus auro clarioribus in superna tolleretur, donec caelis patentibus introducta, amplius ab illa uideri non potuit. Nec dubium remansit cogitanti de uisione, quin aliquis de illa congregatione citius esset moriturus, cuius anima per bona, quae fecisset, opera, quasi per funes aureos leuanda esset ad caelos; quod re uera ita contigit. Nam non multis interpositis diebus, Deo dilecta mater congregationis ipsius, ergastulo carnis educta<sup>5</sup> est; cuius talem fuisse constat uitam, ut nemo, qui eam nouerit, dubitare debeat, quin ei exeunti de hac uita caelestis patriae patuerit ingressus.

Further  
miracles.

In eodem quoque monasterio quaedam erat femina sanctimonialis, et ad saeculi | huius dignitatem nobilis, f. 78 b. et in amore futuri saeculi nobilior; quae ita multis iam annis omni corporis fuerat officio destituta, ut ne

<sup>1</sup> troet- N; torchgyð C; torht- B.    <sup>2</sup> enim M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> cubilo N; cp. p. 193, note<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> rursum B. C. D. &c.    <sup>5</sup> deducta N.

unum quidem mouere ipsa membrum<sup>1</sup> ualeret. Haec ubi corpus abbatissae uenerabilis in ecclesiam delatum, donec sepulturae daretur, cognouit, postulauit se illo adferri, et in modum orantium ad illud adelinari. Quod dum fieret, quasi uiuentem adlocuta, rogauit, ut apud misericordiam pii Conditoris inpetraret, se a tantis tamque diutinis cruciatibus absolui. Nec multo tardius exaudita est; nam post dies XII et ipsa educta ex carne temporales afflictiones aeterna mercede<sup>2</sup> mutauit.

Cum uero praefata Christi famula Torctgyd<sup>3</sup> tres adhuc annos post obitum dominae in hac uita tenebatur, in tantum ea, quam praediximus, infirmitate decocta est, ut uix ossibus hereret; ad ultimum, cum tempus iam resolutionis eius instaret, non solum membrorum ceterorum, sed et linguae motu caruit<sup>4</sup>. Quod dum tribus diebus et totidem noctibus ageretur, subito uisione spiritali recreata, os et oculos aperuit; aspectansque in caelum, sic ad eam, quam intuebatur, uisionem coepit loqui: 'Gratus mihi est multum aduentus tuus, et bene uenisti.' Et hoc dicto parumper reticuit, quasi responsum eius, quem uidebat et cui loquebatur, expectans. Rursumque, quasi leuiter indignata, subiunxit<sup>5</sup>: 'Nequaquam hoc laeta ferre queo.' Rursumque modicum silens, tertio dixit: 'Si nullatenus hodie fieri potest, obsecro, ne sit longum spatium in medio.' Dixit, et, sicut antea, parum<sup>6</sup> silens, ita sermonem conclusit: 'Si omnimodis ita definitum<sup>7</sup> est, neque hanc sententiam licet inmutari, obsecro, ne amplius quam haec solummodo proxima nox intersit.' Quibus dictis, interrogata a circumsedentibus, cum quo loqueretur: 'Cum carissima,' inquit, 'mea matre Aedilburge<sup>8</sup>.' Ex quo intellexere, quod ipsa ei<sup>9</sup> tem-

<sup>1</sup> membrorum B, which N has as an alternative reading on the margin.

<sup>2</sup> mercede M.

<sup>3</sup> tochtgyð C<sup>1</sup>; tocht- C<sup>2</sup>;

toragyð N. <sup>4</sup> careret C. B<sup>2</sup>. <sup>5</sup> subsubiunxit C. <sup>6</sup> paruum C.

<sup>7</sup> difin- M. and prob. B<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> edil- N; aedilburgæ C<sup>1</sup>; -ga C<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> et M.

pus suae transmigrationis proximum<sup>1</sup> nuntiare uenisset. Nam et ita, ut rogabat, transacta una die et<sup>2</sup> nocte, soluta carnis simul et infirmitatis uinculis ad aeternae<sup>3</sup> gaudia salutis intrauit.

## CAP. X.

*Ut ad cymiterium eiusdem monasterii orans caeca lucem receperit.*

Further  
miracles.

SUCCESSIT autem Aedilburgi<sup>4</sup> in officio<sup>5</sup> abbatissae deuota Deo famula, nomine Hildilid<sup>6</sup>, multisque annis, id est usque ad ultimam senectutem, eidem monasterio strenuissime, et<sup>7</sup> in obseruantia disciplinae regularis, et in earum, quae ad communes usus pertinent, | rerum f. 79 a. prouidentia praefuit. Cui cum propter angustiam loci, in quo monasterium constructum est, placuisset, ut ossa famulorum famularumque Christi, quae ibidem fuerant tumultata, tollerentur, et transferrentur omnia in ecclesiam beatae Dei genetricis, unoque conderentur in loco; quoties ibi claritas luminis caelestis, quanta saepe flagrantia mirandi apparuerit odoris, quae alia sint signa ostensa, in ipso libro, de quo haec excerpsumus, quisque legerit, inueniet.

Sane nullatenus praetereundum arbitror miraculum sanitatis, quod ad ipsum cymiterium Deo dicatae congregationis factum idem libellus refert. Erat quippe in proximo comes quidam, cuius uxor ingruente oculis caligine subita<sup>8</sup>, tantum per dies eadem molestia crebrescente grauata est, ut ne minimam<sup>9</sup> quidem lucis alicuius posset particulam uidere. Cui, dum aliquandiu caecitatis huius nocte clausa maneret, repente uenit in mentem, quia, si ad monasterium delata uirginum sanctimonialium, ad reliquias sanctorum peteret, perditam posset recipere lucem. Nec distulit, quin con-

<sup>1</sup> in proximum M.    <sup>2</sup> ac M. (?).    <sup>3</sup> -na C. N<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> -ge B<sup>2</sup>; aedilburgae C.    <sup>5</sup> -cium C. N.    <sup>6</sup> -lio N<sup>1</sup>; -lit N<sup>2</sup>.  
<sup>7</sup> et om. M.    <sup>8</sup> -to C. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>9</sup> -mum M.

tinuo, quod mente conceperat, expleret. Perducta namque a puellis suis ad monasterium, quia<sup>1</sup> in proximo erat, ubi fidem suae sanationis integram se habere professa est, introducta est ad cymiterium; et, cum ibidem diutius flexis genibus oraret, nihilo tardius meruit exaudiri. Nam exurgens ab oratione, priusquam exiret de loco, petita lucis gratiam recepit; et quae famularum manibus adducta fuerat, ipsa libero pedum incessu domum laeta reuersa est; quasi ad hoc solummodo lucem amitteret temporalem, ut, quanta sanctos Christi lux in caelis, quae gratia uirtutis possideret, sua sanatione demonstraret.

## CAP. XI.

*Ut rex eiusdem prouinciae Sebbi in monachica uitam conuersatione finierit.*

Eo tempore praeerat regno Orientalium<sup>2</sup> Saxonum, ut idem etiam libellus docet, uir multum Deo deuotus, nomine Sebbi<sup>3</sup>, cuius supra meminimus. Erat enim religiosus<sup>4</sup> actibus, crebris precibus, piis elemosynarum fructibus plurimum intentus; uitam priuatam et monachicam cunctis regni diuitiis et honoribus praeferens, quam et olim iam, si non obstinatus coniugis animus diuortium negaret, relicto regno subisset. Unde multis<sup>5</sup> uisum et saepe dictum est, quia talis animi uirum, episcopum magis quam regem ordinari deceret. Cumque annos XXX in regno miles regni caelestis exegisset, correptus est corporis | infirmitate permaxima, qua et mortuus est; ammonuitque coniugem, ut uel tunc diuino se seruitio pariter mancipient, cum amplius pariter mundum amplecti, uel potius mundo seruire non possent. Quod dum egre inpetraret ab ea, uenit ad antistitem Lundoniae ciuitatis, uocabulo Ualdheri<sup>6</sup>,

Character  
of Sebbi,  
King of the  
East  
Saxons.

79 b.

<sup>1</sup> quod N.

<sup>2</sup> occidentalia N.

<sup>3</sup> sebbe C<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> -sus C.

<sup>5</sup> -tum M. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> ualt- N; uualdhere C.

qui Erconualdo<sup>1</sup> successerat ; et per eius benedictionem habitum religionis, quem diu desiderabat, accepit. Attulit autem eidem et summam pecuniae non paruum pauperibus erogandam, nil omnimodis sibi reseruans ; sed pauper spiritu magis propter regnum caelorum manere desiderans.

Story of  
his death,

Qui cum ingraescente praefata egritudine, diem sibi mortis imminere sensisset, timere coepit homo animi regalis, ne ad mortem ueniens tanto adfectus dolore aliquid indignum suae personae uel ore proferret, uel aliorum motu gereret membrorum. Unde accito ad se praefato<sup>2</sup> urbis Lundoniae, in qua tunc ipse manebat, episcopo, rogauit, ne plures eo<sup>3</sup> moriente quam ipse episcopus et duo sui ministri adessent. Quod dum<sup>4</sup> episcopus libentissime se facturum promitteret, non multo post idem uir Dei, dum membra sopori dedisset, uidit uisionem consolatoriam, quae omnem ei anxietatem memoratae sollicitudinis auferret, insuper et, qua die esset hanc uitam terminaturus, ostenderet. Uidit enim, ut post ipse referebat, tres ad se uenisse uiros claro indutos habitu ; quorum unus residens ante lectulum eius, stantibus his, qui secum aduenerant<sup>5</sup>, comitibus, et interrogantibus de statu eius, quem languentem uisitare uenerant<sup>6</sup>, dixit, quod anima eius, et sine ullo dolore, et cum magno lucis splendore esset egressura de corpore ; sed et tertium exinde diem, quo esset moriturus, insinuauit. Quod ita utrumque, ut ex uisione didicit, completum est. Nam die dehinc tertio, completa hora nona, subito quasi leuiter obdormiens, sine ullo sensu doloris emisit spiritum.

and burial.

Cuius corpori tumultando praeparauerant sarcophagum lapideum ; sed cum huic corpus inponere coepissent,

<sup>1</sup> ereun- C ; erchon- N.      <sup>2</sup> -tae C, *omitting lundoniae . . .*  
manebat ; so O<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>. O<sub>3</sub>. D. &c.      <sup>3</sup> eum B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> eum C.      <sup>5</sup> uene-  
rant C.      <sup>6</sup> comitibus . . . uenerant, *added on lower margin M.*



inuenerunt hoc mensura <sup>1</sup> palmi longius esse sarcophago. Dolantes ergo lapidem in quantum ualebant, addiderunt longitudini sarcophagi quasi duorum mensuram digitorum. Sed nec sic quidem corpus capiebat. Unde facta difficultate tumulandi, cogitabant aut aliud quaerere loculum, aut ipsum corpus, si possent, in genibus inflectendo breuiare, donec ipso loculo caperetur. | Sed mira res et non nisi caelitus facta, ne aliquid horum fieri deberet, prohibuit. Nam subito adstante episcopo, et filio regis eiusdem ac monachi Sighardo, qui post illum cum fratre Suefredo regnauit, et turba hominum non modica, inuentum est sarcophagum illud congruae longitudinis ad mensuram corporis, adeo ut a parte capitis etiam ceruical posset <sup>2</sup> interponi; a parte uero pedum mensura IIII digitorum in sarcophago corpus excederet. Conditus est autem in ecclesia beati doctoris gentium, cuius edoctus monitis caelestia sperare didicerat.

## CAP. XII.

*Ut episcopatum Occidentalium Saxonum pro Leutherio Haeddi, episcopatum Hrofensis ecclesiae pro <sup>3</sup> Putta <sup>4</sup> Cuichelm <sup>5</sup>, et pro ipso Gefmund <sup>6</sup> acceperit; et qui tunc Nordanhymbrorum fuerint episcopi.*

QUARTUS Occidentalium Saxonum antistes Leuthorius fuit. Siquidem primus Birinus, secundus Agilbertus <sup>7</sup>, tertius exstitit Uini <sup>8</sup>. Cumque mortuus esset Coinualch <sup>9</sup>, quo regnante idem Leuthorius episcopus factus est, acceperunt subreguli regnum gentis, et diuisum inter se tenuerunt annis circiter X; ipsisque regnantibus defunctus est ille, et episcopatu functus Haeddi <sup>10</sup> pro eo, consecratus a Theodoro in ciuitate Lundonia.

Bishops of  
the West  
Saxons.

<sup>1</sup> -rae M. B. H. <sup>2</sup> possit C. N<sup>1</sup>. <sup>3</sup> pro om. M. <sup>4</sup> puta N.  
<sup>5</sup> quichelm C; cuichhelm N. <sup>6</sup> gebmund B. N; gemmund C.  
<sup>7</sup> -berchtus C. <sup>8</sup> uuini C. <sup>9</sup> coenualh C; coinuale N.  
<sup>10</sup> heddi C; haedda N.

Cuius episcopatus tempore deuictis atque amotis subregulis, Caedualla<sup>1</sup> suscepit imperium. et, cum duobus annis hoc tenuisset, tandem superni regni amore compunctus reliquit, eodem adhuc praesule ecclesiam gubernante; ac Romam abiens, ibi uitam finiuit, ut in sequentibus latius dicendum est.

Ethelred of  
Mercia  
ravages  
Kent, A. D.  
676.

Anno<sup>2</sup> autem dominicae incarnationis DCLXXVI, cum Aedilred<sup>3</sup> rex Merciorum, adducto maligno exercitu, Cantiam uastaret et ecclesias ac monasteria sine respectu pietatis uel diuini timoris fedaret, ciuitatem quoque Hrofi, in qua erat Putta<sup>4</sup> episcopus, quamuis eo tempore absens, communi clade absumsit. Quod ille ubi conperiit, ecclesiam uidelicet suam rebus ablatis omnibus depopulatam, diuertit ad Sexuulfum<sup>5</sup> Merciorum antistitem, et accepta ab eo possessione ecclesiae cuiusdam et agelli non grandis, ibidem in pace uitam finiuit, nil omnino de restaurando<sup>6</sup> episcopatu suo agens; quia, sicut et supra diximus, magis in ecclesiasticis quam in mundanis rebus erat industrius; sed in illa solum ecclesia Deo seruiens, et ubicumque rogabatur, ad docenda ecclesiae carmina diuertens. Pro quo Theodorus in ciuitate Hrofi Cuichelmum<sup>8</sup> consecrauit episcopum. Sed illo post non<sup>9</sup> multum temporis prae inopia rerum ab episcopatu decedente, atque ad alia loca secedente, Gebmundum pro eo substituit antistitem.

Bishops of  
Rochester.

Comet.

Anno<sup>10</sup> dominicae incarnationis DCLXXVIII, qui est annus imperii regis Ecgfridi<sup>11</sup> VIII. <sup>12</sup>, apparuit f. 8o b. mense Augusto stella, quae dicitur cometa; et tribus mensibus permanens, matutinis horis oriebatur. excelsam radiantis flammae quasi columnam praeferens.

<sup>1</sup> cead- C.    <sup>2</sup> H<sub>1</sub>. H<sub>2</sub>. A<sub>1</sub>. make a new chapter begin here.    <sup>3</sup> aedil- C.    <sup>4</sup> pinta N.    <sup>5</sup> saec- N<sup>1</sup>; saex- N<sup>2</sup>; saezulfum C.

<sup>6</sup> -rato M.    <sup>7</sup> et om. M.    <sup>8</sup> quic- C.    <sup>9</sup> non om. M.

<sup>10</sup> The capitula of AS. make a new chapter commence here; and so H<sub>2</sub>. R<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>2</sub>-4. O<sub>8</sub>-10 &c.    <sup>11</sup> eegfridi C; egfridi N.    <sup>12</sup> þæt nigoðe, i. e. nonus AS.

et  
Eddius,  
c. 24.

Quo etiam anno orta inter ipsum regem Ecgridum et reuerentissimum antistitem Ulfridum dissensione, pulsus est idem antistes a sede sui episcopatus, et duo in locum eius substituti episcopi, qui Nordanhymbrorum genti praeessent; Bosa<sup>1</sup> uidelicet, qui Derorum, et Eata, qui Berniciorum prouinciam gubernaret; hic in ciuitate Eburaci<sup>2</sup>, ille in Hagustaldensi siue in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia cathedram habens episcopalem, ambo de monachorum collegio in episcopatus gradum adsciti. Cum quibus et Eadhaed<sup>4</sup> in prouinciam Lindisfarorum, quam nuperrime rex Ecgrid<sup>5</sup>, superato in bello et fugato Uulphere, obtinuerat, ordinatur episcopus. Et hunc primum eadem prouincia proprium accepit praesulem, II Ediluini<sup>6</sup>, III Eadgarum, IIII Cyniberctum<sup>7</sup>, quem in praesenti habet. Habebat enim ante Eadhaedum<sup>8</sup> antistitem Sexuulfum<sup>9</sup>, qui etiam Merciorum et Mediterraneorum Anglorum simul episcopus fuit; unde et expulsus de Lindissi, in illarum prouinciarum regimine permansit. Ordinati sunt autem Eadhaed<sup>10</sup>, Bosa, et Eata Eboraci<sup>11</sup> ab archiepiscopo Theodoro; qui etiam post tres abscissionis Ulfridi annos, horum numero duos addidit antistites<sup>2</sup>, Tunberctum<sup>13</sup> ad ecclesiam Hagustaldensem<sup>14</sup>, remanente Eata ad Lindisfarnensem<sup>15</sup>, et Trumuini<sup>16</sup> ad prouinciam Pictorum, quae tunc temporis Anglorum erat imperio subiecta. Eadhaedum<sup>17</sup> de Lindissi reuersum, eo quod Aedilred<sup>18</sup> prouinciam recepisset, Hrypensi<sup>19</sup> ecclesiae praefecit.

Expulsion  
of Wilfrid,  
A.D. 678.

Division of  
the North-  
umbrian  
diocese.

<sup>1</sup> bossa N.    <sup>2</sup> eboraci B.    <sup>3</sup> august- N.    <sup>4</sup> eadhaet C.  
<sup>5</sup> egfrid N.    <sup>6</sup> -ne B<sup>3</sup>; aediluini C.    <sup>7</sup> -berchtum C.  
<sup>8</sup> eadaedum C; eadhedum N.    <sup>9</sup> sexulfum C.    <sup>10</sup> -hed N;  
 -haeth B.    <sup>11</sup> eburaci C.    <sup>12</sup> antistes N<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>13</sup> trum- N;  
 -berchtum C.    <sup>14</sup> august- N.    <sup>15</sup> remanente . . . lindisfarn.  
*added on lower margin* M.    <sup>16</sup> -ne B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>17</sup> -hędum N.    <sup>18</sup> edil-  
 N; aaeđil- C.    <sup>19</sup> hrip- N; rhyp- B.

## CAP. XIII.

*Ut Uilfrid episcopus prouinciam Australium Saxonum ad Christum conuerterit*<sup>1</sup>.

Wilfrid  
converts  
the South  
Saxons.

PULSUS est autem ab episcopatu suo Uilfrid<sup>2</sup>, et cf. Eddius, cc. 33-34  
multa diu loca peruagatus, Romam adiit, Brittaniam rediit; et si<sup>3</sup> propter inimicitias memorati regis in patria siue parrochia sua recipi non potuit, non tamen ab euangelizandi potuit ministerio cohiberi; siquidem diuertens ad *prouinciam Australium Saxonum*, quae ib. c. 41  
post Cantuarios ad austrum et ad occidentem usque ad Occidentales Saxones pertingit, habens terram familiarum VII<sup>4</sup> milium, et eo adhuc *tempore* paganis cultibus seruiebat; huic uerbum fidei et lauacrum salutis ministrabat. Erat autem *rex* gentis ipsius *Aedilualch*<sup>5</sup>, non multo ante baptizatus in prouincia Merciorum, praesente ac suggerente rege Uulfhere<sup>6</sup> a quo etiam egressus de fonte, loco filii susceptus est; | in cuius signum adoptionis duas illi prouincias do- f. 81 a.  
nauit, Uectam uidelicet insulam, et Meanuarorum prouinciam in gente Occidentalium Saxonum. Itaque episcopus, concedente, immo multum gaudente rege, primos<sup>7</sup> prouinciae duces ac milites sacrosancto fonte abluebat; uerum presbyteri Eappa, et Padda, et Burghelm. et Oiddi<sup>8</sup> ceteram plebem, uel tunc uel tempore sequente baptizabant. Porro regina, nomine Eabae, in sua, id est Huicciorum prouincia fuerat baptizata. Erat autem filia Eanfridi<sup>9</sup> fratris Ænheri<sup>10</sup>, qui ambo cum suo populo Christiani fuere. Ceterum tota prouincia Australium Saxonum diuini nominis et fidei erat ignara.

<sup>1</sup> quae tamen illo abeunte propter aceruam hostium obpressionem proprium episcopum habere nequiuertit, *add* C. W. O<sub>1-11</sub>. O<sub>14-19</sub>. D. P. R<sub>1</sub>. H<sub>2</sub>. AS. &c. <sup>2</sup> uuil- C. <sup>3</sup> sic M<sup>2</sup>. <sup>4</sup> VIII altered to VII N. <sup>5</sup> -ualh C;  $\epsilon$ dil- N. <sup>6</sup> -ri N<sup>2</sup>. <sup>7</sup> ærest, i. e. primo AS. <sup>8</sup> odda B<sup>2</sup>. <sup>9</sup> -frich N. <sup>10</sup> eanheri C; aeanheri N.

Erat autem ibi monachus quidam de natione Scottorum, uocabulo Dicul, habens monasteriolum permordicum in loco, qui uocatur Bosanham<sup>1</sup>, siluis et mari circumdatum, et in eo fratres V siue VI, in humili et paupere uita Domino famulantes. Sed prouincialium nullus eorum uel uitam aemulari, uel praedicationem curabat audire.

Irish monastery at Bosham.

Euangelizans autem genti episcopus Uilfrid, non solum eam ab erumna perpetuae damnationis, uerum et a clade infanda<sup>3</sup> temporalis interitus eripuit. Si quidem tribus annis ante aduentum eius in prouinciam nulla illis in locis pluuias ceciderat, unde et fames acerbissima<sup>4</sup> plebem inuadens impia nece prostrauit. Denique ferunt, quia saepe XL simul aut L homines inedia macerati procederent ad praecipitium aliquod siue ripam maris, et iunctis misere manibus, pariter omnes aut ruina perituri, aut fluctibus obsorbendi<sup>5</sup> deciderent. Uerum ipso<sup>6</sup> die, quo baptisma fidei gens suscepit illa, descendit pluuias serena, sed copiosa, reffloruit terra, rediit uiridantibus aruis annus laetus et frugifer. Sicque abiecta prisca superstitione, exsufflata idolatria, cor omnium et caro omnium exultauerunt in Deum uiuum; intellegentes eum, qui uerus est Deus, et interioribus se bonis et exterioribus caelesti gratia ditasse. Nam et antistes cum uenisset in prouinciam, tantamque ibi famis poenam uideret, docuit eos piscando uictum quaerere. Namque mare et flumina eorum piscibus abundabant; sed piscandi peritia genti nulla nisi ad anguillas tantum inerat. Collectis ergo undecumque retibus anguillaribus, homines antistitis miserunt in mare, et diuina se iuuante gratia, mox cepere<sup>7</sup> pisces diuersi generis CCC. Quibus trifariam diuisis, C pauperibus dederunt, centum his, a quibus

Wilfrid relieves the famine in Sussex.

cf. Ps. lxxxiii. 2.

f. 81 b.

<sup>1</sup> -ham B.C.; besanham N<sup>1</sup>; bos- N<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> mare M.    <sup>3</sup> nefanda N.    <sup>4</sup> aceru- M. B<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>5</sup> ab- B<sup>2</sup>; obser- M<sup>1</sup>; obsor- C.    <sup>6</sup> ipsa M.    <sup>7</sup> coepere M.



retia acceperant<sup>1</sup>, centum in suos usus habebant. Quo beneficio multum antistes<sup>2</sup> cor omnium in suum conuertit amorem, et libentius eo praedicante caelestia sperare coeperunt, cuius ministerio temporalia bona sumserunt.

Founda-  
tion of  
Selsey.

Quo tempore rex Aedilualch<sup>3</sup> donauit reuerentissimo antistiti Uilfrido terram LXXXVII familiarum, ubi suos homines, qui exules uagabantur, recipere posset, uocabulo Selæseu<sup>4</sup> quod dicitur Latine insula uituli marini. Est enim locus undique mari circumdatus praeter ab occidente, unde habet ingressum amplitudinis quasi iactus fundae; qualis locus a Latinis paeninsula, a Grecis solet cherronesos uocari. Hunc ergo locum cum accepisset episcopus Uilfrid, *fundauit* ibi monasterium, ac regulari uita instituit, maxime ex his, quos<sup>5</sup> secum adduxerat, *fratribus*; *quod usque hodie* successores eius tenere noscuntur. Nam ipse illis in partibus annos V, hoc est usque ad mortem Ecgfridi regis, merito omnibus honorabilis, officium episcopatus et uerbo exercebat et opere. Et quoniam illi<sup>7</sup> rex cum praefata loci possessione omnes, qui<sup>8</sup> ibidem erant, facultates cum agris et hominibus donauit, omnes fide Christi institutos, unda baptismatis abluit; inter quos, seruos et ancillas ducentos<sup>9</sup> quinquaginta; quos omnes ut baptizando a seruitute daemonica saluauit, etiam libertate donando humanae iugo seruitutis absoluit.

#### [CAP. XIV.<sup>o</sup>

*Ut intercessione Osualdi regis pestifera mortalitas sit sublata.]*

Miracle at  
Selsey.

IN quo tunc monasterio nonnulla caelestis gratiae dona specialiter ostensa fuisse perhibentur; utpote

<sup>1</sup> -runt C, and so at first M.    <sup>2</sup> antistis M.    <sup>3</sup> -ualh C.    <sup>4</sup> selles- C; selaes- N; -ei- B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>5</sup> quis M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> eg- N.    <sup>7</sup> illis M.    <sup>8</sup> quae C. N.    <sup>9</sup> -tas C.    <sup>10</sup> There is a good deal of diversity

ubi nuper expulsa diaboli tyrannide Christus iam regnare coeperat; e quibus unum, quod mihi reuerentissimus antistes Acca<sup>1</sup> sepius referre, et a fidelissimis eiusdem monasterii fratribus sibi relatum<sup>2</sup> asserere solebat, memoriae mandare commodum duximus.

i. 82 R. Eodem ferme tempore, quo ipsa prouincia nomen Christi suscepit, multas Britanniæ prouincias mortalitas saeua corripiebat. Quae cum praefatum quoque monasterium, cui tunc regendo religiosissimus Christi sacerdos, uocabulo | Eappa, praefuit, nutu diuinae dispensationis attingeret; multique siue de his, qui cum antistite illo uenerant, siue de illis, qui de eadem prouincia Saxonum nuper ad fidem fuerant uocati, passim de hac uita raperentur; uisum est fratribus triduanum ieiunium agere, et diuinam suppliciter obsecrare clementiam, ut misericordiam sibi dignaretur inpendere, et siue periclitantes hoc morbo a praesenti morte liberaret, seu raptos e mundo a perpetua<sup>3</sup> animæ damnatione seruaret.

Erat tunc temporis in eodem monasterio puerulus quidam de natione Saxonum, nuper uocatus ad fidem, qui eadem tactus infirmitate, non pauco tempore recubans in lectulo iacebat. Cum ergo secunda memorati ieiunii ac supplicationum dies ageretur,

in the MSS. with reference to the arrangement of these chapters. The headings of this and of the following chapter are not in the capitula of any MS. which I have examined. In M both chapters occur in the text of the work, but form one chapter with c. xiii. This is also the case in H<sub>1</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. R<sub>1</sub>. O<sup>1</sup><sub>3</sub>. O<sub>4</sub>. O<sub>10</sub>. (v. note<sup>11</sup>, p. 236) O<sub>5-7</sub>. O<sub>11-12</sub>. O<sub>14-15</sub>. O<sub>17</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>. Bu.<sub>1</sub>. A<sub>2</sub>. Ar. [Ca.<sub>1-2</sub>. Ca.<sub>6</sub>.] B has cc. xiv. xv. in the text, where they form a single chapter distinct from c. xiii. so S. A<sup>1</sup><sub>1</sub>; while N has cc. xiv. xv. in the text as two distinct chapters. This is also the case in A<sup>2</sup><sub>1</sub>. A<sub>3</sub>. O<sub>2</sub>. In C c. xiv. is wanting in the text altogether, and c. xv. forms part of c. xiii. This is also the case in W. O<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>8</sub>. O<sub>9</sub>. (v. note<sup>3</sup>, p. 236) H<sub>2</sub>. P. O<sub>16</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>. Bu.<sub>2</sub>. C<sup>2</sup> notes on the margin here 'hic deest folium u[er]num.' The AS. vers. agrees exactly with C. [Ca.<sub>3</sub>. Ca.<sub>4</sub>. Ca.<sub>7</sub>.] seem to differ from all the rest; the two last agreeing together. <sup>1</sup> acta N. <sup>2</sup> reuelatum N<sup>1</sup>. <sup>3</sup> -tuo M. B.

contigit forte ipsum puerum hora ferme secunda diei in loco, in quo eger iacebat, solum inueniri; cui diuina dispositione subito beatissimi apostolorum principes dignati sunt apparere. Erat enim puer multum simplicis ac mansueti animi, sinceraque deuotione sacramenta fidei, quae susceperat, seruans. Salutantes ergo illum uerbis piissimis apostoli dicebant: 'Noli timere, fili, mortem, pro qua sollicitus es; nos enim te hodierna die ad caelestia sumus regna perducturi. Sed primum expectare habes, donec missae celebrentur, ac uiatice dominici corporis ac sanguinis accepto, sic infirmitate simul et morte absolutus, ad aeterna in caelis gaudia subleueris. Clama ergo ad te presbyterum Eappan<sup>1</sup>, et dicito illi, quia Dominus exaudiuit preces uestras, et deuotionem ac ieiunia propitius aspexit; neque aliquis de hoc monasterio siue<sup>2</sup> adiacentibus ei possessiunculis hac clade ultra moriturus est; sed omnes, qui alicubi de uestris hac egritudine laborant, resurrecturi a langore, pristina sunt sospitate recuperandi, praeter te solum qui hodierna es die liberandus a morte, et ad uisionem Domini Christi, cui fideliter seruisti, perducendus in caelum; quod diuina uobis misericordia<sup>3</sup> per intercessionem religiosi ac Deo dilecti regis Osualdi, qui quondam genti Nordanhymbrorum et regni temporalis auctoritate et Christianae pietatis, quae ad regnum perenne ducit, deuotione sublimiter praefuit, conferre dignata est. Hac etenim die idem rex ab infidelibus in bello corporaliter extinctus, mox ad sempiterna<sup>4</sup> animarum gaudia adsumtus in caelum, et electorum f. 82 b est sociatus agminibus. Quaerant<sup>5</sup> in suis codicibus, in quibus defunctorum est adnotata depositio, et

<sup>1</sup> eapan N.      <sup>2</sup> sibi M. N. H<sub>1</sub>; siue B, but with ue on erasure; seu sibi O<sub>2</sub>.      <sup>3</sup> misericordia om. M<sup>1</sup>, inserted by a much later hand, om. B<sup>1</sup>. grā (gratia) inserted by B<sup>2</sup>, om. H<sub>1</sub>; gratia O<sub>3</sub>; diuina clementia uobis O<sub>2</sub>.      <sup>4</sup> superna B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>5</sup> quaerant ergo M<sup>2</sup>.

inuenient illum hac, ut diximus, die raptum esse de saeculo. Celebrent ergo missas per cuncta monasterii oratoria huius, siue pro gratiarum actione exauditaе suae deprecationis<sup>1</sup>, siue etiam in memoriam praefati regis Osualdi, qui quondam ipsorum genti praeerat, ideoque pro eis, quasi pro suae gentis aduenis, supplex orabat ad Dominum; et cunctis conuenientibus<sup>2</sup> ad ecclesiam fratribus, communicent omnes sacrificiis caelestibus, et ita soluto ieiunio corpus quoque suis reficiant alimentis.’

Quae cum omnia uocato ad se presbytero puer uerba narrasset, interrogauit eum sollicitus, quales essent habitu uel specie uiri, qui sibi apparuissent. Respondit: ‘Praeclari omnino habitus, et uultus erant laetissimi ac pulcherrimi, quales numquam ante uideram, neque aliquos hominum tanti decoris ac uenustatis esse posse credebam. Unus quidem adtonsus erat, ut clericus, alius barbam habebat prolixam; dicebantque, quod unus eorum Petrus, alius uocaretur Paulus; et ipsi essent ministri Domini et Saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, ad tuitionem nostri monasterii missi ab ipso de caelis.’ Credidit ergo uerbis pueri presbyter, ac<sup>3</sup> statim egressus requisiiuit in annale suo, et inuenit eadem ipsa die Osualdum regem fuisse peremtum; uocatisque fratribus, parari prandium, missas fieri, atque omnes communicare more solito praecepit; simul et infirmanti puero de eodem sacrificio dominicae oblationis particulam deferri mandauit.

Quibus ita gestis, non multo post eadem ipsa die puer defunctus est, suaeque morte probauit uera fuisse uerba, quae ab apostolis Christi audierat. Sed et hoc eius uerbis testimonium perhibuit, quod nemo praeter ipsum tempore illo ex eodem est monasterio raptus de mundo. Ex qua nimirum uisione multi, qui haec

<sup>1</sup> -nes M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> aduen- M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>3</sup> at M.

audire potuerunt, et ad<sup>1</sup> exorandam in aduersis diuinam clementiam, et<sup>2</sup> ad salutaria ieiuniorum remedia subeunda sunt mirabiliter accensi; et ex eo tempore non solum in eodem monasterio, sed et in plerisque locis aliis, coepit annuatim eiusdem regis ac militis Christi natalicius dies missarum celebratione uenerari.

[CAP. XV<sup>3</sup>.

*Ut Caedwalla rex Geuissorum, interfecto rege Aedilualch, prouinciam illam saeua caede ac depopulatione attriuerit.]*

Cædwalla  
ravages  
Sussex.

INTEREA superueniens | cum exercitu Caedwalla<sup>4</sup>, f. 83 a. iuuenis strenuissimus de regio genere<sup>5</sup> Geuissorum, cum exularet a patria sua, interfecit regem Aedilualch<sup>6</sup>, ac prouinciam illam saeua caede ac depopulatione attriuit; sed mox expulsus est a ducibus regis<sup>7</sup>, Berethuno et Andhuno, qui deinceps regnum prouinciae tenuerunt; quorum prior postea ab eodem Caedwalla<sup>8</sup>, cum esset rex Geuissorum, occisus est, et prouincia grauiore seruitio subacta. Sed et Ini, qui post Caedwallan<sup>9</sup> regnauit<sup>10</sup>, simili prouinciam illam adflictione plurimo annorum tempore mancipauit. Quare factum est, ut toto illo tempore episcopum proprium habere nequiret; sed reuocato domum Ulfrido primo suo antistite, ipsi episcopo Geuissorum, id est Occidentalium Saxonum, qui essent in Uenta ciuitate, subiacerent.

CAP. XIV [XVI]<sup>11</sup>.

*Ut Uecta insula christianos incolas suscepit, cuius regii<sup>12</sup> duo pueri statim post acceptum baptismum sint intererenti.*

POSTQUAM ergo Caedwalla<sup>13</sup> regno potitus est Geuis-

<sup>1</sup> et om. B<sup>2</sup>; ad om. M. B<sup>1</sup>. N. H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>2</sup> et om. M. B. N. H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>3</sup> r. note<sup>10</sup>, p. 232. <sup>4</sup> cead- C. <sup>5</sup> genere om. M. <sup>6</sup> -ualh C; edil- N. <sup>7</sup> regiis B. <sup>8</sup> cead- C; sed- N<sup>1</sup>; ced- N<sup>2</sup>. <sup>9</sup> cæduallam C. N. <sup>10</sup> -abat N. <sup>11</sup> Numbered XIII in M. and so to the end of the book. This chapter is joined on to the preceding in H<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>9</sub>. O<sub>10</sub>. <sup>12</sup> regi M. <sup>13</sup> -ualla C.



sorum. cepit <sup>1</sup> et insulam Uectam, quae eatenus erat tota idolatriae dedita, ac stragica <sup>2</sup> caede omnes indigenas exterminare, ac suae prouinciae homines pro his substituere contendit, uoto se obligans, quamuis necdum regeneratus, ut ferunt, in Christo, quia, si cepisset insulam, quartam <sup>3</sup> partem eius simul et praedae Domino daret. Quod ita soluit, ut hanc Uilfrido episcopo, qui tunc forte de gente sua superueniens aderat, utendam pro Domino offerret. Est autem mensura eiusdem insulae, iuxta aestimationem Anglorum, mille ducentarum familiarum; unde data est episcopo possessio terrae CCC<sup>arum</sup> familiarum. At ipse partem, quam accepit, commendauit cuidam de clericis suis, cui nomen Bernuini <sup>4</sup>, et erat filius sororis eius. dans illi presbyterum nomine Hiddila, qui omnibus, qui saluari uellent, uerbum ac lauacrum uitae ministraret.

Cædwalla  
subduces the  
Isle of  
Wight.

Ubi silentio praetereundum non esse reor, quod in primitias eorum, qui de eadem insula credendo saluati sunt, duo regii pueri fratres uidelicet Arualdi <sup>5</sup> regis insulae, speciali sunt Dei gratia coronati. Siquidem imminentibus insulae hostibus, fuga lapsi sunt de insula, et in proximam Iutorum prouinciam translati; ubi, cum delati in locum, qui uocatur Ad Lapidem, occulendos se a facie regis uictoris credidissent, proditi sunt, atque occidi iussi. Quod cum audisset abbas quidam et presbyter uocabulo Cyniberet <sup>6</sup>, habens non longe ab inde monasterium in loco, | qui uocatur Hreutford <sup>7</sup>, id est uadum harundinis, uenit ad regem, qui tunc eisdem in partibus occultus curabatur a uulneribus, quae ei inflicta fuerant proelianti in insula

Slaughter  
of two  
youths of  
the royal  
race of  
Wight.

f. 83 b.

<sup>1</sup> cepit M. W. <sup>2</sup> sic M. B. C. H<sub>1</sub>. W. D. R<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>2</sub> &c.; stragisa caede N<sup>1</sup>; stragicas caedes N<sup>2</sup>; tragica O<sub>7</sub>. edd. gelice þy troiscan wæle AS., i. e. caede troicae simili. <sup>3</sup> et praedam, instead of quartam B. <sup>4</sup> -ne B<sup>2</sup>; bennuini N; berchtuini C; berhtwini AS. <sup>5</sup> oualdi B<sup>2</sup>. <sup>6</sup> -berht C. <sup>7</sup> hreod- B<sup>2</sup>; hreout- C.

Uecta ; postulauitque ab eo, ut, si necesse esset pueros interfici<sup>1</sup>, prius eos liceret fidei Christianae sacramentis inbui. Concessit rex, et ipse instructos eos<sup>2</sup> uerbo ueritatis, ac fonte Saluatoris ablutos<sup>3</sup>, de ingressu regni aeterni certos reddidit. Moxque illi instante carnifice mortem laeti subiere temporalem, per quam se ad uitam animae perpetuam non dubitabant esse transi-turos. Hoc ergo ordine, postquam omnes Brittani-arum prouinciae fidem Christi susceperant<sup>4</sup>, suscepit et insula Uecta, in quam tamen ob<sup>5</sup> erumnam externae subiectionis nemo gradum ministerii ac sedis epi-scopalis ante Danihelem, qui nunc Occidentalium Saxonum est episcopus, accepit.

Sita est autem haec insula contra medium Austra-lium Saxonum et Geuissorum, interposito pelago lati-tudinis trium milium, quod uocatur Soluente ; in quo uidelicet pelago bini aestus oceani, qui circum Britta-niam ex infinito oceano septentrionali erumpunt, sibi-met inuicem cotidie conpugnantes occurrunt ultra ostium fluminis Homelea, quod per terras Iutorum<sup>6</sup>, quae ad regionem Geuissorum pertinent, praefatum pelagus intrat ; finitoque conflictu in oceanum refusi, unde uenerant, redeunt.

## CAP. XV [XVII].

*De synodo<sup>7</sup> facta in campo Haethfelda<sup>8</sup>, praesidente archiepiscopo Theodoro.*

Council of  
Hatfield,  
Sept. 17,  
680.

Hrs temporibus audiens Theodorus fidem ecclesiae Constantinopoli per heresim Eutychetis multum esse turbatam, et ecclesias Anglorum, quibus praeerat, ab huiusmodi labe immunes perdurare desiderans, collecto uenerabilium sacerdotum doctorumque<sup>9</sup> plurimorum coetu, cuius essent fidei singuli, sedulus inquirebat,

<sup>1</sup> -feci M.    <sup>2</sup> eos om. M.    <sup>3</sup> absolutos M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> -runt M<sup>1</sup>.  
<sup>5</sup> ab M.    <sup>6</sup> iutarum C.    <sup>7</sup> -da M. C. N.    <sup>8</sup> haetfeldo C.  
<sup>9</sup> que om. M.

omniumque unanimum in fide catholica repperit consensum ; et hunc synodalibus litteris ad instructionem memoriamque sequentium commendare curauit, quarum uidelicet litterarum istud exordium est :

f. 84 a.

*In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi Saluatoris, imperantibus dominis piissimis nostris Ecgfrido rege Hymbronensium<sup>1</sup>, anno X<sup>o</sup> regni eius, sub die XV Kalendas Octobres, indictione VIII<sup>a</sup> ; et Aedilredo<sup>2</sup> rege Mercionensium<sup>3</sup>, anno sexto regni eius ; et Aldulfo<sup>4</sup> rege Estranglorum<sup>5</sup>, anno XVII<sup>o</sup> regni eius ; et Hlothario<sup>6</sup> rege Cantuariorum, regni eius anno VII<sup>o</sup> ; praesidente Theodoro, gratia Dei archiepiscopo Britanniae insulae et ciuitatis Doruuernis<sup>7</sup> ; una cum eo | sedentibus ceteris episcopis Britanniae insulae uiris uenerabilibus, praepositis sacrosanctis euangeliiis, in loco, qui Saxonico uocabulo Haethfelth<sup>8</sup> nominatur, pariter tractantes, fidem rectam et orthodoxam exposuimus ; sicut Dominus noster Iesus Christus incarnatus tradidit discipulis suis, qui praesentialiter uiderunt, et audierunt sermones eius, atque sanctorum patrum tradidit symbolum, et generaliter omnes sancti et uniuersales synodi, et omnis probabiliū catholicae ecclesiae doctorum chorus. Hos itaque sequentes, nos pie atque orthodoxe, iuxta diuinitus inspiratam doctrinam eorum professi credimus consonanter<sup>9</sup>, et confitemur secundum sanctos patres, proprie et ueraciter Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum trinitatem in unitate consubstantialē et unitatem in trinitate, hoc est unum Deum in tribus subsistentiis<sup>10</sup>, uel personis consubstantialibus, aequalis gloriae et honoris.*

Et post multa huiusmodi, quae ad rectae fidei confessionem pertinebant, haec quoque sancta synodus suis litteris addit :

<sup>1</sup> humb. C. N.    <sup>2</sup> edilredo C.    <sup>3</sup> mercinentium B<sup>1</sup> ; mercen-B<sup>2</sup> ; mercionensium N<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> aldulfo C. N.    <sup>5</sup> east- C.

<sup>6</sup> lothario C.    <sup>7</sup> doro- C, the first o being by C<sup>2</sup> on erasure.

<sup>8</sup> -feld C ; -feltri N.    <sup>9</sup> constanter C. O<sub>1-4</sub>. D. &c.    <sup>10</sup> sic N<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>2</sup> ; -tis M. B<sup>1</sup>. C ; substantiis N<sup>2</sup>.

*Suscipimus*<sup>1</sup> *sanctas et uniuersales quinque synodos beatorum et Deo acceptabilium patrum; id est, qui in Nicæa*<sup>2</sup> *congregati fuerunt CCCX et VIII contra Arrium impiissimum et eiusdem dogmata; et in Constantinopoli CL contra uestaniam Macedonii*<sup>3</sup> *et Eudorii et eorum dogmata; et in Efeso primo ducentorum contra nequissimum Nestorium et eiusdem dogmata; et in Calcedone DC<sup>rum</sup> et XXX contra Eutychen, et Nestorium, et eorum dogmata; et iterum in Constantinopoli quinto congregati sunt concilio in tempore Iustiniani minoris*<sup>4</sup> *contra Theodorum*<sup>5</sup>, *et Theodoreti et Iba*<sup>6</sup> *epistulas, et eorum dogmata contra Cyrillum.*

Et paulo post :

*Et synodum, quæ facta est in urbe Roma in tempore Martini papæ beatissimi, indictione VIII<sup>a</sup>, imperante Constantino piissimo anno nono, suscipimus*<sup>7</sup>. *Et glorificamus Dominum nostrum Iesum, sicut isti glorificauerunt; nihil addentes uel subtrahentes*<sup>8</sup>; *et anathematizamus corde et ore, quos anathematizarunt, et quos susceperunt, suscipimus*<sup>9</sup>; *glorificantes Deum Patrem sine initio, et Filium eius unigenitum ex Patre generatum ante saecula, et Spiritum Sanctum procedentem ex Patre et Filio innarrabiliter, sicut prædicauerunt hi, quos memorauimus supra, sancti apostoli, et prophetae, et doctores. | Et nos* f. 84 b. *omnes subscribimus*<sup>10</sup>, *qui cum Theodoro archiepiscopo fidem catholicam exposuimus.*

## CAP. XVI [XVIII].

*De Iohanne cantatore sedis apostolicæ, qui propter docendum Britanniam uenerit.*

John the  
arch-  
chanter of

INTERERAT huic synodo, pariterque catholice fidei decreta firmabat uir uenerabilis Iohannes archicantator

<sup>1</sup> -cepimus M.    <sup>2</sup> nicena C.    <sup>3</sup> -ni M.    <sup>4</sup> minoris om. H<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>5</sup> theodorum H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>6</sup> ibae B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>7</sup> -cepimus M. N<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>8</sup> detrah-  
M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>9</sup> -cepimus M. N<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>10</sup> -scripsimus M. H<sub>1</sub>.

ecclesiae sancti apostoli Petri, et abbas monasterii beati Martini, qui nuper uenerat a Roma per iussionem papae Agathonis, duce reuerentissimo abbate Biscopo cognomine Benedicto, cuius supra meminimus<sup>1</sup>. Cum enim idem Benedictus construxisset monasterium Britanniae in honorem beatissimi apostolorum principis, iuxta ostium fluminis Uiuri<sup>2</sup>, uenit Romam cum cooperatore ac socio eiusdem operis Ceolfrido, qui post ipsum eiusdem monasterii abbas fuit, quod et ante sepius facere consueuerat, atque honorifice a beatae memoriae papa Agathone susceptus est; petiitque et accepit ab eo, in munimentum libertatis monasterii, quod fecerat, epistulam priuilegii ex auctoritate apostolica firmatam; iuxta quod Ecgfridum regem uoluisse ac licentiam dedisse nouerat, quo concedente et possessionem terrae largiente, ipsum monasterium fecerat.

St. Peter's  
Rome.

Accepit et praefatum Iohannem abbatem Britanniam perducendum; quatenus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annum, sicut ad sanctum Petrum Romae agebatur, edoceret; egitque abba Iohannes, ut iussionem acceperat pontificis, et ordinem uidelicet, ritumque canendi ac legendi uiua uoce praefati monasterii cantores<sup>3</sup> edocendo, et ea, quae totius anni circulus in celebratione dierum festorum poscebat, etiam litteris mandando; quae hactenus in eodem monasterio seruata, et a multis iam sunt circumquaque transscripta. Non solum autem idem Iohannes ipsius monasterii fratres docebat, uerum de omnibus pene eiusdem prouinciae monasteriis ad audiendum eum, qui cantandi erant periti, confluebant. Sed et ipsum per loca, in quibus doceret, multi inuitare curabant.

Ipse autem excepto cantandi uel legendi munere, et aliud in mandatis ab apostolico papa acceperat, ut, cuius esset fidei Anglorum ecclesia, diligenter edisceret,

He reports  
on the  
orthodoxy  
of the  
English  
Church.

<sup>1</sup> cuius . . . memin. om. C. W<sup>1</sup>. O<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>, *underlined for de'tion* by B<sup>2</sup>,  
om. AS. D. O<sub>3-5</sub>. &c.    <sup>2</sup> uiuri C.    <sup>3</sup> cantatoris N.



Romamque rediens referret. Nam et synodum beati papae Martini, centum quinque episcoporum consensu<sup>1</sup> non multo ante Romae celebratam, contra eos maxime, qui unam in Christo operationem et uoluntatem praeedicabant, | secum ueniens adtulit; atque in praefato f. 85 a. religiosissimi abbatis Benedicti monasterio transscribendam commodauit. Tales namque eo tempore fidem Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae multum conturbauerunt<sup>2</sup>; sed Domino donante<sup>3</sup> proditi iam tunc et uicti sunt. Unde uolens Agatho papa, sicut in aliis prouinciis, ita etiam in Brittania qualis esset status ecclesiae, quam ab hereticorum contagiis castus, ediscere, hoc negotium reuerentissimo abbati Iohanni Britanniam destinato iniunxit. Quamobrem collecta pro hoc in Brittania synodo, quam diximus inuenta est in omnibus fides inuiolata catholica; datumque illi<sup>4</sup> exemplar eius Romam perferendum.

His death.

Uerum ille patriam reuertens, non multo postquam oceanum transiit, arreptus infirmitate ac defunctus est; corpusque eius ab amicis propter amorem sancti Martini, cuius monasterio praeerat, Turonis<sup>5</sup> delatum atque honorifice sepultum<sup>6</sup> est. Nam et benigno ecclesiae illius hospitio, cum Britanniam iret, exceptus est, rogatusque multum a fratribus, ut Romam reuertens<sup>7</sup>, illo itinere ueniret, atque ad eam diuerteret ecclesiam; denique ibidem adiutores itineris et iniuncti operis accepit. Qui etsi in itinere defunctus est, nihilominus exemplum catholicae fidei Anglorum Romam perlatum est, atque ab apostolico papa omnibusque, qui audire uel legere, gratantissime susceptum.

<sup>1</sup> consensu C.

<sup>2</sup> -runt altered to -rant M.

<sup>3</sup> iuuante N.

<sup>4</sup> est illi C.

<sup>5</sup> toronis M<sup>1</sup>. N.

<sup>6</sup> -tus M.

<sup>7</sup> deuertens M.

## CAP. XVII [XIX].

*Ut<sup>1</sup> Edilthryd<sup>2</sup> regina uirgo perpetua permanserit, cuius nec corpus in monumento corrumpi potuerit.*

ACCEPIT autem rex Ecgfrid coniugem nomine Aedil-  
thrydam<sup>3</sup>, filiam Anna regis Orientalium Anglorum,  
cuius sepius<sup>4</sup> mentionem fecimus, uiri bene religiosi,  
ac per omnia mente et opere egregii<sup>5</sup>; quam et alter  
ante illum uir habuerat uxorem, princeps uidelicet  
Australium Gyruiorum<sup>6</sup> uocabulo Tondberet<sup>7</sup>. Sed  
illo post modicum temporis, ex quo eam accepit, de-  
functo, data est regi praefato; cuius consortio cum  
XII annis uteretur, perpetua tamen mansit uirginitatis  
integritate gloriosa; sicut mihimet sciscitanti, cum  
hoc, an ita esset, quibusdam uenisset in dubium, beatae  
memoriae Uilfrid<sup>8</sup> episcopus referebat, dicens se testem  
integritatis eius esse certissimum; adeo ut Ecgfridus<sup>9</sup>  
promiserit se ei terras ac pecunias multas esse dona-  
turum, si reginae posset persuadere eius uti conubio,  
quia sciebat illam nullum uirorum plus illo diligere.  
Nec diffidendum est nostra etiam aetate | fieri potuisse,  
quod aeuo praecedente aliquoties factum fideles his-  
toriae narrant; donante uno eodemque Domino, qui  
se nobiscum usque in finem saeculi manere pollicetur.  
Nam etiam signum diuini miraculi, quo eiusdem  
feminae sepulta caro corrumpi non potuit, indicio est,  
quia uirili<sup>10</sup> contactu incorrupta durauerit.

Quae multum diu regem postulans, ut saeculi curas  
relinquere, atque in monasterio, tantum uero regi  
Christo seruire permetteretur; ubi uix aliquando in-  
petrauit, intrauit monasterium Aebbae abbatissae, quae  
erat amita regis Ecgfridi, positum in loco, quem Coludi  
urbem nominant, accepto uelamine sanctimonialis

takes the  
veil.

<sup>1</sup> r. note <sup>1</sup>, p. 247.    <sup>2</sup> aedilðryt C; aediltryd N.    <sup>3</sup> aedil-  
dryðam C<sup>1</sup>; aedel- C<sup>2</sup>; aegilthrydam N<sup>1</sup>; -drydam N<sup>2</sup>; aengl- N<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> superius N.    <sup>5</sup> -gi M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> sic B; gyruiorum M; gyruuiorum C.

<sup>7</sup> -berht C.    <sup>8</sup> uuil- C.    <sup>9</sup> eg- C.    <sup>10</sup> a uiri M. H<sup>1</sup>.

Abbess of  
Ely.  
Mode of  
life and  
character.

habitus a praefato antistite Uilfrido<sup>1</sup>. Post annum uero ipsa facta est abbatissa in regione, quae uocatur Elge<sup>2</sup>; ubi constructo monasterio uirginum Deo deuotarum perplurium mater uirgo, et exemplis uitae caelestis esse coepit et monitis. De qua ferunt, quia, ex quo monasterium petiit, numquam lineis, sed solum laneis uestimentis uti uoluerit; raroque in calidis balneis, praeter imminentibus sollemnibus<sup>3</sup> maioribus, uerbi gratia paschae, pentecostes, epifaniae, lauari uoluerit; et tunc nouissima omnium, lotis prius suo suarumque ministrarum obsequio ceteris, quae ibi essent, famulis Christi; raro praeter maiora sollemnia, uel artio rem necessitatem, plus quam semel per diem manducauerit; semper, si non<sup>4</sup> infirmitas grauior prohibuisset, ex tempore matutinae synaxeos, usque ad ortum diei, in ecclesia precibus intenta persteterit. Sunt etiam, qui dicant, quia per prophetiae spiritum, et pestilentiam, qua ipsa esset moritura, praedixerit, et numerum quoque eorum, qui de suo monasterio hac essent de mundo rapiendi, palam cunctis praesentibus intimauerit. Rapta est autem ad Dominum in medio suorum, post annos VII. ex quo abbatissae gradum susceperat; et aequae, ut ipsa iusserat, non alibi quam in medio eorum, iuxta ordinem, quo transierat, ligneo in locello sepulta.

Her death

Cui successit in ministerium abbatissae soror eius Sexburg<sup>5</sup>, quam habuerat in coniugem Earconberet<sup>6</sup> rex Cantuariorum. Et cum sedecim annis esset sepulta, placuit eidem abbatissae leuari ossa eius, et in locello nouo posita in ecclesiam transferri; iussitque<sup>7</sup> quosdam e fratribus quaerere lapidem, de quo<sup>8</sup> locellum in hoc facere possent; qui ascensa naui, ipsa enim regio [Elge undique est aquis ac paludibus circumdata, neque f. 86 a. lapides maiores habet, uenerunt ad ciuitatulam quan-

and trans-  
lation.

<sup>1</sup> uuil- C.    <sup>2</sup> elgae C.    <sup>3</sup> -nis M. C<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> nisi C<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>5</sup> saex- C :  
saebureg N.    <sup>6</sup> erconberht C.    <sup>7</sup> iusitque M.    <sup>8</sup> qua M.

dam desolatam, non procul inde sitam, quae lingua Anglorum Grantacaestir<sup>1</sup> uocatur; et mox inuenerunt iuxta muros ciuitatis locellum de marmore albo pulcherrime factum, operculo quoque similis lapidis aptissime tectum. Unde intellegentes a Domino suum iter esse prosperatum, gratias agentes rettulerunt ad monasterium.

Cumque corpus sacrae uirginis ac sponsae Christi aperto sepulchro esset prolatum in lucem, ita incorruptum inuentum est, ac si eodem die fuisset defuncta, siue humo condita; sicut et praefatus antistes Uilfrid, et multi alii, qui nouere, testantur; sed certiori notitia medicus Cynifrid, qui et morienti illi, et eleuatae de tumulo<sup>2</sup> adfuit; qui referre erat solitus, quod illa infirmata habuerit tumorem maximum sub maxilla; ‘Iusseruntque me,’ inquit, ‘incidere tumorem illum, ut efflueret noxius umor, qui inerat; quod dum facerem, uidebatur illa per biduum aliquanto leuius habere; ita ut multi putarent, quia sanari posset a langore. Tertia autem die prioribus adgrauata doloribus, et rapta confestim de mundo, dolorem omnem ac mortem perpetua salute ac uita mutauit. Cumque post tot annos eleuanda essent ossa de sepulchro, et extento<sup>3</sup> desuper papilione, omnis congregatio, nunc fratrum, inde sororum, psallens circumstaret; ipsa autem abbatissa intus cum paucis ossa elatura<sup>4</sup> et dilutura intrasset, repente audiuius abbatissam intus uoce clara proclamare: “Sit gloria nomini Domini.” Nec multo post clamauerunt me intus, reserato ostio papilionis; uidique eleuatum de tumulo, et positum in lectulo corpus sacrae Deo uirginis quasi dormientis simile. Sed et discooperto uultus indumento, monstraerunt mihi etiam uulnus incisurae, quod feceram, curatum; ita ut mirum in modum pro aperto et hiantie uulnere, cum quo sepulta erat, tenuissima tunc

Her body found uncorrupted.

<sup>1</sup> -cester C<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> tumolo M.    <sup>3</sup> -tenso C<sup>2</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> eleuatura N<sup>1</sup>.

cicatricis uestigia parerent. Sed et linteamina omnia, quibus inuolutum erat corpus, integra apparuerunt, et ita noua, ut ipso die uiderentur castis eius membris esse circumdata.' Ferunt autem, quia, cum praefato tumore ac dolore maxillae siue colli premeretur, multum delectata sit hoc genere infirmitatis, ac solita dicere: 'Scio certissime, | quia merito in collo pondus f. 86 b langoris porto, in quo iuuenulam me memini superuacua moniliorum pondera portare; et credo, quod ideo me superna pietas dolore colli uoluit grauari, ut sic absoluar reatu<sup>1</sup> superuacuae leuitatis; dum mihi nunc pro auro et margaritis<sup>2</sup>, de collo rubor tumoris ardorque promineat.' Contigit autem tactu indumentorum eorundem et daemonia ab obsessis effugata corporibus, et infirmitates alias aliquoties esse curatas. Sed et loculum, in quo primo sepulta est, nonnullis oculos dolentibus saluti fuisse perhibent; qui cum suum caput eidem loculo adponentes orassent, mox doloris siue caliginis incommodum ab oculis amouerent. Lauerunt igitur uirgines corpus, et nouis indutum uestibus intulerunt in ecclesiam, atque in eo, quod adlatum erat, sarcophago posuerunt, ubi usque hodie in magna ueneratione habetur. Mirum uero in modum ita aptum corpori uirginis sarcophagum inuentum est, ac si ei specialiter praeparatum fuisset; et locus quoque capitis seorsum fabrefactus ad mensuram capitis illius aptissime figuratus apparuit.

Miracles.

The Isle  
of Ely.

Est autem Elge in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum regio familiarum circiter sexcentarum, in similitudinem insulae uel paludibus, ut diximus, circumdata uel aquis; unde et a copia anguillarum, quae in eisdem paludibus capiuntur, nomen accepit; ubi monasterium habere desiderauit memorata Christi famula, quoniam de prouincia eorundem Orientalium Anglorum ipsa, ut praefati sumus, carnis originem duxerat.

<sup>1</sup> a reatu C.

<sup>2</sup> -retis M<sup>1</sup>. C<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>1</sup>.



## CAP. XVIII [XX].

*Hymnus de illa*<sup>1</sup>.

UIDETUR oportunum huic historiae etiam hymnum uirginitatis inserere, quem ante annos plurimos in laudem ac praeconium eiusdem reginae ac sponsae Christi. et ideo ueraciter reginae, quia sponsae Christi. elegiaco metro conposuimus; et imitari morem sacrae scripturae, cuius historiae carmina plurima indita, et haec metro ac uersibus constat esse composita<sup>2</sup>.

Alma Deus Trinitas, quae saecula cuncta gubernas,

Adnue iam coeptis, alma Deus Trinitas.

Bella Maro resonet, nos pacis<sup>3</sup> dona canamus;

Munera nos Christi, bella Maro resonet.

Carmina casta mihi, fedae non raptus Helenae;

Luxus erit lubricis, carmina casta mihi.

Dona superna loquar, miserae non proelia Troiae;

Terra quibus gaudet, dona superna loquar.

En Deus altus adit uenerandae uirginis aluum,

Liberet ut homines, en Deus altus adit.

Femina uirgo parit mundi<sup>4</sup> deuota parentem,

Porta Maria Dei, femina uirgo parit.

Gaudet amica cohors de uirgine matre tonantis;

Uirginitate micans gaudet amica cohors.

Huius honor genuit casto de germine plures,

Uirgineos flores huius honor genuit.

Ignibus usta feris, uirgo non cessit Agathe,

Eulalia et perfert, ignibus usta feris.

Kasta feras superat mentis pro culmine Tecla,

Eufemia sacras<sup>5</sup> kasta feras superat.

Hymn in  
honour of  
Ethel-  
thryth.

f. 87 a.

<sup>1</sup> In the capitula C joins the heading of this chapter to that of the preceding one; so AS. R<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>3</sub>. O<sub>7-9</sub>. &c. In the text C numbers this as a fresh chapter (AS. omits it altogether). <sup>2</sup> O<sub>4</sub>. O<sub>10</sub>. add a new heading: 'hymnus . . . elegiaco et paracberico [paracterico O<sub>10</sub>] uel reciproco carmine.' <sup>3</sup> paucis B. <sup>4</sup> -do M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> final s erased in M.

Laeta ridet gladios ferro robustior Agnes,  
Caecilia infestos laeta ridet gladios.  
Multus in orbe uiget per sobria corda triumphus,  
Sobrietatis amor multus in orbe uiget.  
Nostra quoque egregia iam tempora uirgo beault ;  
Aedilthryda<sup>1</sup> nitet nostra quoque egregia.  
Orta patre eximio, regali et stemmate clara,  
Nobilior Domino est, orta patre eximio.  
Percipit inde decus reginae, et sceptrum sub astris,  
Plus super astra manens, percipit inde decus.  
Quid petis, alma, uirum, sponso iam dedita summo ?  
Sponsus adest Christus ; quid petis, alma, uirum ?  
Regis ut aetherei matrem iam credo sequaris,  
Tu quoque sis mater regis ut aetherei.  
Sponsa dicata Deo bis sex regnauerat annis,  
Inque monasterio est sponsa dicata Deo.  
Tota sacrata polo celsis ubi floruit actis,  
Reddidit atque animam tota sacrata polo.  
Uirginis alma caro est tumultata bis octo Nouembres.  
Nec putet in tumultu uirginis alma caro.  
Xriste, tui est operis, quia uestis et ipsa sepulchro  
Inuiolata nitet : Xriste, tui est operis.  
Ydros et ater abit sacrae pro uestis honore,  
Morbi diffugiunt, ydros et ater abit.  
Zelus in hoste furit, quondam qui uicerat Euam ;  
Uirgo triumphat ouans, zelus in hoste furit.  
Aspice, nupta Deo, quae sit tibi gloria terris ;  
Quae maneat caelis, aspice, nupta Deo.  
Munera laeta capis, festiuis fulgida taedis,  
Ecce uenit sponsus, munera laeta capis.  
Et noua dulcisono modularis carmina plectro,  
Sponsa hymno exultas et noua dulcisono.  
Nullus ab altithroni comitatu segregat agni,  
Quam affectu tulerat nullus ab altithroni.

<sup>1</sup> sic N<sup>2</sup> ; -trida N<sup>1</sup> ; eðilðryda C.

## CAP. XIX [XXI].

*Ut Theodorus episcopus inter Ecgfridum<sup>1</sup> et Aedilredum<sup>2</sup> reges  
pacem fecerit.*

ANNO regni Ecgfridi<sup>3</sup> nono, conserto graui proelio inter ipsum et Aedilredum<sup>4</sup> regem Merciorum iuxta fluuium Treanta, occisus est Aelfuini<sup>5</sup> frater regis Ecgfridi, iuuenis circiter X et VIII annorum, utrique prouinciae | multum amabilis. Nam et sororem eius, quae dicebatur Osthyrd<sup>6</sup>, rex Aedilred<sup>7</sup> habebat uxorem. Cumque materies belli acrioris et inimicitiae longioris<sup>8</sup> inter reges populosque feroces uideretur exorta, Theodorus Deo dilectus antistes, diuino functus auxilio, salutifera exhortatione coeptum tanti periculi funditus extinguit incendium; adeo ut, pacatis alterutrum regibus ac populis, nullius anima hominis pro interfecto regis fratre, sed debita solummodo multa pecuniae regi ultori daretur. Cuius foedera pacis multo exinde tempore inter eosdem reges eorumque regna durarunt.

Battle of  
the Trent.  
A. D. 679.

Theodore  
makes  
peace be-  
tween  
Egfrid and  
Ethelred.

f 87 b.

## CAP. XX [XXII].

*Ut uincula cuiusdam captiui, cum pro eo missae cantarentur,  
soluta sint.*

IN praefato autem proelio, quo occisus est rex Aelfuini<sup>9</sup>, memorabile quiddam factum esse constat, quod nequaquam silentio praetereundum arbitror, sed multorum saluti, si referatur, fore proficuum. Occisus est ibi inter alios de militia eius iuuenis, uocabulo Imma; qui cum die illo et nocte sequenti inter cadauera occisorum similis mortuo iaceret, tandem recepto

Miraculous  
experience  
of a North-  
umbrian  
prisoner.

<sup>1</sup> ecf- C.    <sup>2</sup> aedel- C.    <sup>3</sup> eg- N.    <sup>4</sup> aedil- C.    <sup>5</sup> -ne C; aelfuini N.    <sup>6</sup> -thryð C; -thrid N.    <sup>7</sup> edilredh N.    <sup>8</sup> langioris M.    <sup>9</sup> -uuine C; aelboini, altered to -buini N; aelb'u'ini B<sup>1</sup>; -ne B<sup>2</sup>.

spiritu reuixit, ac residens, sua uulnera, prout potuit. ipse alligauit; dein<sup>1</sup> modicum requietus, leuauit se. et coepit abire, sicubi amicos, qui sui curam agerent. posset inuenire. Quod dum faceret, inuentus est, et captus a uiris hostilis exercitus, et ad dominum ipsorum, comitem uidelicet Aedilredi<sup>2</sup> regis, adductus. A quo interrogatus, qui esset, timuit se militem fuisse confiteri; rusticum se potius et pauperem, atque uxoreo uinculo conligatum fuisse respondit; et propter uictum militibus adferendum in expeditionem se cum sui<sup>3</sup> similibus uenisse testatus est. At ille suscipiens eum, curam uulneribus egit; et ubi sanescere coepit, noctu eum, ne aufugeret<sup>4</sup>, uinciri praecepit. Nec tamen uinciri potuit; nam mox, ut abiire, qui uinxerant<sup>5</sup>, eadem eius sunt uincula soluta.

Habebat enim germanum fratrem, cui nomen erat Tunna, presbyterum et abbatem monasterii<sup>6</sup> in ciuitate, quae haecenus ab eius nomine Tunnacaestir cognominatur; qui cum eum in pugna peremtum audiret, uenit quaerere, si forte corpus eius inuenire posset, inuentumque alium illi per omnia simillimum, putauit ipsum esse; quem ad monasterium suum deferens. honorifice sepeliuit, et pro absolutione animae eius sepius missas facere curauit. Quarum celebratione factum est, quod dixi, ut nullus eum posset uincire, f. 88 b. quin continuo solueretur. Interea comes, qui eum tenebat, mirari et interrogare coepit, quare ligari<sup>7</sup> non posset, an<sup>8</sup> forte litteras solutorias, de qualibus fabulae ferunt, apud se haberet, propter quas ligari non posset. At ille respondit nil se talium artium nosse; ‘Sed habeo fratrem,’ inquit, ‘presbyterum in mea prouincia, et scio, quia ille me interfectum putans pro me missas crebras facit; et si nunc in alia uita essem, ibi

<sup>1</sup> deinde N.<sup>2</sup> aedil- C.<sup>3</sup> suis C.<sup>4</sup> -rit M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>5</sup> uincerant M<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>1</sup>; uincierant C. N. B<sup>2</sup>.<sup>6</sup> -ri M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>7</sup> -reM<sup>1</sup>.<sup>8</sup> ac M<sup>1</sup>.

anima mea per intercessionem eius solueretur a poenis.' Dumque aliquanto tempore apud comitem teneretur, animaduenterunt, qui eum diligentius considerabant, ex uultu et habitu et sermonibus eius, quia non erat de paupere uulgo, ut dixerat, sed de nobilibus. Tunc secreto aduocans eum comes, interrogauit eum intentius, unde esset, promittens se nil ei mali facturum<sup>1</sup> pro eo, si simpliciter sibi, quis fuisset, proderet. Quod dum ille faceret, ministrum se regis fuisse manifestans, respondit: 'Et ego per singula tua responsa cognoueram, quia rusticus non eras, et nunc dignus quidem es morte, quia omnes fratres et cognati mei in illa sunt pugna interempti; nec te tamen occidam, ne fidem mei promissi praeuaricer<sup>2</sup>.'

Ut ergo conualuit, uendidit eum Lundoniam Freso cuidam; sed nec ab illo, nec<sup>3</sup> cum illuc duceretur, ullatinus potuit alligari. Uerum cum alia atque alia uinculorum ei genera hostes inponerent, cumque uidisset, qui emerat, uinculis eum non potuisse cohiberi, donauit ei facultatem sese redimendi, si posset. A tertia autem hora, quando missae fieri solebant, sepiissime uincula soluebantur. At ille dato iure iurando, ut rediret, uel pecuniam illi pro se mitteret, uenit Cantiam ad regem Hlothari, qui erat filius sororis Aedilthydae<sup>4</sup> reginae, de qua supra dictum est, quia et ipse quondam eiusdem reginae minister fuerat; petiitque et accepit ab eo pretium suae redemptionis, ac suo domino pro se, ut promiserat, misit.

Qui post haec patriam reuersus, atque ad suum fratrem perueniens, replicauit ex ordine cuncta, quae sibi aduersa, quaeue in aduersis solacia prouenissent; cognouitque, referente eo, illis maxime temporibus sua fuisse uincula soluta, quibus pro se missarum fuerant celebrata sollemnia. Sed et alia, | quae periclitanti ei

<sup>1</sup> futurum C. N. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> -cem C.    <sup>3</sup> nec om. M.    <sup>4</sup> aedylthidae N.



commoda contigissent et prospera, per intercessionem fraternam, et oblationem hostiae salutaris caelitus sibi fuisse donata intellexit. Multique haec a praefato uiro audientes, accensi sunt in fide ac deuotione pietatis ad orandum, uel ad elimosynas faciendas, uel ad offerendas Deo uictimas sacrae oblationis, pro ereptione suorum, qui de saeculo migrauerant; intellexerunt enim, quia sacrificium salutare ad redemptionem ualeret et animae et corporis sempiternam.

Hanc mihi historiam etiam quidam eorum, qui ab ipso uiro, in quo facta est, audiere, narrarunt; unde eam, quia liquido<sup>1</sup> conperi, indubitanter historiae nostrae ecclesiasticae inserendam credidi.

## CAP. XXI [XXIII].

*De uita et obitu Hildae abbatissae.*

Death of  
Hild, abbess  
of Whitby,  
Nov. 17, 680.

ANNO post hunc sequente, hoc est<sup>2</sup> anno dominicae incarnationis DCLXXX, religiosissima<sup>3</sup> Christi famula Hild, abbatissa monasterii, quod dicitur Strenaeshalc<sup>4</sup>, ut supra rettulimus, post multa, quae fecit in terris, opera caelestia, ad percipienda praemia uitae caelestis de terris ablata transiuit die XV. Kalendarum Decembrium, cum esset annorum LXVI; quibus aequa partione<sup>5</sup> diuisis, XXXIII primos in saeculari habitu nobilissime conuersata compleuit, et totidem sequentes nobiliter in monachica uita Domino consecrauit. Nam et nobilis natu erat, hoc est filia nepotis Eduini<sup>6</sup> regis, uocabulo Hererici<sup>7</sup>; cum quo etiam rege, ad praedicationem beatae memoriae Paulini primi Nordanhymbrorum<sup>8</sup> episcopi, fidem et sacramenta Christi suscepit, atque haec, usquedum ad eius uisionem peruenire meruit, intemerata seruauit.

<sup>1</sup> qui aliquando C. N. W<sup>1</sup>. D<sup>1</sup>. &c.; quae aliquando H.

<sup>2</sup> anno . . . est om. C.

<sup>3</sup> religiosa C.

<sup>4</sup> streneshalh C;

streanaeshalh N.

<sup>5</sup> partione M. C. B; portione edd.

<sup>6</sup> eduuini C.

<sup>7</sup> heririci C. N.

<sup>8</sup> nordam- M.

Quae cum, relicto habitu saeculari, illi soli seruire decreuisset, secessit ad prouinciam Orientalium Anglorum, erat namque propinqua regis illius, desiderans exinde, siquo modo posset, derelicta patria et omnibus, quaecumque habuerat, Galliam peruenire, atque in monasterio Cale peregrinam pro Domino uitam ducere, quo facilius perpetuam in caelis patriam posset mereri<sup>1</sup>. Nam et in eodem monasterio soror ipsius Heresuid<sup>2</sup>, mater Aldulfi<sup>3</sup> regis Orientalium Anglorum, regularibus subdita disciplinis, ipso tempore coronam expectabat aeternam; cuius aemulata exemplum, et ipsa proposito peregrinandi annum totum in praefata prouincia retenta est; deinde ab Aidano episcopo patriam reuocata accepit locum unius familiae ad septentrionalem | plagam Uiuri<sup>4</sup> fluminis, ubi aequo anno uno monachicam cum perpauis sociis uitam agebat.

Story of  
her life.

f. 89 a.

Post haec facta est abbatissa in monasterio, quod uocatur Heruteu<sup>5</sup>; quod uidelicet monasterium factum erat non multo ante a religiosa Christi famula Heiu, quae prima feminarum fertur in prouincia Nordanhymbrorum<sup>6</sup> propositum uestemque sanctimonialis habitus, consecrante Aidano episcopo, suscepisse. Sed illa post non multum tempus facti monasterii<sup>7</sup> secessit ad ciuitatem Calcariam, quae a gente Anglorum Kæl-cacaestir<sup>8</sup> appellatur<sup>9</sup>, ibique sibi mansionem instituit. Praelata autem regimini monasterii illius famula Christi Hild, mox hoc regulari uita per omnia, prout a doctis uiris discere poterat, ordinare curabat; nam et episcopus Aidan, et quique nouerant eam religiosi, pro insita ei sapientia et amore diuini famulatus, sedulo eam uisitare, obnixè amare, diligenter erudire solebant.

<sup>1</sup> meriri M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> -suit C; heri- B.    <sup>3</sup> aldulfi C.    <sup>4</sup> uuiuri C.    <sup>5</sup> heortesig B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> nard- M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>7</sup> -ri M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>8</sup> kaelca- B; helcacaestir C<sup>1</sup>; helcaceaster D. &c.; cealca- C<sup>2</sup>; kaelcaestir N.  
<sup>9</sup> uocatur C. D. &c.

Cum ergo aliquot annos huic monasterio regularis uitae institutioni multum intenta praesset, contigit eam suscipere etiam construendum siue ordinandum monasterium in loco, qui uocatur Streaneshalch<sup>1</sup>, quod opus sibi iniunctum non segniter inpleuit. Nam eisdem, quibus prius monasterium, etiam hoc disciplinis uitae regularis instituit; et quidem multam<sup>2</sup> ibi quoque iustitiae, pietatis, et castimoniae, ceterarumque uirtutum, sed maxime pacis et caritatis custodiam docuit; ita ut in exemplum primitivae ecclesiae nullus ibi diues, nullus esset egens, omnibus essent omnia communia, cum nihil cuiusquam esse uideretur proprium. Tantaе autem erat ipsa prudentiae, ut non solum mediocres quique in necessitatibus suis, sed etiam reges ac principes nonnumquam ab ea consilium quaererent, et inuenirent. Tantum lectioni diuinarum scripturarum suos uacare subditos, tantum operibus iustitiae se exercere faciebat, ut facillime uiderentur ibidem, qui<sup>3</sup> ecclesiasticum<sup>4</sup> gradum, hoc est altaris officium, apte subirent, plurimi posse repperiri.

Act. iv.  
32-34: cf.  
ii. 44-45.

Famous  
men  
educated  
under her.

Denique V ex eodem monasterio postea episcopos uidimus, et hos omnes singularis meriti ac sanctitatis uiros, quorum haec sunt nomina. Bosa, Aetla. Oftfor, Iohannes, et Uilfrid. De primo supra diximus, quod Eboraci<sup>5</sup> fuerit consecratus antistes; de secundo breuiter intimandum, quod in episcopatum Doricaestrae<sup>6</sup> fuerit ordinatus; de ultimis infra dicendum est, quod eorum primus Hagustaldensis<sup>7</sup>, secundus Eboracensis<sup>8</sup> ecclesiae sit ordinatus episcopus. De medio nunc dicamus, quia, cum in utroque Hildae<sup>8</sup> abbatis monasterio lectioni et obseruationi scripturarum operam dedisset, tandem perfectiora desiderans, uenit

f. 89 b.

<sup>1</sup> -halh C; streanaeshalch B. N.    <sup>2</sup> multa B.    <sup>3</sup> qui et M.  
<sup>4</sup> ecclesiasticum M.    <sup>5</sup> ebur- C. N.    <sup>6</sup> -cestre C; doricaestrae N.  
<sup>7</sup> ag- N.    <sup>8</sup> hildixe N.

Cantium ad archiepiscopum beatae recordationis Theodorum; ubi postquam aliquandiu lectionibus sacris uacauit, etiam Romam adire curauit, quod eo tempore magnae uirtutis aestimabatur; et inde cum rediens Britanniam adisset, diuertit ad prouinciam Huicciorum, cui tunc rex Osric praefuit; ibique uerbum fidei praedicans, simul et exemplum uiuendi sese uidentibus atque audientibus exhibens, multo tempore mansit. Quo tempore antistes prouinciae illius, uocabulo Bosel<sup>1</sup>, tanta erat corporis infirmitate depressus, ut officium episcopatus per se implere non posset; propter quod omnium iudicio praefatus uir in episcopatum pro eo electus, ac iubente Aedilredo<sup>2</sup> rege per Uilfridum beatae memoriae antistitem, qui tunc temporis Mediterraneorum Anglorum episcopatum gerebat, ordinatus est; pro eo, quod archiepiscopus Theodorus iam defunctus erat, et necdum alius pro eo ordinatus episcopus. In quam uidelicet prouinciam paulo ante, hoc est ante praefatum uirum Dei Boselum, uir strenuissimus ac<sup>3</sup> doctissimus atque excellentis ingenii uocabulo Tatfrid<sup>4</sup>, de eiusdem abbatisae monasterio electus est antistes; sed, priusquam ordinari posset, morte immatura praereptus est.

Non solum ergo praefata Christi ancilla et abbatisa Her wide influence. Hild, quam omnes, qui nouerant, ob insigne pietatis et gratiae matrem uocare consueuerant, in suo monasterio uitae exemplo praesentibus extitit; sed etiam plurimis longe manentibus, ad quos felix industriae ac uirtutis eius rumor peruenit, occasionem salutis et correctionis ministravit. Oportebat namque impleri somnium, quod mater eius Bregusuid<sup>6</sup> in infantia eius uidit. Quae cum uir eius Hereric<sup>7</sup> exularet sub rege Brettonum Cerdice, ubi et ueneno periit, uidit per somnium.

<sup>1</sup> boseli B (?).<sup>2</sup> aeðil- C<sup>1</sup>.<sup>3</sup> et M.<sup>4</sup> -frið C<sup>2</sup>.<sup>5</sup> longius C; -guis N.<sup>6</sup> -suid C; uel beorhtsuid B<sup>2</sup>.<sup>7</sup> heriric N.

quasi subito sublatum eum quaesierit cum omni diligentia, nullumque eius uspiam uestigium<sup>1</sup> apparuerit. Uerum cum solertissime illum quaesierit, extemplo se repperire sub ueste sua monile pretiosissimum; quod, dum attentius consideraret, tanti fulgore luminis refulgere uidebatur, ut omnes Britanniae fines illius gratia splendoris inpleret. Quod nimirum somnium ueraciter in filia eius, de qua loquimur, expletum est; | cuius uita non sibi solummodo, sed f. 90 a. multis bene uiuere uolentibus exempla operum lucis praebuit.

Her long  
illness and  
death.

Uerum illa cum multis annis huic monasterio praesset, placuit pio prouisorii salutis nostrae sanctam eius animam longa etiam infirmitate carnis examinari, ut, iuxta exemplum apostoli, uirtus eius in infirmitate perficeretur. Percussa etenim febribus acri coepit ardore fatigari<sup>2</sup>, et per sex continuos annos eadem molestia laborare non cessabat; in quo toto<sup>3</sup> tempore numquam ipsa uel conditori suo gratias agere, uel commissum sibi gregem et puplice et priuatim docere praetermittebat. Nam suo praedocta exemplo, monebat omnes<sup>4</sup> et in salute accepta corporis Domino<sup>5</sup> obtemperanter seruiendum, et in aduersis rerum siue infirmitatibus membrorum fideliter Domino esse gratias semper<sup>6</sup> agendas. VII<sup>o</sup> ergo suae infirmitatis anno, conuerso ad interanea dolore, ad diem peruenit ultimum, et circa galli cantum, percepto uiatico sacrosanctae communionis, cum arcessitis<sup>7</sup> ancillis Christi, quae erant in eodem monasterio, de seruanda eas inuicem, immo cum omnibus pace euangelica ammoneret; inter uerba exhortationis laeta mortem uidit, immo, ut uerbis Domini loquar, de morte transiuit Ioh. v. 24. ad uitam.

<sup>1</sup> -giam M.

<sup>2</sup> -re M<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> toto om. M<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> omnes

om. M<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> domino om. M<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> semper, added on margin

M. <sup>7</sup> accersitis C. N<sup>l</sup>.



Qua uidelicet nocte Dominus omnipotens obitum ipsius in alio longius posito monasterio, quod ipsa eodem anno construxerat, et appellatur Hacan<sup>1</sup>, manifesta uisione reuelare dignatus est. Erat in ipso monasterio quaedam sanctimonialis femina, nomine Begu<sup>2</sup>, quae XXX et amplius annos dedicata<sup>3</sup> Domino uirginitate, in monachica conuersatione seruiebat. Haec tunc in dormitorio sororum pausans, audiuit subito in aere notum campanae sonum, quo ad orationes excitari uel conuocari solebant, cum quis eorum de saeculo fuisset euocatus; apertisque, ut sibi uidebatur, oculis, aspexit, detecto domus culmine, fusam desuper lucem<sup>4</sup> omnia repleuisse; cui uidelicet lucidum sollicita intenderet, uidit animam praefatae Dei famulae in ipsa luce, comitantibus ac ducentibus angelis, ad caelum ferri. Cumque somno excussa uideret<sup>5</sup> ceteras pausantes circa se sorores, intellexit uel in somnio, uel in uisione mentis ostensum sibi esse, quod uiderat. Statimque exsurgens, nimio timore perterrita, cucurrit ad uirginem, quae tunc monasterio abbatissae uice praefuit, cui nomen erat f. 90 b. Frigyd<sup>6</sup>, fletuque ac lacrimis multum perfusa, | ac suspiria longa trahens, nuntiauit matrem illarum omnium Hild<sup>7</sup> abbatissam iam migrasse de saeculo, et se aspectante cum luce immensa, ducibus angelis, ad aeternae limina lucis et supernorum consortia ciuium ascendisse. Quod cum illa audisset, suscitauit cunctas sorores, et in ecclesiam conuocatas orationibus ac psalmis pro anima matris operam dare monuit. Quod cum residuo noctis tempore diligenter agerent, uenerunt primo diluculo fratres, qui eius obitum nuntiarent, a loco, ubi<sup>8</sup> defuncta est. At illae respondentes dixerunt se prius eadem cognouisse; et,

Visions  
connected  
with her  
death.

<sup>1</sup> haconos C.<sup>2</sup> begið B<sup>2</sup>.<sup>3</sup> dicata N.<sup>4</sup> luce M.<sup>5</sup> uidit C.<sup>6</sup> -gyð C; -gid N.<sup>7</sup> hildrudam N<sup>3</sup>.<sup>8</sup> ubi

added on margin M.

cum exponerent per ordinem, quomodo haec uel quando didicissent, inuentum est, eadem hora transitum eius illis ostensum esse per uisionem, qua illam referebant exisse de mundo. Pulchraque rerum concordia procuratum est diuinitus, ut, cum illi exitum eius de hac uita uiderent, tunc isti introitum eius in perpetuam animarum uitam cognoscerent. Distant autem inter se monasteria haec XIII ferme milibus passuum.

Ferunt autem, quod eadem nocte, in ipso quoque monasterio, ubi praefata Dei famula obiit, cuidam uirginum Deo deuotarum, quae illam immenso amore diligebat, obitus illius in uisione apparuerit, quae animam eius cum angelis ad caelum ire conspexerit, atque hoc ipsa, qua factum est, hora his, quae secum erant, famulis Christi manifeste narrauerit, easque ad orandum pro anima eius, etiam priusquam cetera congregatio eius obitum cognouisset, excitauerit. Quod ita fuisse factum mox congregationi mane facto innotuit. Erat enim haec ipsa hora cum aliis nonnullis Christi ancillis in extremis monasterii<sup>1</sup> locis seorsum posita, ubi nuper uenientes ad conuersionem<sup>2</sup> feminae solebant probari, donec regulariter institutae in societatem congregationis susciperentur.

## CAP. XXII [XXIV].

*Quod<sup>3</sup> in monasterio eius fuerit frater, cui donum canendi sit diuinitus concessum.*

Story of  
Cædmon,  
the cow-  
herd bard  
of Whitby.

IN huius monasterio abbatissae fuit frater quidam diuina gratia specialiter insignis, quia<sup>4</sup> carmina religioni et pietati apta facere solebat; ita ut, quicquid ex diuinis litteris per interpretes disceret, hoc ipse post pusillum uerbis poeticis maxima suauitate et

<sup>1</sup> -ri M.      <sup>2</sup> conuersionem O<sub>3-4</sub> &c.      <sup>3</sup> This title is omitted in the capitula of B.      <sup>4</sup> qui N; quia with the a deleted C.

conpunctione compositis, in sua, id est Anglorum, lingua proferret. Cuius carminibus multorum saepe<sup>1</sup> animi ad contemptum saeculi, et appetitum sunt uitae caelestis accensi. Et quidem et alii post illum in gente Anglorum religiosa poemata facere temtabant; sed | nullus eum aequiparare potuit. Namque ipse non ab hominibus, neque per hominem institutus, canendi artem didicit, sed diuinitus adiutus gratis canendi donum accepit. Unde nil umquam friuoli et superuacui poematis facere potuit, sed ea tantummodo, quae ad religionem pertinent, religiosam<sup>2</sup> eius linguam decebant. Siquidem in habitu saeculari usque ad tempora prouectioris<sup>3</sup> aetatis constitutus, nil carminum aliquando didicerat. Unde nonnumquam in conuiuio, cum esset laetitiae causa decretum, ut omnes per ordinem cantare deberent, ille, ubi adpropinquare sibi citharam cernebat, surgebat a media caena, et egressus ad suam domum repedabat.

Quod dum tempore quodam faceret, et relicta domu conuiuii<sup>4</sup> egressus esset ad stabula iumentorum, quorum ei custodia nocte illa erat delegata, ibique hora conpetenti membra dedisset sopori, adstitit ei<sup>5</sup> quidam per somnium, eumque salutans, ac suo appellans nomine: 'Caedmon<sup>6</sup>,' inquit, 'canta mihi aliquid.' At ille respondens: 'Nescio,' inquit, 'cantare; nam et ideo de conuiuio egressus huc secessi, quia cantare non poteram.' Rursum ille, qui cum eo loquebatur, 'Attamen,' ait, 'mihi<sup>7</sup> cantare habes.' 'Quid,' inquit, 'debeo cantare?' Et ille, 'Canta,' inquit, 'principium creaturarum.' Quo accepto responso, statim ipse coepit cantare in laudem Dei conditoris uersus, quos numquam audierat, quorum<sup>8</sup> iste est sensus: 'Nunc laudare

His miraculous gift of song.

<sup>1</sup> saeculi C<sup>1</sup> saecularium C<sup>2</sup>; oft AS.

<sup>2</sup> 'et' rel. C.

<sup>3</sup> profect- C.

<sup>4</sup> conuiui M.

<sup>5</sup> enim ei M.

<sup>6</sup> cēd- C. N.

<sup>7</sup> mihi om. C.

<sup>8</sup> From quorum to ceruical, p. 262, inclusive is wanting in H<sub>1</sub>, owing to the loss of a leaf.

debemus auctorem regni caelestis, potentiam Creatoris et consilium illius, facta Patris gloriae. Quomodo ille, cum sit aeternus Deus, omnium miraculorum auctor extitit, qui primo filiis hominum caelum pro culmine tecti, dehinc terram custos humani<sup>1</sup> generis omnipotens creauit.' Hic est sensus, non autem ordo ipse uerborum, quae dormiens ille canebat; neque enim possunt carmina, quamuis optime composita, ex alia in aliam linguam ad uerbum sine detrimento sui decoris ac dignitatis transferri. Exsurgens autem a somno, cuncta, quae dormiens cantauerat, memoriter retinuit, et eis mox plura in eundem modum uerba Deo digni carminis adiunxit.

Ueniensque mane ad uilicum, qui sibi praeerat, quid doni percepisset, indicauit, atque ad abbatissam perductus, iussus est, | multis doctioribus uiris<sup>2</sup> praesenti- f. 91 b.  
bus, indicare somnium, et dicere carmen, ut uniersorum iudicio, quid uel unde esset, quod referebat, probaretur. Uisumque est omnibus caelestem ei a Domino concessam esse<sup>3</sup> gratiam. Exponebantque illi quendam sacrae historiae siue doctrinae sermonem, praecipientes eum, si posset, hunc in modulationem carminis transferre. At ille suscepto negotio abiit, et mane rediens, optimo carmine, quod iuebatur, compositum reddidit. Unde mox abbatissa amplexata<sup>4</sup> gratiam Dei in uiro, saecularem illum habitum relinquere, et monachicum suscipere propositum docuit, susceptumque in monasterium cum omnibus suis fratrum cohorti adsociauit, iussitque illum seriem sacrae historiae doceri. At ipse cuncta, quae audiendo discere poterat, rememorando secum, et quasi mundum animal ruminando, in carmen dulcissimum conuertebat, suauiusque resonando doctores suos uicissim auditores sui faciebat. Canebat autem de creatione mundi, et origine humani generis.

He becomes  
a monk.

<sup>1</sup> hominum N<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> doctoribus for doct. uiris N.      <sup>3</sup> esse  
om. M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> -ta est M.

et tota genesis historia, de egressu Israel ex Aegypto, et ingressu in terram repromissionis, de aliis plurimis sacrae scripturae historiis, de incarnatione dominica, passione<sup>1</sup>, resurrectione, et ascensione in caelum, de Spiritus Sancti aduentu, et apostolorum doctrina. Item de terrore futuri iudicii, et horrore poenae gehennalis, ac dulcedine regni caelestis multa carmina faciebat; sed et alia perplura de beneficiis et iudiciis diuinis, in quibus cunctis homines ab amore scelerum abstrahere, ad dilectionem uero et solertiam bonae actionis excitare curabat. Erat enim uir multum religiosus, et regularibus disciplinis humiliter subditus; aduersum uero illos, qui aliter facere uolebant, zelo magni feruoris accensus; unde et pulchro uitam suam fine conclusit.

Nam propinquante hora sui decessus, XIII diebus praeueniente corporea infirmitate pressus est, adeo tamen moderate, ut et loqui toto eo<sup>2</sup> tempore posset, et ingredi. Erat autem in proximo casa, in qua infirmiores et qui prope morituri esse uidebantur, induci solebant. Rogauit ergo ministrum suum uespere incumbente, nocte qua de saeculo erat exiturus, | ut in ea sibi locum quiescendi praepararet; qui miratus, cur hoc roget, qui nequaquam adhuc moriturus esse uidebatur, fecit tamen, quod dixerat. Cumque ibidem positi uicissim aliqua gaudente animo, una cum eis, qui ibidem ante<sup>3</sup> inerant, loquerentur ac iocarentur, et iam mediae noctis tempus esset transcensum, interrogauit, si eucharistiam intus haberent. Respondebant: 'Quid opus est eucharistia? neque enim mori adhuc habes, qui tam hilariter nobiscum uelut sospes loqueris.' Rursus ille: 'Et tamen,' ait, 'afferte mihi eucharistiam.' Qua accepta in manu, interrogauit, si omnes placidum erga se animum, et sine querela controuersiae ac rancoris haberent. Respondebant

Story of  
his death.

<sup>1</sup> passione et B.

<sup>2</sup> eo toto M.

<sup>3</sup> antea C; ante ea N.



omnes placidissimam se mentem ad illum, et ab omni ira remotam habere, eumque uicissim rogabant placidam erga ipsos mentem habere. Qui confestim respondit : 'Placidam ego mentem, filioli, erga omnes Dei famulos gero.' Sicque se caelesti muniens uiatico, uitae alterius ingressui parauit ; et interrogauit, quam prope esset hora, qua fratres ad dicendas Domino <sup>1</sup> laudes nocturnas excitari deberent. Respondebant : 'Non longe est.' At ille : 'Bene, ergo expectemus horam illam.' Et signans se signo sanctae crucis reclinauit caput ad ceruical, modicumque obdormiens ita cum silentio uitam finiuit. Sicque factum est, ut, quomodo simplici ac pura mente tranquillaque deuotione Domino serui-erat, ita etiam tranquilla morte mundum relinquens ad eius uisionem ueniret, illaque lingua, quae tot salutaria uerba in laudem Conditoris composuerat, ultima quoque uerba in laudem ipsius, signando <sup>2</sup> sese, et spiritum suum in manus eius commendando clauderet ; qui etiam praescius sui obitus extitisse ex his, quae narrauimus, uidetur.

## CAP. XXIII [XXV].

*Qualis uisio cuiusdam uiro Dei apparuerit, priusquam monasterium Coludanae <sup>3</sup> urbis esset incendio consumtum.*

Colding-  
ham de-  
stroyed by  
fire.

HIS temporibus monasterium uirginum, quod Coludi Urbem cognominant, cuius et supra meminimus, per culpam incuriae flammis absumentum est. Quod tamen a malitia inhabitantium in eo <sup>4</sup>, et praecipue illorum, qui maiores esse uidebantur, contigisse, omnes, qui nouere, facillime potuerunt aduertere. Sed non defuit puniendis admonitio diuinae pietatis, qua correcti <sup>5</sup> per ieiunia, fletus, et preces iram a se, instar Nineuitarum, iusti Iudicis auerterent.

cf. Ps.  
cvi. 34

cf. Ion  
iii. 5-10.

<sup>1</sup> deo C.  
O<sub>11-12</sub>. O<sub>17</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> signando om. C. O<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>. D. &c. ; signans O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>3</sup> -ne M.      <sup>4</sup> ea M.      <sup>5</sup> -repti N<sup>o</sup>.

f. 92 b.

Erat namque in eodem | monasterio uir de genere Scottorum, Adamnanus uocabulo, ducens uitam in continentia et orationibus multum Deo deuotam, ita ut nil umquam cibi uel potus, excepta die dominica et quinta sabbati, perciperet, saepe autem noctes integras peruigil in oratione transigeret. Quae quidem illi districtio uitae artioris, primo ex necessitate emendandae suae prauitatis obuenerat, sed procedente tempore necessitatem in consuetudinem uerterat.

Story of  
Adamnan,  
an Irish  
Monk

Siquidem in adulescentia sua sceleris aliquid commiserat, quod commissum, ubi ad cor suum rediit, grauissime exhorruit, et se pro illo puniendum a districto Iudice timebat. Accedens ergo ad sacerdotem, a quo sibi sperabat iter salutis posse demonstrari, confessus est reatum suum, petiitque, ut consilium sibi daret, quo posset fugere a uentura ira. Qui audito eius commisso dixit: 'Grande uulnus grandioris curam medellae desiderat; et ideo ieiuniis, psalmis, et orationibus, quantum uales, insiste, quo praeoccupando faciem Domini in confessione propitium eum inuenire merearis<sup>1</sup>.' At ille, quem nimius reae conscientiae tenebat dolor, et internis peccatorum uinculis, quibus grauabatur, ocius desiderabat absolui: 'Adulescentior,' inquit, 'sum aetate, et uegetus corpore; quicquid mihi inposueris agendum, dummodo saluus fiam in die Domini, totum facile feram, etiam si totam noctem stando in precibus peragere, si integram septimanam iubeas abstinendo transigere.' Qui dixit: 'Multum est, ut tota septimana absque alimento corporis perdures; sed biduanum uel triduanum sat est obseruare ieiunium. Hoc facito, donec post modicum tempus rediens ad te, quid facere debeas, et quamdiu paenitentiae insistere tibi plenius ostendam.' Quibus dictis, et descripta illi mensura paenitendi, abiit sacerdos, et ingruente causa subita secessit Hiberniam, unde

His sin and  
repentance.

cf. Matt.  
iii. 7;  
Luc. iii. 7.

cf. Ps.  
xciv. 2.

cf. 1 Cor.  
v. 5.

<sup>1</sup> meriaris M.

originem duxerat, neque ultra ad eum iuxta suum conductum rediit. At ipse memor<sup>1</sup> praecepti eius, simul et promissi<sup>2</sup> sui, totum se lacrimis paenitentiae, uigiliis sanctis, et continentiae mancipauit; ita ut quinta solum sabbati et dominica, sicut praedixi, reficeret, ceteris septimanae diebus ieiunus permaneret. Cumque sacerdotem suum Hiberniam secessisse, ibique defunctum | esse audisset, semper ex eo tempore, iuxta f. 93 a. conductum eius memoratum, continentiae modum obseruabat; et, quod causa diuini timoris semel ob reatum conpunctus coeperat, iam causa diuini amoris delectatus praemiis indefessus agebat.

He prophesies the destruction of Coldingham,

Quod dum multo tempore sedulus exsequeretur, contigit, eum die quadam de monasterio illo longius egressum, comitante secum uno de fratribus, peracto itinere redire. Qui cum monasterio propinquarent, et aedificia illius sublimiter erecta aspicerent, solutus est in lacrimas<sup>4</sup> uir Dei, et tristitiam cordis uultu indice prodebat. Quod intuens comes, quare faceret, inquisiuit. At ille: 'Cuncta,' inquit, 'haec, quae cernis, aedificia publica uel priuata, in proximo est, ut ignis absumens in cinerem conuertat.' Quod ille audiens, mox ut intrauerunt monasterium, matri congregationis, uocabulo Aebbae<sup>5</sup>, curauit indicare. At illa merito turbata de tali praesagio uocauit ad se uirum, et diligentius ab eo rem, uel unde hoc ipse nosset, inquirebat. Qui ait: 'Nuper occupatus noctu uigiliis et psalmis, uidi adstantem mihi subito quendam incogniti uultus; cuius praesentia cum essem exterritus, dixit mihi, ne timerem; et quasi familiari me uoce alloquens, 'Bene facis,' inquit, 'qui tempore isto nocturnae quietis non somno indulgere, sed uigiliis et orationibus insistere maluisti.' At ego: 'Noui,'

<sup>1</sup> memor, added on margin M.

D & c.; suspic- W. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>.

ebbē N; aebbae B.

<sup>2</sup> -misi M.

<sup>4</sup> -mis M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> conspic- C. N<sup>1</sup>

<sup>5</sup> aebbae C;

inquit, 'multum mihi esse necesse uigiliis salutaribus insistere, et pro meis erratibus sedulo Dominum deprecari.' Qui adiciens 'Uerum,' inquit, 'dicis, quia et tibi et multis opus est peccata sua bonis operibus redimere, et, cum cessant a laboribus rerum temporarium, tunc pro appetitu aeternorum bonorum liberius laborare; sed hoc tamen paucissimi faciunt. Siquidem modo totum hoc monasterium ex ordine perlustrans, singulorum casas ac lectos inspexi, et neminem ex omnibus praeter te erga sanitatem animae suae occupatum repperi; sed omnes prorsus, et uiri et feminae, aut somno torpent inertes, aut ad peccata uigilant. Nam et domunculae, quae ad orandum uel legendum factae<sup>1</sup> erant, nunc in comessionum, potationum, fabulationum, et ceterarum sunt inlecebrarum cubilia conuersae, uirgines quoque Deo dicatae, contempta reuerentia suae professionis, quotiescumque uacant, texendis subtilioribus indumentis | operam dant, quibus aut se ipsas ad uicem sponsarum in periculum sui status adornent, aut externorum sibi uirorum amicitiam conparent. Unde merito loco huic et habitatoribus eius grauis de caelo uindicta flammis saeuientibus praeparata est.' Dixit autem abbatissa: 'Et quare non citius hoc conpertum mihi reuelare uoluisti?' Qui respondit: 'Timui propter reuerentiam tuam, ne forte nimium conturbareris; et tamen hanc consolationem habeas, quod in diebus tuis haec plaga non superueniet.' Qua diuulgata<sup>2</sup> uisione, aliquantulum loci accolae paucis diebus timere, et se ipsos intermissis facinoribus castigare coeperunt. Uerum post obitum ipsius<sup>3</sup> abbatissae redierunt ad pristinas sordes, immo sceleratiora fecerunt. Et cum dicerent, 'Pax et securitas,' extemplo praefatae ultionis sunt poena multati.

Quae mihi cuncta sic esse facta reuerentissimus

<sup>1</sup> facta M.

<sup>2</sup> de M.

<sup>3</sup> ipsius, *added on margin* M.

as a divine  
judgement  
for its cor-  
ruptions.

f. 93 b.

cf. 3 Reg.  
xi. 12;  
xxi. 29.

1 Thess.  
v. 3

meus conpresbyter Aedgils<sup>1</sup> referebat, qui tunc in illo monasterio degebat. Postea autem, discedentibus inde ob desolationem plurimis incolarum, in nostro monasterio plurimo tempore conuersatus, ibidemque defunctus est. Haec ideo nostrae historiae inserenda credidimus, ut admoneremus lectorem operum Domini, quam terribilis in consiliis super filios hominum; Ps. lxxv. 5. ne forte nos tempore aliquo carnis inlecebris seruientes, minusque Dei iudicium formidantes, repentina eius ira corripiat, et uel temporalibus damnis iuste saeuens affligat, uel ad perpetuam perditionem districtius examinans tollat.

## CAP. XXIV [XXVI].

*De morte Ecgfridi<sup>2</sup> et Hlotheri<sup>3</sup> regum.*

Egfrid  
sends an  
expedition  
to Ireland,  
A. D. 684.

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCLXXXIII. Ecgfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum, misso Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Bercto<sup>4</sup>, uastauit misere gentem innoxiam, et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita ut ne ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis manus parceret hostilis. At insulani et, quantum ualuere, armis arma repellebant, et inuocantes diuinae auxilium pietatis, caelitus se uindicari continuis diu inprecationibus postulabant. Et quamuis maledici<sup>5</sup> regnum Dei possidere non possint, creditum est tamen, quod hi, i Cor. vi. 10; cf. ib. xv. 50 qui merito impietatis suae maledicebantur, ocus Domino uindice poenas sui reatus luerent. Siquidem anno post hunc proximo idem rex, cum temere exercitum ad uastandam Pictorum prouinciam duxisset, multum prohibentibus amicis, et maxime beatæ memoriae Cudbercto<sup>6</sup>, qui nuper fuerat ordinatus episcopus, introductus est, | simulantibus fugam hostibus, f. 94 a.

<sup>1</sup> -gild, altered to -gils N; edgisl C<sup>2</sup>. B. (?). <sup>2</sup> ecf. C. <sup>3</sup> -re C. <sup>4</sup> berhto C. <sup>5</sup> -fici M'. <sup>6</sup> -berchto C; -berto N.



in angustias<sup>1</sup> inaccessorum montium, et cum maxima parte copiarum, quas secum adduxerat, extinctus anno aetatis suae XL., regni autem XV., die XIII. Kalendarum Iuniarum. Et quidem, ut dixi, prohibuerunt amici, ne hoc bellum iniret; sed, quoniam anno praecedente noluerat audire reuerentissimum patrem Ecgbertum<sup>2</sup>, ne Scottiam nil se ledentem impugnaret, datum est illi ex poena peccati illius, ne nunc eos, qui ipsum ab interitu reuocare cupiebant, audiret.

He is defeated and slain by the Picts, May 21, 685.

Ex quo tempore spes coepit et uirtus regni Anglorum 'fluere ac retro sublapsa referri.' Nam et Picti terram possessionis suae, quam tenuerunt Angli; et Scotti, qui erant in Brittaniam; Brettonum quoque pars nonnulla libertatem receperunt; quam et hactenus habent per annos circiter XLVI; ubi inter plurimos gentis Anglorum, uel interemtis gladio, uel seruitio addictos, uel de terra Pictorum fuga lapsos, etiam reuerentissimus uir Domini Trumuini<sup>3</sup>, qui in eos episcopatum acceperat, recessit cum suis, qui erant in monasterio Aebbercurnig<sup>4</sup>, posito quidem in regione Anglorum, sed in uicinia freti, quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disternat; eosque, ubicumque poterat, amicis per monasteria commendans, ipse in saepedicto famulorum famularumque Dei monasterio, quod uocatur Streanæshalch<sup>5</sup>, locum mansionis elegit; ibique cum paucis suorum in monachica districtione uitam non sibi solummodo, sed et multis utilem, plurimo annorum tempore duxit; ubi etiam defunctus, in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli iuxta honorem et uita et gradu eius condignum conditus est. Praeerat quidem tunc eidem monasterio regia uirgo Aelbfled<sup>6</sup>, una cum matre Eanfled<sup>7</sup>, quarum supra fecimus mentionem. Sed, adueniente illuc episcopo, maximum regendi auxilium,

Decline of Northumbria.

Verg.  
Aen. ii.  
169.

<sup>1</sup> -tiam M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> -berchtum C.      <sup>3</sup> -ne B<sup>2</sup>; trium- M; trumm- N.      <sup>4</sup> aeber- N.      <sup>5</sup> streanes- C.      <sup>6</sup> ælfled C; alb- N; ælbfled B, with b erased.      <sup>7</sup> -fledae B; enflæde N.

Aldfrid  
succeeds.

simul et suae uitae solacium deuota Deo doctrix inuenit. Successit autem Ecgfrido in regnum Aldfrid, uir in scripturis doctissimus, qui frater eius et filius Osui regis esse dicebatur; destructumque regni statum, quamuis intra fines angustiores, nobiliter recuperauit.

Death of  
Hlothhere,  
Feb. 6, 685.  
Anarchy in  
Kent.

Quo uidelicet anno, qui est ab incarnatione dominica DCLXXXV., Hlothéri Cantuariorum rex, cum post Ecgberctum<sup>1</sup> fratrem suum, qui VIII annis regnauerat, ipse XII annis regnasset, mortuus erat VIII. Idus Februarias. | Uulneratus namque est in pugna f. 94 b Australium Saxonum, quos contra eum Edric filius Ecgbercti<sup>1</sup> adgregarat, et inter medendum defunctus. Ac post eum idem Edric anno uno ac dimidio regnauit; quo defuncto, regnum illud aliquod<sup>2</sup> temporis spatium reges dubii uel externi disperdiderunt; donec legitimus rex Uictred<sup>3</sup>, id est filius Ecgbercti<sup>4</sup>, confortatus in regno, religione simul et industria gentem suam ab extranea inuasionē liberaret.

## CAP. XXV [XXVII].

*Ut uir Domini Cudberct<sup>5</sup> sit episcopus factus; utque in monachica adhuc uita positus uixerit uel docuerit.*

Life of  
Cuthbert.

Ipso etiam anno, quo finem uitae accepit rex Ecgfrid, episcopum, ut diximus, fecerat ordinari Lindisfarnensium ecclesiae uirum sanctum et uenerabilem Cudberctum<sup>6</sup>, qui in insula permodica, quae appellatur Farne, et ab eadem ecclesia nouem ferme milibus passuum in Oceano procul abest, uitam solitariam per annos plures in magna corporis et mentis continentia duxerat. Qui quidem a prima aetate pueritiae studio religiosae<sup>7</sup> uitae semper ardebat, sed ab ineunte adulescentia monachicum et nomen adsumsit, et habitum.

<sup>1</sup> -bercht- C; -bert- N.

<sup>2</sup> aliquot M.

<sup>3</sup> uuichtred C.

<sup>4</sup> -berhti C; -berti N.

<sup>5</sup> -bercht C; -brecht N.

<sup>6</sup> -berht- C.

<sup>7</sup> -se M.

Intrauit autem primo monasterium Mailros, quod in ripa Tuidi fluminis positum tunc abbas Eata, uir omnium mansuetissimus ac simplicissimus, regebat, qui postea episcopus Hagustaldensis<sup>1</sup> siue Lindisfar-nensis ecclesiae factus est, ut supra memorauimus ; cui tempore illo propositus Boisil magnarum uirtutum et prophetici spiritus sacerdos fuit. Huius discipulatu Cudberet<sup>2</sup> humiliter subditus, et scientiam ab eo scripturarum, et bonorum operum sumpsit exempla.

He becomes  
a monk,  
A. D. 651,

Qui postquam migrauit ad Dominum, Cudberet<sup>3</sup> eidem monasterio factus propositus, plures et auctoritate magistri, et exemplo suae actionis regularem instituebat ad uitam. *Nec solum ipsi monasterio regularis uitae monita, simul et exempla praebebat, sed et uulgus circumpositum longe lateque a uita stultae consuetudinis ad caelestium gaudiorum conuertere curabat amorem. Nam et multi fidem, quam habebant, iniquis profanabant operibus ; et aliqui etiam tempore mortalitatis, neglectis fidei sacramentis, quibus erant inbuti, ad erratica idolatriae medicamina concurrebant ; quasi missam a Deo conditore plagam per incantationes uel fylacteria uel alia quaelibet daemonicae artis arcana cohibere ualerent. Ad utrorumque ergo corrigendum errorem, crebro ipse de monasterio<sup>1</sup> egressus, aliquoties equo sedens, sed saepius pedes incedens, circumpositas ueniebat ad uillas, et uiam ueritatis praedicabat errantibus ; quod ipsum etiam Boisil<sup>4</sup> suo tempore facere consueuerat. Erat quippe moris eo tempore populis Anglorum, ut ueniente in uillam clerico uel presbytero, cuncti ad eius imperium uerbum audituri confluerent ; libenter ea, quae dicerentur, audirent ; libentius, quae audire et intellegere poterant, operando sequerentur. Porro Cudbercto<sup>2</sup> tanta erat dicendi<sup>5</sup> peritia, tantus amor persuadendi, quae coeperat, tale uultus angelici lumen, ut nullus praesentium latebras ei sui cordis celare prae-*

and prior of  
Melrose.

His mis-  
sionary  
zeal.

<sup>1</sup> ag- N<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> -berht- C.

<sup>3</sup> -bercht C.

<sup>4</sup> bosil C.

<sup>5</sup> dicendi, added on margin M ; doc- C<sup>2</sup>, and so Vita Cudb.

sumeret; omnes palam, quae gesserant, confitendo proferrent, quia nimirum haec eadem illum latere nullo modo putabant; et confessa dignis, ut imperabat, poenitentiae fructibus abstergerent. Solebat autem ea maxime loca peragraré, illis praedicare in uiculis, qui in arduis asperisque montibus procul positi aliis horrore erant ad uisendum, et paupertate pariter ac rusticitate sua doctorum arcebant accessum. Quos tamen ille pio libenter mancipatus labori, tanta doctrinae solertis excolebat industria, ut de monasterio egressus, saepe ebdomade integra, aliquando duabus uel tribus, nonnumquam etiam mense pleno domum non rediret; sed demoratus in montanis, plebem rusticam uerbo praedicationis simul et opere uirtutis ad caelestia uocaret.

cf. Luc.  
iii. 8;  
Matt.  
iii. 8.

He becomes  
prior of  
Lindis-  
farne.

Cum ergo uenerabilis Domini famulus multos in Mailro-  
nensi<sup>1</sup> monasterio degens annos magnis uirtutum signis  
effulgeret, transtulit eum reuerentissimus abbas ipsius  
Eata ad insulam Lindisfarnensium. ut ibi quoque fratri-  
bus custodiam disciplinae regularis et auctoritate pro-  
positi intimaret et propria actione praemonstraret.  
Nam et ipsum locum tunc idem reuerentissimus pater  
abbatis iure regebat. Siquidem a temporibus ibidem  
antiquis, et episcopus cum clero, et abbas solebat  
manere cum monachis; qui tamen et ipsi ad curam  
episcopi familiariter pertinerent. Quia nimirum Aidan,  
qui primus eius loci episcopus fuit. cum monachis illuc  
et ipse monachus adueniens monachicam in eo conuersa-  
tionem instituit; quomodo et prius beatus pater  
Augustinus in Cantia fecisse noscitur, scribente ei f. 95 b.  
reuerentissimo papa Gregorio, quod et supra posuimus.  
'Sed quia tua fraternitas,' inquit, 'monasterii regulis  
erudita seorsum fieri non debet a clericis suis, in ecclesia  
Anglorum, quae nuper auctore Deo ad fidem perducta est,  
hanc debet conuersationem instituere, quae initio nascentis  
ecclesiae fuit patribus nostris; in quibus nullus eorum ex

ib. c. 16.

Act. iv  
32-34; cf.  
ii. 44, 45.

<sup>1</sup> -rosensi C. N., and so Vita Cudb.

*his, quae possidebant*<sup>1</sup>, *aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant eis*<sup>2</sup> *omnia*<sup>3</sup> *communia.*'

## CAP. XXVI [XXVIII].

*Ut idem in uita anchoretica et fontem de arente terra orando produxerit, et segetem*<sup>4</sup> *de labore manuum ultra tempus serendi acceperit.*

EXIN Cudberct<sup>5</sup> crescentibus meritis religiosae intentionis, ad anchoriticae quoque contemplationis, quae diximus, silentia secreta peruenit. Uerum<sup>6</sup> quia de uita illius et uirtutibus ante annos plures sufficienter et uersibus heroicis, et simplici oratione conscripsimus, hoc tantum in praesenti commemorare satis sit, quod aditurus insulam protestatus est fratribus, dicens: 'Si mihi diuina gratia in loco illo donauerit, ut de opere manuum mearum uiuere queam, libens ibi morabor; sin alias, ad uos citissime Deo uolente reuertar.' Erat autem locus et aquae prorsus et frugis et arboris inops, sed et spirituum malignorum frequentia humanae habitationi minus accommodus; sed ad uotum uiri Dei habitabilis per omnia factus est, siquidem ad aduentum eius spiritus recessere maligni. Cum autem ipse sibi ibidem expulsis hostibus mansionem angustam circumuallante aggere *et domus in ea necessarias, iuuante fratrum manu, id est oratorium et habitaculum commune*, construxisset, iussit fratres in eiusdem habitaculi pauimento *foueam* facere; *erat autem tellus durissima et sarosa*, cui nulla omnino spes *uenae fontanae* uideretur inesse. Quod dum facerent, ad fidem et preces famuli Dei, alio die aqua plena *inuenta* est, quae usque ad hanc diem sufficientem cunctis illo aduenientibus gratiae suae caelestis *copiam* ministrat. Sed et ferramenta *sibi* ruralia cum frumento *adferri rogauit*, quod dum praeparata *terra tempore congruo*

Cuthbert becomes an anchorite on Farne Island.

Miracles.

<sup>1</sup> possed- M.    <sup>2</sup> illis M; Vita Cudb.; eis. *sup.*, p. 49.    <sup>3</sup> omnia om. M.    <sup>4</sup> segetem M.    <sup>5</sup> -berht C.    <sup>6</sup> D & c. *begin the new chapter with uerum.*



*seminaret, nil omnino, non dico spicarum, sed ne herbae quidem ex eo germinare usque ad aetatis tempora contigit. Unde uisitantibus se ex more fratribus hordeum iussit adferri, si forte uel natura soli illius, uel uoluntas esset superni largitoris, ut illius frugis ibi potius seges oriretur. Quod dum sibi adlatum ultra omne tempus serendi, ultra omnem spem fructificandi eodem in agro sereret, mox copiosa seges exorta desideratam proprii laboris uiro Dei refectionem praebebat.*

He is  
elected  
Bishop,  
A. D. 684.

Cum<sup>1</sup> ergo multis ibidem annis Deo solitarius seruiret, (tanta autem erat altitudo aggeris, quo mansio eius erat uallata, ut caelum tantum ex ea, cuius introitum sitiebat, aspicere posset), contigit, ut congregata synodo non parua sub praesentia regis Ecgridi iuxta fluuium<sup>2</sup> Alne, in loco, qui dicitur Adtuifyrði<sup>3</sup>, quod significat 'ad duplex uadum,' cui beatae memoriae Theodorus archiepiscopus praesidebat, unanimo<sup>4</sup> omnium consensu ad episcopatum ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis eligeretur. Qui cum multis legatariis ac litteris ad se praemissis nequaquam suo monasterio posset erui, tandem rex ipse praefatus, una cum sanctissimo antistite Trumuine<sup>5</sup>, nec non et aliis religiosis ac potentibus uiris insulam nauigauit. Conueniunt et de ipsa insula Lindisfarnensi in hoc ipsum multi de fratribus, genuflectunt omnes, adiurant per Dominum, lacrimas fundunt, obsecrant; donec ipsum quoque lacrimis plenum dulcibus extrahunt latebris, atque ad synodum pertrahunt. Quo dum perueniret, quamuis multum renitens<sup>6</sup>, unanima cunctorum uoluntate superatur, atque ad suscipiendum episcopatus officium collum submittere compellitur; eo maxime uictus sermone, quod famulus Domini Boisil<sup>7</sup>, cum ei mente prophetica cuncta, quae eum essent superuentura, patefaceret<sup>8</sup>, antistitem quoque eum futurum esse praedixerat. Nec tamen

<sup>1</sup> O<sup>1</sup>. O<sup>2</sup>. D &c., make a new chapter here. with a fresh capitulum.

<sup>2</sup> flumen N. <sup>3</sup> -firdi N. <sup>4</sup> uno animo M. <sup>5</sup> trumuim N.

<sup>6</sup> paenitens C. W<sup>1</sup>. <sup>7</sup> boisel C. <sup>8</sup> -fecerit M<sup>1</sup>; -facierit M<sup>2</sup>.

*statim ordinatio decreta, sed peracta hieme, quae immin-* Con-  
*bat, in ipsa sollemnitate paschali completa est Eboraci* secrated,  
 sub praesentia praefati regis Ecgfridi, conuenientibus March 26,  
 ad consecrationem eius VII episcopis, in quibus beatae 685.  
 memoriae Theodorus primatum tenebat. Electus est  
 autem primo in episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiae  
 pro Tunbereto<sup>1</sup>, qui ab episcopatu fuerat depositus;  
 sed quoniam ipse plus Lindisfarnensi ecclesiae, in qua  
 conuersatus fuerat, dilexit praefici, placuit, ut Eata  
 reuerso ad sedem ecclesiae Hagustaldensis, cui re-  
 gendae primo fuerat ordinatus, Cudberct<sup>2</sup> ecclesiae  
 Lindisfarnensis gubernacula susciperet.

ib. c. 26. Qui susceptum episcopatus gradum ad imitationem<sup>3</sup> His life as  
 f. 96 b. beatorum apostolorum | uirtutum ornabat operibus. Com- bishop.  
 missam namque sibi<sup>4</sup> plebem, et orationibus protegebat  
 adsiduis, et admonitionibus saluberrimis ad caelestia uo-  
 cabat. Et, quod maxime doctores iuuare solet, ea, quae  
 agenda docebat, ipse prius agendo praemonstrabat. Erat  
 quippe ante omnia diuinae caritatis igne feruidus,  
 patientiae uirtute modestus, orationum deuotioni solertis-  
 sime intentus, affabilis omnibus, qui ad se consolationis  
 gratia ueniebant; hoc ipsum quoque orationis loco  
 ducens, si infirmis fratribus opem suae exhortationis  
 tribueret; sciens, quia, qui dixit: 'Diliges Dominum  
 Deum tuum,' dixit et: 'Diliges proximum<sup>5</sup>.' Erat  
 abstinentiae castigatione insignis, erat gratia *conpun-*  
*ctionis* semper ad caelestia suspensus. Denique cum  
 sacrificium Deo uictimae salutaris offerret, non eleuata  
 in altum uoce, sed profusis ex imo<sup>6</sup> pectore lacrimis,  
 Domino sua uota commendabat.

<sup>1</sup> -berhto C; trum- N.    <sup>2</sup> -berht C.    <sup>3</sup> -ne M.    <sup>4</sup> sibe M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> tuum, *add.* C. B<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> intimo N<sup>1</sup>.

## CAP. XXVII [XXIX].

*Ut idem iam episcopus obitum suum proxime futurum Heribercto<sup>1</sup>  
anchoritae praedixerit.*

He returns  
to Farnē,  
A. D. 687.

*DUOBUS* autem annis in episcopatu peractis repetiit *insulam* ac monasterium suum, diuino admonitus oraculo, quia *dies* sibi mortis, uel uitae magis illius, quae sola uita dicenda est, iam *adpropia*ret introitus; sicut ipse quoque tempore eodem nonnullis, sed uerbis obscurioribus, quae tamen postmodum manifeste intellegerentur, solita sibi *simplicitate* pandebat; quibusdam autem hoc idem etiam manifeste reuelabat.

Vita.  
Cudb.  
cc. 36-37.

Herbert the  
anchorite  
of Derwent-  
water.

*Erat* enim<sup>2</sup> presbyter uitae uenerabilis nomine *Heriberct*<sup>3</sup>, iamdudum uiro Dei spiritualis amicitiae foedere copulatus; qui, in insula stagni illius pergrandis, de quo *Deruentionis*<sup>4</sup> fluminis primordia erumpunt, uitam ducens solitariam, annis singulis eum uisitare, et monita ab eo perpetuae salutis audire solebat. Hic cum audiret eum ad ciuitatem *Lugubaliam* deuenisse, uenit ex more, cupiens salutaribus eius exhortationibus ad superna desideria magis magisque accendi. Qui dum sese alterutrum caelestis uitae poculis debriarent, dixit inter alia antistes: ‘Memento, frater *Heriberct*<sup>5</sup>, ut modo, quicquid opus habes, me interrogas mecumque loquaris; postquam enim ab inuicem digressi fuerimus, non ultra nos in hoc saeculo carnis obtutibus inuicem aspiciemus. Certus sum namque, quia<sup>6</sup> tempus meae resolutionis instat, et uelox est depositio tabernaculi mei.’ Qui haec audiens prouolutus est eius uestigiis, et fusis cum gemitu lacrimis: ‘Obsecro,’ inquit, ‘per Dominum, ne me deseras, sed tui memor sis fidis-  
simi sodalis, rogesque supernam pietatem, ut, cui simul in terris seruauimus, ad eius uidendam gratiam simul

ib. c. 28.

His last  
interview  
with  
Cuthbert.

<sup>2</sup> Pet. i.  
14.

f. 97 a.

<sup>1</sup> here- B. C. N; -berchto C.    <sup>2</sup> N begins the new chapter with erat; so R<sub>2</sub>. D. &c., autem N. R<sub>2</sub>. Vita Cudb.    <sup>3</sup> -bercht C; -berect N<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> dor- C.    <sup>5</sup> here- C. N; -bercht C.    <sup>6</sup> quam M.

*transeamus ad caelos. Nosti enim, quia ad tui oris imperium semper uiuere studui*<sup>1</sup>, *et, quicquid ignorantia uel fragilitate*<sup>2</sup> *deliqui, aequae ad tuae uoluntatis examen mox emendare curauit.* *Incubuit precibus antistes, statimque edoctus in spiritu inpetrasse se, quod petebat a Domino : ‘ Surge,’ inquit, ‘ frater mi, et noli plorare, sed gaudio gaude, quia, quod rogauimus, superna nobis clementia donauit.’*

*Cuius promissi et prophetiae ueritatem sequens rerum* Their death  
on the same  
day, March  
20, 687.  
*astruxit euentus ; quia et digredientes ab inuicem non se ultra corporaliter uiderunt, et uno eodemque die, hoc est*

*XIII<sup>o</sup> Kalendarum Aprilium, egredientes e corpore spiritus eorum mox beata inuicem uisione coniuncti sunt, atque angelico ministerio pariter ad regnum caeleste translati. Sed Heriberct*<sup>4</sup> *diutina prius infirmitate decoquitur ; illa, ut credibile est, dispensatione dominicae pietatis, ut, siquid minus haberet meriti a beato Cudbercto*<sup>5</sup>, *suppleret hoc castigans longae egritudinis dolor ; quatinus aequatus gratia suo intercessori, sicut uno eodemque tempore cum eo de corpore egredi, ita etiam una atque indissimili sede perpetuae beatitudinis meruisset recipi.*

cf. ib. cc.  
37 40.

Obiit autem pater reuerentissimus in insula Farne, multum deprecatus fratres, ut ibi quoque sepeliretur, ubi non paruo tempore pro domino militaret<sup>6</sup>. Attamen tandem eorum precibus uictus assensum dedit, ut ad insulam Lindisfarnensium relatus, in ecclesia deponeretur. Quod dum factum esset, episcopatum ecclesiae illius anno uno seruabat uenerabilis antistes Uilfrid, donec eligeretur, qui pro Cudbercto<sup>5</sup> antistes ordinari deberet.

ib. c. 40.

*Ordinatus est autem post haec Eadberct*<sup>5</sup> *uir scientia scripturarum diuinarum*<sup>7</sup> *simul et praeceptorum caelestium obseruantia, ac maxime elemosynarum operatione*

Eadbert  
succeeds  
Cuthbert.

<sup>1</sup> studiui M.    <sup>2</sup> fragill- M.    <sup>3</sup> spiritus . . . inuicem om. B.

<sup>4</sup> v. note<sup>5</sup>, p. 274.

<sup>5</sup> -bercht- C.

<sup>6</sup> -rat H<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>1</sub>. &c.

<sup>7</sup> diu. script. M.

insignis ; ita ut iuxta legem omnibus annis decimam non solum quadrupedum, uerum etiam frugum omnium, atque pomorum, nec non et uestimentorum partem pauperibus daret.

## CAP. XXVIII [XXX].

*Ut corpus illius post XI annos sepulturae sit corruptionis immune repper-  
tum ; nec multo post successor episcopatus eius de mundo transierit.*

Transla-  
tion of St.  
Cuthbert.  
His body  
found un-  
corrupted,  
March 20,  
698.

UOLENS autem latius demonstrare diuina dispensatio, quanta in gloria uir Domini Cudberet<sup>1</sup> post mortem uiueret, cuius ante mortem | uita sublimis crebris etiam miraculorum patebat indiciis, transactis sepulturae eius annis<sup>2</sup> XI, inmisit in animo fratrum, ut tollerent ossa illius, quae more mortuorum consumto iam et in puluerem redacto corpore reliquo sicca inuenienda putabant ; atque in nouo recondita loculo in eodem quidem loco, sed supra pauimentum dignae uenerationis gratia locarent. Quod dum sibi placuisse Eadbercto<sup>1</sup> antistiti<sup>3</sup> suo referrent, adnuit consilio eorum, iussitque, ut die depositionis eius hoc facere meminissent. Fecerunt autem ita, et aperientes sepulchrum, inuenerunt corpus totum, quasi adhuc uiueret, integrum et flexibilibus<sup>4</sup> artuum compagibus multo dormienti quam mortuo similis ; sed et uestimenta omnia, quibus indutum erat, non solum intemerata, uerum etiam prisca nouitate et claritudine<sup>5</sup> miranda parebant. Quod ubi uidere fratres, nimio mox timore perculsi, festinarunt referre antistiti, quae inuenerant<sup>6</sup>. Qui tum forte in remotiore ab ecclesia loco refluus undique pelagi fluctibus cincto, solitarius manebat. In hoc etenim semper quadragesima<sup>7</sup> tempus agere, in hoc XL ante dominicum natale dies in magna continentiae, orationis, et lacrimarum deuotione transigere solebat ; in quo etiam uenerabilis

Vita  
Cudb.  
c. 42.  
f. 97 b.

<sup>1</sup> -bercht- C.

<sup>2</sup> annis, added on margin M.

<sup>3</sup> -te M.

flexilibus M.

<sup>5</sup> claritate M<sup>1</sup>. C.

<sup>6</sup> -runt M. C.

<sup>7</sup> XL<sup>ma</sup> M.



*praedecessor*<sup>1</sup> *eius Cudberct*<sup>2</sup>, *priusquam insulam Farne peteret, aliquandiu secretus Domino militabat.*

*Attulerunt autem ei et partem indumentorum, quae corpus sanctum ambierant, quae cum ille et munera gratanter acciperet, et miracula libenter audiret, nam et ipsa indumenta quasi patris adhuc corpori circumdata miro deosculabatur affectu, 'Noua,' inquit, 'indumenta corpori pro his, quae tulistis, circumdate, et sic reponite in arca, quam parastis. Scio autem certissime, quia non diu uacuius remanebit locus ille, qui tanta miraculi caelestis gratia sacratus est; et quam beatus est, cui in eo facultatem quiescendi Dominus totius beatitudinis*<sup>3</sup> *auctor atque largitor praestare dignabitur.'* *Haec et huiusmodi plura ubi multis cum lacrimis et magna compunctione antistes lingua etiam tremente compleuit, fecerunt fratres, ut iusserat; et inuolutum nouo amictu corpus, nouaque in theca reconditum, supra pauimentum sanctuarii posuerunt.*

*Nec mora, Deo dilectus antistes Eadberct*<sup>4</sup> *morbo correptus est acerbo*<sup>5</sup>, | *ac per dies crescente, multumque ingrauescente ardore langoris, non multo post, id est pridie Nonas Maias, etiam ipse migravit ad Dominum; cuius corpus in sepulchro benedicti patris Cudbercti*<sup>4</sup> *ponentes, adposuerunt desuper arcam, in qua incorrupta eiusdem patris membra locauerant. In quo etiam loco signa sanitatum aliquoties facta meritis amborum testimonium ferunt, e*<sup>6</sup> *quibus aliqua in libro uitae illius olim memoriae mandauimus. Sed et in hac historia quaedam, quae*<sup>7</sup> *nos nuper audisse contigit, superadicere*<sup>8</sup> *commodum*<sup>9</sup> *duximus.*

Death of  
Eadbert.  
May 5, 698.

<sup>1</sup> pro- C.      <sup>2</sup> -berht C.      <sup>3</sup> beatitudinis added on margin M.  
<sup>4</sup> -bercht- C.      <sup>5</sup> aceruo M. N. B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>6</sup> in M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>7</sup> unum  
quod C. B<sup>2</sup>. O<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>3-4</sub>. A<sub>2</sub>. &c.      <sup>8</sup> -iecere M.      <sup>9</sup> com-  
memorandum M. H<sub>1</sub>.

## CAP. XXIX [XXXI].

*Ut quidam<sup>1</sup> ad tumbam eius sit a paralyti sanatus<sup>2</sup>.*

A miracle.

ERAT in eodem monasterio frater quidam, nomine Badudegn<sup>3</sup>, tempore non paucio hospitum ministerio deseruiens, qui nunc usque superest, testimonium habens ab uniuersis fratribus, cunctisque superuenientibus hospitibus, quod uir esset multae pietatis ac religionis, iniunctoque sibi officio supernae tantum mercedis gratia subditus. Hic cum quadam die lenas siue saga, quibus in hospitale utebatur, in mari lauasset, rediens domum, repentina medio itinere molestia tactus est, ita ut corruens in terram, et aliquandiu pronus iacens, uix tandem resurgeret. Resurgens autem sensit dimidiam corporis sui partem a capite usque ad pedes paralysis langore depressam, et maximo cum labore baculo innitens domum peruenit. Crescebat morbus paulatim, et nocte superueniente grauior effectus est, ita ut die redeunte uix ipse per se exsurgere aut incedere ualeret. Quo affectus incommodo, concepit<sup>4</sup> utillimum mente consilium, ut ad ecclesiam, quoquo modo posset, perueniens, intraret ad tumbam reuerentissimi patris Cudbereti<sup>5</sup>, ibique genibus flexis supplex supernam pietatem rogaret, ut uel ab huiusce-modi langore, si hoc sibi utile esset, liberaretur; uel, si se tali molestia diutius castigari diuina prouidente gratia oporteret, patienter dolorem ac placida mente sustineret inlatum. Fecit igitur, ut animo disposuerat, et inbecilles<sup>6</sup> artus baculo sustentans intrauit ecclesiam; ac prosternens se ad corpus uiri Dei, pia inten-

<sup>1</sup> In the capitula C. W. O<sub>1-5</sub>, O<sub>7-8</sub>, O<sub>10</sub>, reverse the order of this and the next chapter, and consequently read alter for quidam here, and quidam for alter there; but in the text the chapters occur in the order here given. <sup>2</sup> curatus C. <sup>3</sup> -deng N; -ðegn B; beaduðegn C.

<sup>4</sup> -coepit M. C.

<sup>5</sup> -berchti C.

<sup>6</sup> -ciles M.

f. 98 b.

tione per eius auxilium Dominum sibi propitium fieri precabatur ; atque inter preces uelut in soporem solutus, sentit, ut ipse postea referre erat solitus, quasi magnam latamque manum caput sibi in parte, qua dolebat, tetigisse, | eodemque tactu totam illam, quae langore pressa fuerat, corporis sui partem, paulatim fugiente dolore, ac sanitate subsequente, ad pedes usque<sup>1</sup> pertransisse. Quo facto, mox euigilans sanissimus surrexit, ac pro sua sanitate Domino gratias denuo referens, quid erga se actum esset, fratribus indicauit ; cunctisque congaudentibus, ad ministerium, quod sollicitus exhibere<sup>2</sup> solebat, quasi flagello<sup>3</sup> probante castigatior, rediit.

Vita  
Cudb.  
c. 43 ;  
cf. ib.  
c. 45.

*Sed et indumenta, quibus Deo dicatum corpus Cudbereti<sup>4</sup>, uel uiuum antea, uel postea defunctum uestierant, etiam ipsa a gratia curandi non uacarunt, sicut in uolumine uitae et uirtutum eius quisque legerit, inueniet.*

## CAP. XXX [XXXII].

*Ut alter<sup>5</sup> ad reliquias eius nuper fuerit ab oculi langore curatus.*

Nec silentio praetereundum, quod ante triennium per reliquias eius factum, nuper mihi per ipsum, in quo factum est, fratrem innotuit. Est autem factum in monasterio, quod iuxta amnem Dacore constructum ab eo cognomen accepit, cui tunc uir religiosus Suidberet<sup>6</sup> abbatis iure praefuit. Erat in eo quidam adulescens, cui tumor deformis palpebram oculi fedauerat ; qui cum per dies crescens oculo interitum minaretur, curabant medici hunc adpositis pigmentorum fomentis emollire, nec ualebant. Quidam abscidendum esse docebant, alii hoc fieri metu maioris periculi uetabant. Cumque tempore non pauco frater praefatus tali incommodo laboraret, neque imminens

Another  
Miracle.

<sup>1</sup> ad . . . usque om. C. O<sub>1-4</sub>. D. & c. <sup>2</sup> exhibebere M. <sup>3</sup> -gillo M.  
<sup>4</sup> -berhti C. <sup>5</sup> v. note <sup>1</sup>, p. 278. <sup>6</sup> suitbercht C.

oculo exitium humana manus curare ualeret, quin per dies augesceret, contigit eum subito diuinæ pietatis gratia per sanctissimi patris Cudbereti<sup>1</sup> reliquias sanari. Nam quando fratres sui corpus ipsius post multos sepulturae annos incorruptum reppererunt<sup>2</sup>, tulerunt partem de capillis, quam more reliquiarum rogantibus amicis dare, uel ostendere in signum miraculi possent.

Harum particulam reliquiarum eo tempore habebat penes se quidam de presbyteris eiusdem monasterii nomine Thruired<sup>3</sup>, qui nunc ipsius monasterii abbas est. Qui cum die quadam ingressus ecclesiam, aperuisset thecam reliquiarum, ut portionem earum roganti amico praestaret, contigit et ipsum adolescentem<sup>4</sup>, cui oculus languebat, | in eadem tunc ecclesia<sup>5</sup> adesse. f. 99 a. Cumque presbyter portionem, quantam uoluit, amico dedisset, residuum dedit adolescenti, ut suo in loco reponeret. At ille salubri instinctu admonitus, cum accepisset capillos sancti capitis, adposuit palpebrae languenti, et aliquandiu tumorem illum infestum horum adpositione comprimere ac mollire curabat. Quo facto, reliquias, ut iussus erat, sua in theca recondidit, credens suum oculum capillis uiri Dei, quibus adtactus erat,ocius esse sanandum. Neque eum sua fides fefellit. Erat enim, ut referre est<sup>6</sup> solitus, tunc hora circiter secunda diei. Sed cum alia, quaeque dies illa exigebat, cogitaret et faceret, imminente hora ipsius diei sexta, repente contingens oculum ita sanum cum palpebra inuenit, ac si nil umquam in eo deformitatis ac tumoris apparuisset.

<sup>1</sup> -berhti C.    <sup>2</sup> reperierunt M ; reppererent B.    <sup>3</sup> thrydred B. C ; thryded N.    <sup>4</sup> adulisc- M. C.    <sup>5</sup> eccl. tunc M.  
<sup>6</sup> erat M.

## LIBER QUINTUS.

### CAP. I.

*U' Oidiluald<sup>1</sup> successor Cudbercti<sup>2</sup> in anachoretica<sup>3</sup> uita, laborantibus in mari fratribus, tempestatem orando sedauerit.*

SUCCESSIT autem uiro Domini Cudbercto<sup>4</sup> in exercenda uita solitaria, quam in insula Farne ante episcopatus sui tempora gerebat, uir uenerabilis Oidiluald<sup>5</sup>, qui multis annis in monasterio, quod dicitur Inhrypum, acceptum presbyteratus officium condignis gradu ipse consecrabat actibus. Cuius ut meritum, uel uita qualis fuerit, certius clarescat, unum eius narro miraculum, quod mihi unus e fratribus, propter quos et in quibus patratum est, ipse narrauit, uidelicet Gudfrid<sup>6</sup>, uenerabilis Christi famulus et presbyter, qui etiam postea fratribus eiusdem ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis, in qua educatus est, abbatis iure praefuit.

Ethelwald  
succeeds  
Cuthbert  
as ancho-  
rite of  
Farne.

‘Ueni,’ inquit, ‘cum duobus fratribus aliis<sup>7</sup> ad A miracle.  
insulam Farne, loqui desiderans cum reuerentissimo patre Oidilualdo; cumque allocutione eius refecti, et benedictione petita domum rediremus, ecce subito, positis nobis in medio mari, interrupta est serenitas, qua uehebamur, et tanta ingruit tamque fera tempestatis hiems, ut neque uelo neque remigio quicquam proficere, neque aliud quam mortem sperare ualeremus. Cumque diu multum cum uento pelagoque frustra

<sup>1</sup> oīðuald C<sup>1</sup>; oīðil- C<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> cuðberhti C.      <sup>3</sup> sic C, the  
scribe of M has blundered.      <sup>4</sup> -bercto C.      <sup>5</sup> oiduald M; oidil-  
uald C; æbeluald B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>6</sup> gut'h'frid N; gyð- C.      <sup>7</sup> aliis,  
added on margin M.



certantes, | tandem post terga respiceremus, si forte f. 100 a.  
 uel ipsam, de qua egressi eramus, insulam aliquo  
 conamine repetere possemus, inuenimus nos undique-  
 uersum pari tempestate praeclusos, nullamque spem  
 nobis in nobis restare salutis. Ubi autem longius  
 uisum leuauimus, uidimus in ipsa insula Farne egres-  
 sum de latibulis suis amantissimum Deo patrem Oidil-  
 ualdum iter nostrum inspicere. Audito etenim fragore  
 procellarum ac feruentis oceani exierat uidere, quid  
 nobis accideret; cumque nos in labore ac despera-  
 tione<sup>1</sup> positos cerneret, flectebat genua sua ad patrem cf. Eph  
iii. 14.  
 Domini nostri Iesu Christi pro nostra uita et salute  
 precaturus. Et cum orationem conpleret, simul tumida  
 aequora placauit; adeo ut, cessante per omnia saeuitia  
 tempestatis, secundi nos uenti ad terram usque per  
 plana maris terga comitarentur. Cumque euadentes  
 ad terram, nauiculam quoque nostram ab undis expor-  
 taremus, mox eadem, quae nostri gratia modicum  
 siluerat, tempestas rediit, et toto illo die multum furere  
 non cessauit; ut palam daretur intellegi, quia modica  
 illa, quae prouenerat, intercapedo quietis, ad uiri Dei  
 preces nostrae euasionis gratia caelitus donata est.<sup>2</sup>

Mansit autem idem uir Dei in insula Farne XII  
 annis, ibidemque defunctus<sup>3</sup>; sed in insula Lindis-  
 farnensi iuxta praefatorum corpora episcoporum in  
 ecclesia beati apostoli Petri sepultus est. Gesta uero  
 sunt haec temporibus Aldfridi<sup>4</sup> regis, qui post fratrem  
 suum Ecgfridum genti Nordanhymbrorum X et VIII<sup>5</sup>  
 annis praefuit.

## CAP. II.

*Ut episcopus Iohannes mutum<sup>5</sup> benedicendo curauerit.*

CUIUS<sup>6</sup> regni principio defuncto Eata episcopo,  
 Iohannes uir sanctus Hagustaldensis<sup>7</sup> ecclesiae prae-

John,  
Bishop of  
Hexham.

<sup>1</sup> disp- M.    <sup>2</sup> -tus est C.    <sup>3</sup> alt- N.    <sup>4</sup> XVIII C.    <sup>5</sup> et  
 scabiosum add. M. om. B. C. N. AS.    <sup>6</sup> huius C.    <sup>7</sup> ag- N.

sulatum suscepit; de quo plura uirtutum miracula, qui eum familiariter nouerunt, dicere solent, et maxime uir reuerentissimus ac ueracissimus Bercthun<sup>1</sup>, diaconus quondam eius, nunc autem abbas monasterii<sup>2</sup>, quod uocatur Inderauuda<sup>3</sup>, id est In silua Derorum; e quibus aliqua memoriae tradere commodum duximus.

Est mansio quaedam secretior, nemoré raro et uallo circumdata, non longe ab Hagustaldensi<sup>4</sup> ecclesia, id est unius ferme miliarii et dimidii spatio interfluente Tino amne separata<sup>5</sup>, habens clymeterium<sup>6</sup> sancti Michahelis archangeli, in qua uir Dei saepius, ubi oportunitas adridebat temporis, et maxime in quadragesima<sup>7</sup>, manere cum paucis, atque orationibus ac lectioni quietus operam dare consueuerat. Cumque tempore quodam, incipiente quadragesima, ibidem mansurus adueniret, iussit suis quaerere pauperem aliquem maiore infirmitate uel inopia grauatum, quem secum habere illis diebus ad faciendam elimosynam possent; sic enim semper facere solebat.

Erat autem in uilla non longe posita quidam adulescens mutus, episcopo notus, nam saepius ante illum percipiendae elimosynae gratia uenire consueuerat, qui ne unum quidem sermonem umquam profari poterat; sed et scabiem tantam ac furfures habebat in capite, ut nil umquam capillorum ei in superiore parte capitis nasci ualeret, tantum in circuitu horridi crines stare uidebantur. Hunc ergo adduci praecipit<sup>8</sup> episcopus, et ei in conseptis eiusdem mansionis paruum tugurium fieri, in quo manens cotidianam ab eis stipem acciperet. Cumque una quadragesimae esset impleta septimana, sequente dominica iussit ad se intrare pauperem, ingressu linguam proferre ex ore, ac sibi ostendere iussit;

He cures a dumb boy.

<sup>1</sup> berht- C.    <sup>2</sup> -ri M.    <sup>3</sup> -uudu C.    <sup>4</sup> ag- C.    <sup>5</sup> seper- M. C.    <sup>6</sup> sic M. B; clymeterium N; climiterium H<sub>1</sub>; clymitorium C. D. &c.    <sup>7</sup> xlma M. C, and so throughout the chapter.

<sup>8</sup> -cepit C.

et adprehendens eum de mento, signum sanctae crucis linguae eius inpressit, quam signatam reuocare in os, et loqui illum praecepit: ‘Dicito,’ inquires, ‘aliquod uerbum, dicito gae<sup>1</sup>,’ quod est lingua Anglorum uerbum adfirmandi et consentiendi, id est, etiam. Dixit ille statim, soluto uinculo linguae, quod iussus erat. Addidit episcopus nomina litterarum: ‘Dicito A’; dixit ille<sup>2</sup> A. ‘Dicito B’; dixit ille et hoc. Cumque singula litterarum nomina dicente episcopo responderet, addidit et syllabas ac uerba dicenda illi proponere. Et cum in omnibus consequenter responderet, praecepit eum sententias longiores dicere, et fecit; neque ultra cessauit tota die illa et nocte sequente, quantum uigilare potuit, ut ferunt, qui praesentes fuere, loqui aliquid, et arcana suae cogitationis ac uoluntatis, quod numquam antea potuit, aliis ostendere; in similitudinem illius diu claudi, qui curatus ab apostolis Petro et Iohanne, exiliens stetit, et ambulabat; et intrauit cum illis in templum, ambulans, et exiliens, et laudans Dominum; gaudens nimirum uti officio pedum, quo tanto erat tempore destitutus. Cuius sanitati congaudens episcopus praecepit medico etiam sanandae scabredini capitis eius curam adhibere. Act. iii.  
2-8.  
f. 101 a.

Fecit, ut iusserat, et iuuante benedictione ac precibus antistitis, nata est cum sanitate cutis uenusta species capillorum, factusque est iuuenis limpidus uultu et loquella promptus, capillis pulcherrime crispis, qui ante fuerat deformis, pauper, et mutus. Sicque de percepta laetatus sospitate, offerente etiam ei episcopo, ut<sup>3</sup> in sua familia manendi locum acciperet, magis domum reuersus est.

<sup>1</sup> gae B; géa C<sup>2</sup>, on erasure.    <sup>2</sup> ille, added on margin M.    <sup>3</sup> ut, added on margin M.

## CAP. III.

*Ut puellam languentem orando sanauerit.*

NARRAUIT idem Berethun<sup>1</sup> et aliud de praefato antistite miraculum : quia cum reuerentissimus uir Uilfrid post longum exilium in episcopatum esset Hagustaldensis ecclesiae receptus, et idem Iohannes, defuncto Bosa uiro multae sanctitatis et humilitatis, episcopus pro eo Eboraci substitutus, uenerit ipse tempore quodam ad monasterium uirginum in loco, qui uocatur Uetadun, cui tunc Heriburg<sup>2</sup> abbatissa praefuit. ‘Ubi cum uenissemus,’ inquit, ‘et magno uniuersorum gaudio suscepti essemus, indicauit nobis abbatissa, quia quaedam de numero uirginum, quae erat filia ipsius carnalis, grauissimo langore teneretur; quia flebotomata est nuper in brachio, et cum<sup>3</sup> esset in studio, tacta est infirmitate repentini doloris, quo mox incremente, magis grauatum est brachium illud uulneratum, ac uersum in tumorem adeo, ut uix duabus manibus circumplecti posset, ipsaque iacens in lecto prae nimietate doloris iam moritura uideretur. Rogauit ergo episcopum abbatissa, ut intrare<sup>4</sup> ad eam, ac benedicere illam dignaretur, quia crederet eam ad benedictionem uel tactum illius mox melius habituram. Interrogans autem ille, quando flebotomata<sup>5</sup> esset puella, et ut cognouit, quia in luna quarta, dixit: ‘Multum insipienter et indocte fecistis in luna IIII<sup>a</sup> flebotomando. Memini enim beatae memoriae Theodorum archiepiscopum dicere, quia periculosa sit satis illius temporis flebotomia, quando et lumen lunae, et reuma oceani in cremento est. Et quid ego possum puellae, si moritura est, facere?’ At illa instantius obsecrans pro filia, quam oppido diligebat, nam et

Further  
miracles.  
cc. 3-6.

<sup>1</sup> berht- C.      <sup>2</sup> here- B. C. N.      <sup>3</sup> cum adhuc C.      <sup>4</sup> -ret  
M. N<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>5</sup> -tamata M.

abbatissam eam pro se facere disposuerat, tandem obtinuit, ut ad languentem intraret. Intrauit ergo me secum adsumto ad uirginem, quae iacebat multo, ut dixi, dolore constricta, et brachio in tantum grosse-scente, ut nihil prorsus<sup>1</sup> in cubito flexionis haberet; | et adstans dixit orationem super illam, ac benedicens f. 101 b. egressus est. Cumque post haec hora competente consideremus ad mensam, adueniens quidam clamauit me foras, et ait: 'Postulat<sup>2</sup> Quoenburg<sup>3</sup>' (hoc enim erat nomen uirginis), 'ut ocius regrediaris ad eam.' Quod dum facerem, repperi illam ingrediens uultu hilariorem, et uelut sospiti similem. Et dum adsiderem illi, dixit: 'Uis petamus bibere?' At ego: 'Uolo,' inquam, 'et multum delector, si potes.' Cumque oblato poculo biberemus ambo, coepit mihi dicere, quia 'ex quo episcopus oratione pro me et benedictione completa egressus est, statim melius habere incipio; etsi necdum uires pristinas recepi<sup>4</sup>, dolor tamen omnis et de brachio, ubi ardentior inerat, et de toto meo corpore, uelut ipso episcopo foras eum exportante, funditus ablatu-s est, tametsi tumor adhuc brachii manere uidetur<sup>5</sup>.' Abeuntibus autem nobis inde, continuo fugatum dolorem membrorum fuga quoque tumoris horrendi secuta est; et erepta morti ac doloribus uirgo, laudes Domino Saluatori<sup>6</sup> una cum ceteris, qui ibi erant, seruis illius referebat.'

## CAP. IV.

*Ut coniugem comitis infirmam aqua benedicta curauerit.*

ALIUD quoque non multum huic dissimile miracu-lum de praefato antistite narrauit idem abbas, dicens: 'Uilla erat comitis cuiusdam, qui uocabatur<sup>7</sup> Puch.

<sup>1</sup> prorsus, *added below the line* M.    <sup>2</sup> -lauit C. D. &c.    <sup>3</sup> quoin-B; coen- H<sub>1</sub>; quoque inburg N.    <sup>4</sup> recipi M.    <sup>5</sup> uideretur M.  
<sup>6</sup> -ni -ris N.    <sup>7</sup> uocatur C. D.



non longe a monasterio nostro, id est duum<sup>1</sup> ferme milium spatio separata<sup>2</sup>; cuius coniux XL ferme diebus erat acerbissimo<sup>3</sup> langore detenta, ita ut tribus septimanis non posset de cubiculo, in quo iacebat, foras efferri. Contigit autem eo tempore uirum Dei illo ad dedicandam ecclesiam ab eodem comite uocari. Cumque dedicata esset ecclesia, rogauit comes eum ad prandendum in domum suam ingredi. Rennuit episcopus dicens se ad monasterium, quod proxime erat, debere reuerti. At ille obnixius precibus instans, uouit<sup>4</sup> etiam se elimosynas pauperibus daturum, dummodo ille dignaretur eo die domum suam ingrediens ieiunium soluere. Rogauit et ego una cum illo, promittens etiam me elimosynas in alimoniam inopum dare, dum ille domum comitis pransurus, ac benedictionem daturus intraret. Cumque hoc tarde ac difficulter inpetrarem, intrauimus ad reficiendum. Miserat autem episcopus mulieri, quae infirma iacebat, de aqua benedicta, quam in dedicationem ecclesiae consecrauerat, per unum de his, qui mecum uenerant, [fratribus; praecipiens, ut gustandam illi daret, et, ubicumque maximum ei dolorem inesse didicisset, de ipsa eam aqua lauaret. Quod ut factum est, surrexit statim mulier sana, et non solum se infirmitate longa carere, sed et perditas dudum uires recepisse<sup>5</sup> sentiens, obtulit poculum episcopo ac nobis; coeptumque ministerium nobis omnibus propinandi usque ad prandium completum non omisit; imitata socrum beati Petri, quae cum febrium fuisset ardoribus fatigata, ad tactum manus dominicae surrexit, et sanitate simul ac uirtute recepta ministrabat eis.’

f. 102 a.

Matt. viii.

14-15;

Mc. i. 30-

31; Luc.

iv. 38-39.

<sup>1</sup> duorum C.    <sup>2</sup> seper- M.    <sup>3</sup> aceru- M. B. C. N.    <sup>4</sup> uo-  
luit C. with 1 deleted.    <sup>5</sup> recip- M. C.

## CAP. V.

*Ut item<sup>1</sup> puerum comitis orando a morte reuocauerit.*

ALIO item tempore uocatus ad dedicandam ecclesiam comitis uocabulo Addi<sup>2</sup>, cum postulatum<sup>3</sup> conplesset ministerium, rogatus est ab eodem comite intrare ad unum de pueris eius, qui acerrima egritudine premebatur, ita ut, deficiente penitus omni membrorum officio<sup>4</sup>, iamiamque moriturus esse uideretur; cui etiam locus iam tunc erat praeparatus, in quo defunctus condi deberet. Addidit autem uir etiam lacrimas<sup>5</sup> precibus, diligenter obsecrans, ut intraret oraturus pro illo, quia multum necessaria sibi esset uita ipsius; crederet uero, quia, si ille ei manum inponere, atque eum benedicere uoluisset, statim melius haberet. Intrauit ergo illo<sup>6</sup> episcopus, et uidit eum mestis omnibus iam morti proximum, positumque loculum iuxta eum, in quo sepeliendus poni deberet; dixitque orationem, ac benedixit eum, et egrediens dixit solito consolantium sermone: 'Bene conualescas, et cito.' Cumque post haec sederent ad mensam, misit puer ad dominum suum, rogans sibi poculum uini mittere, quia sitiret. Gaudis ille multum, quia bibere posset, misit ei calicem uini benedictum ab episcopo; quem ut bibit, surrexit continuo, et ueterno infirmitatis discusso, induit se ipse uestimentis suis; et egressus inde<sup>7</sup> intrauit, ac salutauit episcopum et conuiuas, dicens, quia ipse quoque delectaretur manducare et bibere cum eis. Iusserunt eum sedere secum ad epulas, multum gaudentes de sospitate illius. Residebat, uescebatur, bibebat, laetabatur, quasi unus e conuiuis agebat; et multis post haec annis uiuens, in eadem, quam acceperat, salute permansit. Hoc

<sup>1</sup> idem C.    <sup>2</sup> aeddi B; æddi N<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> -tus M.    <sup>4</sup> officio,  
*added on margin M.*    <sup>5</sup> -mis M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> ille C. W. D. &c.  
<sup>7</sup> inde, *added on margin M.*

f. 102 b. autem miraculum memoratus abbas non se | praesente  
factum, sed ab his, qui praesentes fuere, sibi perhibet  
esse relatum.

## CAP. VI.

*Ut clericum suum cadendo contritum, aequè orando ac benedicendo  
a morte reuocauerit.*

NEQUE hoc praetereundum silentio, quod famulus  
Christi Heribald<sup>1</sup> in se ipso ab eo factum solet narrare  
miraculum, qui tunc quidem in clero illius conuersatus,  
nunc monasterio, quod est iuxta ostium Tini fluminis,  
abbatis iure praeest. ‘Uitam,’ inquit, ‘illius, quantum  
hominibus aestimare fas est, quod<sup>2</sup> praesens optime  
cognoui, per omnia episcopo dignam esse conperi. Sed  
et cuius meriti apud internum testem habitus sit, et  
in multis aliis, et in me ipso maxime expertus sum;  
quippe quem<sup>3</sup> ab ipso, ut ita dicam, mortis limite  
reuocans, ad uiam uitae sua oratione ac benedictione  
reduxit. Nam cum primaeuo adulescentiae tempore in  
clero illius degerem, legendi quidem canendique studiis  
traditus, sed non adhuc animum perfecte a iuuenili-  
bus<sup>4</sup> cohibens inlecebris, contigit die quadam nos iter  
agentes cum illo deuenisse in uiam planam et amplam,  
aptamque cursui equorum; coeperuntque iuuenes, qui  
cum ipso erant, maxime laici, postulare episcopum, ut  
cursu maiore equos suos inuicem probare liceret. At  
ille primo negauit, otiosum dicens esse, quod desidera-  
bant; sed ad ultimum multorum unanima intentione  
deuictus: “Facite,” inquit, “si uultis, ita tamen, ut  
Herebald<sup>5</sup> ab illo se certamine funditus abstineat.”  
Porro ipse diligentius obsecrans, ut et mihi certandi  
cum illis copia daretur, (fidebam namque equo, quem

<sup>1</sup> here- C. N<sup>1</sup>. B.<sup>2</sup> quia C.<sup>3</sup> quem quippe C. B<sup>2</sup>.<sup>4</sup> iuuenibus M; iuuenal- C. W<sup>1</sup>. D. &c.<sup>5</sup> heri- N<sup>2</sup>.

mihi ipse optimum donauerat), nequaquam inpetrare potui.

‘At<sup>1</sup> cum saepius huc atque illuc, spectante me et episcopo, concitatis in cursum equis reuerterentur; et ipse lasciuo superatus animo non me potui<sup>2</sup> cohibere, sed, prohibente licet illo, ludentibus me miscui, et simul cursu equi contendere coepi. Quod dum agerem, audiui illum post tergum mihi cum gemitu dicentem: “O quam magnum uae facis mihi sic equitando!” Et ego audiens, nihilominus coeptis institi uetitis. Nec mora, dum feruens equus quoddam itineris<sup>3</sup> concauum ualentiore impetu transiliret, lapsus<sup>4</sup> decidi, et mox uelut emoriens sensum penitus motumque omnem perdi. Erat namque illo in loco lapis terrae aequalis obtectus cespite tenui, neque ullus | alter in tota illa f. 103 a. campi planitie<sup>5</sup> lapis inueniri poterat; casuque euenit, uel potius diuina prouisione ad puniendam inoboedientiae meae culpam, ut hunc capite ac manu, quam capiti ruens subposueram, tangerem, atque infracto pollice capitis quoque iunctura solueretur; et ego, ut dixi, simillimus mortuo fierem. Et quia moueri non poteram, tetenderunt ibidem papilionem, in quo<sup>6</sup> iacerem. Erat autem hora diei circiter septima, a qua ad uesperam usque<sup>7</sup> quietus et quasi mortuus permanens, tunc paululum reuiuisco, ferorque domum a sociis, ac tacitus tota nocte perduro. Uomebam autem sanguinem. eo quod et interanea essent ruendo conuulsa. At episcopus grauissime de casu et interitu meo dolebat, eo quod me speciali diligeret affectu; nec uoluit nocte illa iuxta morem cum clericis suis manere, uerum solus in oratione persistens noctem ducebat peruigilem, pro mea, ut reor, sospitate supernae pietati supplicans. Et mane primo ingressus ad me, ac dicta super me oratione, uocauit me nomine meo, et quasi

<sup>1</sup> et C.<sup>2</sup> potuit C. H<sub>J</sub>. D<sup>1</sup>.<sup>3</sup> itineris M. C.<sup>4</sup> -si M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>5</sup> -tiae M.<sup>6</sup> qua M.<sup>7</sup> usque ad uesp. B.

de somno graui excitatum interrogauit, si nossem, quis esset, qui loqueretur ad me. At ego aperiens oculos aio : “Etiam ; tu es antistes meus amatus.” “Potes,” inquit, “uiuere ?” Et ego : “Possum,” inquam, “per orationes uestras, si uoluerit Dominus.”

‘Qui inponens capiti meo manum, cum uerbis benedictionis, rediit ad orandum ; et post pusillum me reuisens, inuenit sedentem, et iam <sup>1</sup> loqui ualentem ; coepitque me interrogare, diuino, ut mox patuit, admonitus instinctu, an me esse baptizatum absque scrupulo nossem. Cui ego absque ulla me hoc dubietate scire respondi, quia salutari fonte in remissionem peccatorum essem ablutus ; et nomen presbyteri, a quo me baptizatum noueram, dixi. At ille : “Si ab hoc,” inquit, “sacerdote baptizatus es, non es perfecte baptizatus ; noui <sup>2</sup> namque eum, et quia cum esset presbyter ordinatus, nullatenus propter ingenii tarditatem potuit cathecizandi uel baptizandi ministerium discere, propter quod et ipse illum ab huius praesumptione ministerii, quod regulariter implere nequibat, omnimodis cessare praecepi <sup>3</sup>.” Quibus dictis eadem hora me cathecizare ipse curauit ; factumque est <sup>2</sup>, | ut, exsufflante illo in faciem meam, confestim me melius habere sentirem. Uocauit autem medicum, et dissolutam mihi emicranii iuncturam componere atque alligare iussit. Tantumque mox accepta eius benedictione conualui, ut in crastinum ascendens equum cum ipso iter in alium locum facerem ; nec multo post plene curatus uitali etiam unda per-fusus <sup>4</sup> sum.’

Mansit autem in episcopatu annis XXXIII, et sic

<sup>1</sup> inuenit etiam (*omitting sedentem*) C. N.      <sup>2</sup> *From noui to factumque est several letters occurring at the ends of the lines have been omitted in M, and added in a much later hand. The vellum is defective at this point, but this is not the cause of the omissions, as there is space between the ends of the lines and the margin ; and there is no defect in the text on the corresponding part of the reverse of the folio.*  
<sup>3</sup> praecipi M.      <sup>4</sup> -fusus M.



Death of  
Bishop  
John, A. D.  
721.

caelestia regna conscendens, sepultus est in porticu sancti Petri in monasterio suo, quod dicitur In silua Derorum, anno ab incarnatione dominica DCC<sup>o</sup> XXI<sup>o</sup>. Nam cum prae maiore<sup>1</sup> senectute minus episcopatui administrando sufficeret, ordinato in episcopatum Eboracensis<sup>2</sup> ecclesiae Uilfrido presbytero suo, secessit ad monasterium praefatum, ibique uitam in Deo digna conuersatione compleuit.

## CAP. VII.

*Ut Caedwalla<sup>3</sup> rex Occidentalium Saxonum baptizandus<sup>4</sup> Romam uenerit; sed et successor eius Ini eadem beatorum apostolorum limina deuotus adierit.*

Caedwalla  
resigns and  
goes to  
Rome, A. D.  
688.

ANNO autem regni Aldfridi<sup>5</sup> tertio, Caedwalla,<sup>6</sup> rex Occidentalium Saxonum, cum genti suae duobus annis strenuissime praeesset, relicto imperio propter Dominum regnumque perpetuum, uenit Romam; hoc sibi gloriae singularis desiderans adipisci, ut ad limina beatorum apostolorum fonte baptismatis ablueretur, in quo solo didicerat generi humano patere uitae caelestis introitum; simul etiam sperans, quia mox baptizatus, carne solutus ad aeterna gaudia iam mundus transiret; quod utrumque, ut mente disposuerat, Domino iuuante<sup>7</sup> completum est. Etenim illo perueniens, pontificatum agente Sergio, baptizatus est die sancto sabbati paschalis anno ab incarnatione Domini DCLXXXVIII; et in albis adhuc positus, langore correptus, XII<sup>o</sup>. Kalendarum Maiarum die solutus a carne, et beatorum est regno sociatus in caelis. Cui etiam tempore baptismatis papa memoratus Petri nomen inposuerat, ut beatissimo apostolorum principi, ad cuius sacratissimum corpus a finibus terrae pio ductus amore uenerat, etiam nominis ipsius consortio

His baptism  
and death,  
April, 689.

<sup>1</sup> -ri M. N.

<sup>2</sup> ebur- C. B. N.

<sup>3</sup> caed- N; ceadulla C.

<sup>4</sup> -do M.

<sup>5</sup> alt- N<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> caed- N; cead- B; ceadulla C; ced-

uald H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>7</sup> iubente N.

iungeretur ; qui in eius quoque ecclesia sepultus est ;  
et iubente pontifice epitaphium in eius monumento  
scriptum, in quo et memoria deuotionis ipsius fixa per  
saecula maneret, et legentes quoque uel audientes  
exemplum facti ad studium religionis accenderet.  
Scriptum est ergo hoc modo :

*Culmen, opes, subolem, pollentia regna, triumphos,*

*Exuias, proceres, moenia, castra, lares ;*

f. 104 a.

| *Quacque patrum uirtus, et quae congesserat ipse*<sup>1</sup>

*Caedual*<sup>2</sup> *armipotens, liquit amore Dei ;*

*Ut Petrum, sedemque Petri rex cerneret hospes,*

*Cuius fonte meras sumeret almus aquas,*

*Splendificumque iubar radianti carperet haustu*<sup>3</sup>,

*Ex quo uiuificus fulgor ubique fluit.*

*Percipiensque alacer rediuiuae*<sup>4</sup> *praemia uitae,*

*Barbaricam rabiem, nomen et inde suum*

*Conuersus conuertit ouans ; Petrumque uocari*

*Sergius antistes iussit, ut ipse pater*

*Fonte renascentis, quem Christi gratia purgans*

*Protinus albatum*<sup>5</sup> *uexit in arce poli.*

*Mira fides regis, clementia maxima Christi,*

*Cuius consilium nullus adire potest !*

*Sospes enim ueniens supremo ex orbe Britanni,*

*Per uarias gentes, per freta, perque uias,*

*Urbem Romuleam uidit, templumque uerendum*<sup>6</sup>

*Aspexit Petri mystica dona gerens.*

*Candidus inter oues Christi sociabilis ibit ;*

*Corpore nam tumulum, mente superna tenet.*

*Commutasse magis sceptrorum insignia credas,*

*Quem regnum Christi promeruisse uides.*

*Hic depositus est Caedual*<sup>7</sup>, *qui et Petrus, rex Saxonum, sub*  
*die XII Kalendarum Maiarum, indictione II ; qui uixit*

<sup>1</sup> uirtus . . . ipse added above the line in M.      <sup>2</sup> caed- N ; cead-  
C : ceduald H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>3</sup> austu M.      <sup>4</sup> recidiuae, in Paul. Diac.

<sup>5</sup> ablatum C. B<sup>2</sup>. D. &c. ; abbatum H<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>. R<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>. O<sub>19</sub>.      <sup>6</sup> ueneran-  
dum B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>7</sup> caed- N ; ceadualla C.

annos *plus*<sup>1</sup> minus<sup>2</sup> XXX, imperante domno Iustiniano piissimo Augusto, anno eius<sup>3</sup> consulatus IIII, pontificante apostolico uiro domno Sergio papa anno secundo.

Abeunte autem Romam Caedualla<sup>4</sup>, successit in regnum Ini<sup>5</sup> de stirpe regia; qui cum XXXVII<sup>6</sup> annis imperium tenuisset gentis illius, et ipse relicto regno ac iuuenioribus commendato, ad limina beatorum apostolorum Gregorio pontificatum tenente profectus est, cupiens in uicinia<sup>7</sup> sanctorum locorum ad tempus peregrinari in terris, quo familiarius a sanctis recipi mereretur in caelis; quod his temporibus plures de gente Anglorum, nobiles, ignobiles, laici, clerici, uiri ac feminae certatim facere consuerunt.

Abdication  
of Ini, his  
successor,  
A. D. 725.

## CAP. VIII.

*Ut Theodoro defuncto archiepiscopatus gradum Berctuald<sup>8</sup> suscepit; et inter plurimos, quos ordinauit, etiam Tobiam uirum doctissimum Hrofensi ecclesiae fecerit antistitem.*

Death of  
Theodore,  
Sept. 19, 690.

ANNO autem<sup>9</sup> post hunc, quo Caedualla<sup>10</sup> Romae defunctus est, proximo, id est DCXC incarnationis dominicae, Theodorus beatae memoriae archiepiscopus, senex et plenus dierum, id est annorum LXXXVIII, defunctus est; quem se numerum annorum fuisse habiturum ipse iamdudum somni<sup>11</sup> reuelatione edoctus, suis praedicere<sup>12</sup> solebat. Mansit autem in episcopatu annis XXII, sepultusque est in ecclesia sancti Petri, in qua omnium episcoporum Doruuernensium sunt corpora deposita; de quo una cum consortibus<sup>13</sup> eiusdem<sup>14</sup> sui gradus recte ac ueraciter dici potest, quia 'corpora ipsorum in pace sepulta sunt, | et nomen

Gen.  
xxxv. 29;  
1 Par.  
xxiii. 1.

Eccles.  
xliv. 14.  
f. 104 b.

<sup>1</sup> plus *om.* C. O<sub>3-4</sub>. D. &c.      <sup>2</sup> minusue M.      <sup>3</sup> et M. B<sup>1</sup>. C. N. H<sub>1</sub>. &c.      <sup>4</sup> cēd- N; ceadulla C.      <sup>5</sup> INI (*in capitals*) B.  
<sup>6</sup> xxxiiii N.      <sup>7</sup> -na M.      <sup>8</sup> berch't'uald C; berectuald N.  
<sup>9</sup> autem *om.* C. D. &c.      <sup>10</sup> cead- C; cēd- N.      <sup>11</sup> somnii M.  
<sup>12</sup> -care C.      <sup>13</sup> sortibus M.B. In C con is added above the line.  
The omission was due to the cum preceding.      <sup>14</sup> eisdem M.

eorum uiuet in generationes et generationes.' Ut enim breuiter dicam, tantum profectus spiritalis tempore praesulatus illius Anglorum ecclesiae, quantum numquam antea potuere, ceperunt <sup>1</sup>. Cuius personam, uitam, aetatem, et obitum, epitaphium quoque monumenti ipsius uersibus heroicis XXX et IIII palam ac lucide cunctis illo aduenientibus pandit; quorum primi sunt hi :

*Hic sacer* <sup>2</sup> *in tumba pausat cum corpore praesul,*

*Quem nunc Theodorum lingua Pelasga uocat.*

*Princeps pontificum, felix summusque sacerdos*

*Limpida discipulis dogmata disseruit.*

Ultimi autem hi :

*Namque diem nonamdecimam September habebat,*

*Cum carnis claustra spiritus egreditur.*

*Alma nouae scandens felix consortia uitae,*

*Ciuius angelicis iunctus in arce poli.*

Successit autem Theodoro in episcopatum Bertwald <sup>3</sup>, qui erat abbas in monasterio, quod iuxta ostium aquilonale fluminis Genladae <sup>4</sup> positum, Racuulfe nuncupatur; uir et ipse scientia scripturarum inbutus, sed et ecclesiasticis simul ac monasterialibus disciplinis summe instructus, tametsi praedecessori <sup>5</sup> suo minime comparandus; qui electus est quidem in episcopatum anno dominicae incarnationis DCXC secundo, die primo mensis Iulii, regnantibus in Cantia Uictredo <sup>6</sup> et Suæbhardo <sup>7</sup>; ordinatus autem <sup>8</sup> anno sequente tertio die Kalendarum Iuliarum dominica a Goduine <sup>9</sup> metropolitano episcopo Galliarum; et sedit in sede sua pridie Kalendarum Septembrium dominica; qui inter multos, quos ordinauit antistites <sup>10</sup>, etiam Gebmundo Hrofensis ecclesiae praesule defuncto, Tobiam pro illo

Bertwald  
succeeds.

<sup>1</sup> coep- M<sup>1</sup>. C.

<sup>2</sup> sacerdos M.

<sup>3</sup> berht- C; bereth- N.

<sup>4</sup> -de C. N.

<sup>5</sup> depraecessori M. H<sub>1</sub>; in B. prae- is written above the line.

<sup>6</sup> ui'e'tredo M; uie'h'tredo N.

<sup>7</sup> suëbheardo C.

<sup>8</sup> est autem C.

<sup>9</sup> -no C; gadune N.

<sup>10</sup> antistes M. B. H<sub>1</sub>.

consecrauit, uirum Latina, Greca, et Saxonica lingua atque eruditione multipliciter instructum.

## CAP. IX.

*Ut Egbert<sup>1</sup> uir sanctus ad praedicandum in Germaniam uenire uolu-  
erit, nec ualuerit; porro Uictbert<sup>1</sup> aduenerit quidem, sed quia nec ipse  
aliquid profecisset, rursum in Hiberniam, unde uenerat, redierit.*

Egbert  
desires to  
evangelise  
Germany.

Eo<sup>2</sup> tempore uenerabilis et cum omni honorificentia nominandus famulus Christi et sacerdos Ecgbert<sup>3</sup>, quem in Hibernia insula peregrinam ducere uitam pro adipiscenda in caelis patria retulimus, proposuit animo pluribus prodesse; id est inito opere apostolico, uerbum Dei aliquibus earum, quae nondum audierant, gentibus euangelizando committere; quarum in Germania pluri-  
mas nouerat esse nationes, a quibus Angli uel Saxones, qui nunc Britanniam incolunt, genus et originem duxisse noscuntur; unde hactenus a uicina gente | Brettonum<sup>4</sup> f. 105 a.  
corrupte Garmani nuncupantur. Sunt autem Fresones, Rugini, Danai, Hunni, Antiqui Saxones, Boructuari; sunt alii perplures hisdem in partibus populi pagani adhuc ritibus seruientes, ad quos uenire praefatus Christi miles circumnauigata Brittania disposuit, siquos forte ex illis ereptos Satanae ad Christum transferre ualeret; uel. si hoc fieri non posset, Romam uenire ad uidenda atque adoranda beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi limina cogitauit.

He is pre-  
vented by  
a vision.

Sed ne aliquid horum perficeret, superna illa oracula simul et opera restiterunt. Siquidem electis sociis strenuissimis et ad praedicandum uerbum idoneis, utpote actione simul et eruditione praeclaris, praeparatis omnibus, quae nauigantibus esse necessaria uidebantur, uenit die quadam mane primo ad eum unus de fratribus, discipulus quondam in Brittania et minister Deo

<sup>1</sup> -bercht C.    <sup>2</sup> W has an alternative beginning to this chapter in a twelfth century hand, and this alone is the reading of O<sub>19</sub>.    <sup>3</sup> -berht C.    <sup>4</sup> brectonum N.



dilecti sacerdotis Boisili (cum esset idem Boisil prae-positus monasterii Mailrosensis <sup>1</sup> sub abbate Eata <sup>2</sup>, ut supra narrauimus, referens ei uisionem, quae sibi eadem nocte apparuisset: ‘Cum expletis,’ inquit <sup>3</sup>, ‘hymnis matutinalibus <sup>4</sup> in lectulo membra posuissem, ac leuis mihi somnus obrepisset, apparuit magister quondam meus, et nutritor amantissimus Boisil, interrogauitque me, an eum cognoscere possem. Aio: “Etiam; tu es enim Boisil.” At ille: “Ad hoc,” inquit, “ueni, ut responsum Domini Saluatoris Ecgbercto <sup>5</sup> adferam. quod te tamen referente oportet ad illum uenire. Dic ergo illi, quia non ualet iter, quod proposuit, implere; Dei enim uoluntatis est, ut ad Columbae monasteria magis docenda pergat <sup>6</sup>.”’ Erat autem Columba primus doctor fidei Christianae transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem, primusque fundator monasterii, quod in Hii <sup>7</sup> insula multis diu Scottorum Pictorumque populis uenerabile mansit. Qui uidelicet Columba nunc a nonnullis conposito a cella et Columba nomine Columcelli <sup>8</sup> uocatur. Audiens autem uerba uisionis Ecgbercto <sup>9</sup>, praecepit fratri, qui retulerat, ne cuiquam haec alteri referret, ne forte inlusoria esset uisio. Ipse autem tacitus rem considerans, ueram <sup>10</sup> esse timebat; nec tamen a praeparando itinere, quo ad gentes docendas iret, cessare uolebat.

f. 105 b. At post dies paucos | rursum uenit ad eum praefatus frater, dicens, quia et ea nocte sibi post expletos matutinos Boisil per uisum apparuerit, dicens: ‘Quare tam negligenter ac tepide dixisti Ecgbercto <sup>9</sup>, quae tibi dicenda praecepi? At nunc uade et dic illi, quia <sup>11</sup>, uelit nolit, debet ad monasteria Columbae uenire. quia aratra eorum non recte incedunt; oportet autem

<sup>1</sup> -ronensis C.    <sup>2</sup> æata N.    <sup>3</sup> inquit N.    <sup>4</sup> matunilibus M.    <sup>5</sup> -bercto C.    <sup>6</sup> per. doc. M.    <sup>7</sup> hii om. M. H<sub>1</sub>. the n of insula being written on an erasure in M.    <sup>8</sup> -le N.    <sup>9</sup> -berhto C.    <sup>10</sup> ueracem C. N. W, defective in B.    <sup>11</sup> quia om. C.

eum ad rectum haec tramitem reuocare.' Qui haec audiens denuo praecepit fratri, ne haec cui patefaceret. Ipse uero, tametsi certus est factus de uisione, nihilo minus temptauit iter dispositum<sup>1</sup> cum fratribus memoratis incipere. Cumque iam naui inposuissent, quae tanti itineris necessitas<sup>2</sup> poscebat, atque oportunos aliquot dies<sup>3</sup> uentos expectarent, facta est nocte quadam tam saeua tempestas, quae perditis nonnulla ex parte his, quae in naui erant, rebus, ipsam in latus<sup>4</sup> iacentem inter undas relinqueret; saluata sunt tamen omnia, quae erant Ecgbereti<sup>5</sup> et sociorum eius. Tum ipse quasi propheticum illud dicens, quia 'propter me est Ion. i. 12. tempestas haec,' subtraxit se illi profectioni, et remanere domi passus<sup>6</sup> est.

Unsuccessful mission of Witbert.

At uero unus de sociis eius, uocabulo Uictberct<sup>7</sup>, cum esset et ipse contemptu mundi ac doctrinae scientia insignis, (nam multos annos in Hibernia peregrinus anchoreticam in magna perfectione uitam egerat), ascendit nauem, et Fresiam perueniens, duobus annis continuis genti illi ac regi eius Rathbedo uerbum salutis praedicabat, neque aliquem tanti laboris fructum apud barbaros inuenit auditores. Tum reuersus<sup>8</sup> ad dilectae locum peregrinationis, solito in silentio uacare Domino coepit; et quoniam externis prodesse ad fidem non poterat, suis amplius ex uirtutum exemplis prodessesse curabat.

## CAP. X.

*Ut Uilbrord<sup>9</sup> in Fresia praedicans multos ad Christum<sup>10</sup> conuerterit<sup>11</sup>; et ut socii eius Heuualdi sint martyrium passi.*

Mission of Wilbrord.

UT autem uidit uir Domini Ecgberct<sup>7</sup>, quia nec ipse ad praedicandum gentibus uenire permittebatur, retentus ob aliam sanctae ecclesiae utilitatem, de qua

<sup>1</sup> depositum C.    <sup>2</sup> necessitas M.    <sup>3</sup> diebus N. C.    <sup>4</sup> lit-tus M. on siðian i. e. in latus AS.    <sup>5</sup> -berhti C.    <sup>6</sup> pasus M.    <sup>7</sup> -berht C.    <sup>8</sup> ref. C<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>9</sup> uuil- N; u'u'ilbrod C.    <sup>10</sup> dominum C.    <sup>11</sup> -uertit M.

oraculo fuerat praemonitus; nec Uictberet<sup>1</sup> illas deueniens in partes quicquam proficiebat, temptauit adhuc in opus uerbi mittere uiros<sup>2</sup> sanctos et industrios, in quibus eximius Uilbrord<sup>3</sup> presbyteri<sup>4</sup> gradu et merito praefulgebat. Qui cum illo aduenissent, erant autem numero XII, diuertentes ad Pippinū ducem Francorum, gratanter ab illo suscepti sunt; et quia nuper citeriorem Fresiam expulso inde Rathbedo<sup>5</sup> rege ceperat<sup>6</sup>, | illo eos ad praedicandum misit; ipse quoque imperiali auctoritate iuuans, ne qui praedicantibus quicquam molestiae inferret; multisque eos, qui fidem suscipere uellent, beneficiis adtollens; unde factum est, opitulante gratia diuina, ut multos in breui ab idolatria ad fidem conuerterent Christi.

Horum secuti exempla duo quidam presbyteri de natione Anglorum, qui in Hibernia multo tempore pro aeterna patria exulauerant, uenerunt ad prouinciam Antiquorum Saxonum, si forte aliquos ibidem praedicando Christo adquirere possent. Erant autem unius ambo, sicut deuotionis, sic etiam uocabuli; nam<sup>7</sup> uterque eorum appellabatur Heuuald; ea tamen distinctione, ut pro diuersa capillorum specie unus Niger Heuuald<sup>8</sup>, alter Albus Heuuald<sup>9</sup> diceretur; quorum uterque pietate religionis inbutus, sed Niger Heuuald<sup>10</sup> magis sacrarum litterarum erat scientia institutus. Qui uenientes in prouinciam intrauerunt hospitium cuiusdam uilici, petieruntque ab eo, ut transmitterentur ad satrapam, qui super eum erat, eo quod haberent aliquid<sup>11</sup> legationis et causae utilis, quod deberent ad illum perferre. Non enim habent regem idem Antiqui Saxones, sed satrapas plurimos suae genti praepositos, qui ingruente belli articulo mittunt aequaliter sortes,

Martyrdom  
of the two  
Hewalds.

<sup>1</sup> ui'c't- M; uichtberht C.    <sup>2</sup> mittere uiros om. B.    <sup>3</sup> uuil-N; uilbrod C.    <sup>4</sup> -terii M. H<sub>1</sub>; -ter C.    <sup>5</sup> ratbedo C.    <sup>6</sup> coop-M. C.    <sup>7</sup> namque M.    <sup>8</sup> heauald C<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>9</sup> heauald, heauuald C with an erasure between the a and u in both cases.    <sup>10</sup> sic C<sup>1</sup>; heauald C<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>11</sup> aliquid om. M.

et, quemcumque sors ostenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur, huic obtemperant; peracto autem bello, rursum aequalis potentiae omnes fiunt satrapae. Suscepit ergo eos uilicus, et promittens se mittere eos ad satrapam, qui super se erat, ut petebant, aliquot diebus secum retinuit.

Qui cum cogniti essent a barbaris, quod essent alterius religionis, (nam et psalmis semper atque orationibus uacabant, et cotidie sacrificium Deo uictimae salutaris offerebant, habentes secum uascula sacra et tabulam altaris uice dedicatam), suspecti sunt habiti, quia, si peruenirent ad satrapam, et loquerentur cum illo, auerterent illum a diis suis, et ad nouam Christianae fidei religionem transferrent, sicque paulatim omnis eorum prouincia ueterem cogeretur noua mutare culturam. Itaque rapuerunt eos subito, et interemerunt; Album quidem Heuualdum<sup>1</sup> ueloci occisione gladii, Nigellum autem longo suppliciorum cruciatu, et horrenda | membrorum omnium discerp- f. 106 b.  
tione; quos interemtus in Rheno<sup>2</sup> proiecerunt. Quod cum satrapa ille, quem uidere uolebant, audisset, iratus est ualde, quod ad se uenire uolentes peregrini non permitterentur; et mittens occidit uicanos illos cf. Matth  
omnes, uicumque incendio consumsit. Passi sunt ii. 16.  
autem praefati sacerdotes et famuli Christi V<sup>o</sup>. Nonarum Octobrium die.

Miracles.

Nec martyrio eorum caelestia defuere miracula. Nam cum peremta eorum corpora amni, ut diximus, a paganis essent iniecta, contigit, ut haec contra impetum fluuii decurrentis, per XL fere milia passuum, ad ea usque loca, ubi illorum erant socii, transferrentur<sup>3</sup>. Sed et radius lucis permaximus, atque ad caelum usque altus, omni nocte supra locum fulgebat illum, ubicumque ea<sup>4</sup> peruenisse contingeret, et hoc

<sup>1</sup> sic C<sup>1</sup>; heauuald- C<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> hreno B. C. N.    <sup>3</sup> -ferentur M.  
C. H<sub>1</sub>. W<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> eos M.

etiam paganis, qui eos occiderant<sup>1</sup>, intuentibus. Sed et unus ex eis in uisione nocturna apparuit cuidam de sociis<sup>2</sup> suis, cui nomen erat Tilmon, uiro industri, et ad saeculum quoque nobili, qui de milite factus fuerat<sup>3</sup> monachus; indicans, quod eo loci corpora eorum posset inuenire, ubi lucem de caelo terris radiasse conspiceret. Quod ita completum est. Inuenta namque eorum corpora iuxta honorem martyribus condignum recondita sunt, et dies passionis uel inuentionis eorum congrua illis in locis ueneratione celebratus. Denique gloriosissimus dux Francorum Pippin, ubi haec conperiit, misit, et adducta ad se eorum corpora condidit cum multa gloria in ecclesia Coloniae ciuitatis iuxta Rhenum<sup>4</sup>. Fertur autem, quia in loco, quo occisi sunt, fons ebullierit, qui in eodem loco usque hodie copiosa fluenti sui dona profundat<sup>5</sup>.

## CAP. XI.

*Ut uiri uenerabiles<sup>6</sup> Suidberct<sup>7</sup> in Britanniis<sup>8</sup>, Uilbrord<sup>9</sup> Romae sint in Fresiam ordinati episcopi.*

PRIMIS sane temporibus aduentus eorum in Fresiam, mox ut conperiit Uilbrord datam sibi a principe licentiam ibidem praedicandi, accelerauit uenire Romam, cuius sedi apostolicae tunc Sergius papa praeerat, ut cum eius licentia et benedictione desideratum euangelizandi gentibus opus iniret; simul et reliquias beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi ab eo se sperans accipere<sup>10</sup>, ut dum in gente, cui praedicaret, destructis idolis ecclesias institueret, haberet in promptu reliquias sanctorum, quas ibi introduceret; quibusque ibidem depositis, consequenter in eorum honorem, quorum essent illae, singula quaeque loca dedicaret. Sed et

Wilbrord  
goes to  
Rome.

<sup>1</sup> -runt B.<sup>2</sup> socis M<sup>1</sup>.<sup>3</sup> erat M.<sup>4</sup> hrenum N.<sup>5</sup> per- C. B<sup>2</sup>. W.<sup>6</sup> uir -lis C.<sup>7</sup> suitbercht C; sinberct N.<sup>8</sup> -nis C; -nia M.<sup>9</sup> uuil- N; uilbrod C.<sup>10</sup> accep- M.



alia perplura, quae tanti | operis negotium quaerebat, f. 107 a.  
uel ibi discere uel inde accipere cupiebat. In quibus  
omnibus cum sui uoti compos esset effectus, ad praedi-  
candum rediit.

Swidbert  
con-  
secrated  
bishop for  
Frisia.

Quo tempore fratres, qui erant in Fresia uerbi  
ministerio mancipati, elegerunt ex suo numero uirum  
modestum moribus, et mansuetum corde, Suidberc-  
tum<sup>1</sup>, qui eis ordinaretur antistes, quem Brittaniam  
destinatum ad petitionem eorum ordinauit reuerentis-  
simus Uilfrid episcopus, qui tum forte patria pulsus  
in Merciorum regionibus exulabat. Non enim eo  
tempore habebat episcopum Cantia, defuncto quidem  
Theodoro, sed necdum Berctualdo<sup>2</sup> successore eius,  
qui trans mare ordinandus ierat, ad sedem episcopatus  
sui reuerso.

Qui uidelicet Suidberet<sup>3</sup> accepto episcopatu, de Brit-  
tania regressus, non multo post ad gentem Boructua-  
rorum secessit, ac multos eorum praedicando ad uiam  
ueritatis perduxit. Sed expugnatis<sup>4</sup> non longo post  
tempore Boructuaris a gente Antiquorum Saxonum,  
dispersi sunt quolibet hi, qui uerbum receperant<sup>5</sup>;  
ipse antistes cum quibusdam Pippinum petiit, qui  
interpellante Bliththrydae<sup>6</sup> coniuge sua, dedit ei locum  
mansionis in insula quadam Hreni<sup>7</sup>, quae lingua eorum  
uocatur In litore; in qua ipse. constructo monasterio,  
quod hactenus heredes possident eius, aliquandiu  
continentissimam gessit uitam, ibique diem clausit  
ultimum.

Wilbrord  
con-  
secrated at  
Rome.

Postquam uero per annos aliquot in Fresia, qui  
aduenerant, docuerunt, misit Pippin fauente omnium  
consensu uirum uenerabilem Uilbrordum Romam,  
cuius adhuc pontificatum Sergius habebat, postulans.  
ut eidem Fresonum genti archiepiscopus ordinaretur.

<sup>1</sup> -berchtum C; -birtum N.      <sup>2</sup> bercht- C.      <sup>3</sup> -berc N;  
suidberht C.      <sup>4</sup> -nantis M.      <sup>5</sup> 're'coep- M.      <sup>6</sup> -de B; -de C.  
<sup>7</sup> rheni C.

Quod ita, ut petierat, inpletum est, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXCVI. Ordinatus est autem in ecclesia sanctae martyris Ceciliae, die natalis eius, inposito sibi a papa memorato nomine Clementis; ac mox remissus ad sedem episcopatus sui, id est post dies XIII, ex quo in urbem uenerat.

Donauit autem ei Pippin locum cathedrae episcopalis<sup>1</sup> in castello suo inlustri, quod antiquo gentium illarum uerbo Uiltaburg<sup>2</sup>, id est Oppidum Uiltorum, lingua autem Gallica Traiectum uocatur; in quo aedificata ecclesia, reuerentissimus pontifex longe lateque uerbum fidei praedicans, multosque ab errore reuocans, plures per illas regiones ecclesias, sed et monasteria nonnulla construxit. | Nam non multo post alios quoque illis in regionibus ipse constituit antistites<sup>3</sup> ex eorum numero fratrum, qui uel secum, uel post se illo ad praedicandum uenerant; ex quibus aliquanti iam dormierunt in Domino. Ipse autem Uilbrord, cognomento Clemens, adhuc superest, longa iam uenerabilis aetate, utpote tricesimum et sextum in episcopatu habens annum, et post multiplices militiae caelestis agones ad praemia remunerationis supernae tota mente suspirans.

His See at  
Utrecht.

## CAP. XII.

*Ut quidam in prouincia Nordanhymbrorum a mortuis resurgens multa et tremenda et desideranda, quae uiderat, narrauerit.*

HIS temporibus miraculum memorabile et antiquorum simile in Brittaniam factum est. Namque ad excitationem uiuentium de morte animae, quidam aliquandiu mortuus ad uitam resurrexit corporis, et multa memoratu digna, quae uiderat, narrauit; e quibus hic aliqua breuiter<sup>4</sup> perstringenda esse putauit. Erat

Drythelm's  
vision of  
the other  
world.

<sup>1</sup> -les M<sup>l</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> N at first wrote uiltr-.    <sup>3</sup> antistes N.    <sup>4</sup> breb- C<sup>l</sup>.

ergo<sup>1</sup> pater familias in regione Nordanhymbrorum<sup>2</sup>, quae uocatur Incuneningum<sup>3</sup>, religiosam cum domu sua gerens uitam; qui infirmitate corporis tactus, et hac crescente per dies, ad extrema perductus, primo tempore noctis defunctus<sup>4</sup> est; sed diluculo<sup>5</sup> reuiuiscens<sup>6</sup>, ac repente residens, omnes, qui corpori flentes adsederant, timore inmenso percussos in fugam conuertit; uxor tantum, quae amplius amabat, quamuis multum tremens et pauida, remansit. Quam ille consolatus: 'Noli,' inquit, 'timere, quia iam uere surrexi a morte, qua tenebar, et apud homines sum iterum uiuere permissus; non tamen ea mihi, qua ante consueam, conuersatione, sed multum dissimili ex hoc tempore uiuendum est.' Statimque surgens, abiit ad uillulae oratorium, et usque ad diem in oratione persistens, mox omnem, quam possederat, substantiam in tres diuisit portiones, e quibus unam<sup>7</sup> coniugi, alteram filiis tradidit, tertiam sibi ipse retentans, statim pauperibus distribuit. Nec multo post saeculi curis absolutus ad monasterium Mailros, quod Tuidi fluminis circumflexu<sup>8</sup> maxima ex parte clauditur, peruenit; acceptaque tonsura, locum secretae mansionis, quam praeuiderat abbas, intrauit; et ibi usque ad diem mortis in tanta mentis et corporis contritione durauit, ut multa illum, quae alios laterent, uel horrenda uel desideranda uidisse, etiamsi lingua sileret, uita loqueretur.

¶ Narrabat autem hoc modo, quod uiderat: ¶ 'Lucidus,' inquit, 'aspectu et clarus erat indumento, qui me ducebat. Incedebamus autem tacentes, ut uidebatur mihi, contra ortum solis solstitialem; | cumque ambularem, deuenimus ad uallem multae latitudinis ac profunditatis, infinitae autem longitudinis; quae ad

<sup>1</sup> enim C. D. &c.    <sup>2</sup> nordanimb- N.    <sup>3</sup> sic C. B<sup>2</sup>; incunin- N; incuninicum B<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> -funtus M.    <sup>5</sup> de- M<sup>1</sup>. B<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> -uescens M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>7</sup> unam added on margin M.    <sup>8</sup> -plexu C.

leuam nobis sita, { unum latus flammis feruentibus  
nimium terribile, alterum furenti<sup>1</sup> grandine ac frigore  
niuium omnia perflante atque uerrente non minus  
intolerabile praeferibat. } Utrumque<sup>2</sup> autem erat ani-  
mabus hominum plenum<sup>3</sup>, quae uicissim huc inde  
uidebantur quasi tempestatis impetu iactari. Cum  
enim uim feruoris immensi tolerare non possent,  
prosiliebant miserae in medium rigoris<sup>4</sup> infesti; et  
cum neque ibi quippiam requiei inuenire ualerent,  
resiliebant rursus urendae in medium flammarum  
inextinguibilium. Cumque hac infelici uicissitudine  
longe lateque, prout aspicere poteram, sine ulla quietis  
intercapedine innumerabilis spirituum deformium  
multitudo torqueretur, cogitare coepi, quod hic fortasse  
esset infernus, de cuius tormentis intolerabilibus  
narrari<sup>5</sup> saepius audiui. } Respondit cogitationi meae  
ductor, qui me praecedebat: "Non hoc," inquit,  
"suspiceris; non enim hic infernus est ille, quem  
putas."

'At cum me hoc spectaculo tam horrendo per-  
territum paulatim in ulteriora produceret, uidi subito  
ante nos obscurari incipere loca, et tenebris omnia  
repleri. Quas cum intraremus, in tantum paulisper  
condensatae sunt, ut nihil praeter ipsas aspicerem,  
excepta dumtaxat specie et ueste eius, qui me ducebat.  
Et cum progredieremur 'sola sub nocte per umbras,'  
ecce subito apparent ante nos crebri flammarum  
tetrarum globi, ascendentes quasi de puteo magno,  
rursumque decidentes in eundem. Quo cum perductus  
essem, repente ductor meus disparuit, ac me solum  
in medio tenebrarum et horridae uisionis reliquit.  
At cum idem globi ignium sine intermissione modo  
alta peterent, modo ima baratri repeterent, cerno  
omnia, quae ascendebant, fastigia flammarum plena esse

<sup>1</sup> feruenti M.<sup>2</sup> utrque M<sup>1</sup>; uterque M<sup>2</sup>.<sup>3</sup> -nus M.<sup>4</sup> frigoris M. H<sub>1</sub>. D. &c.<sup>5</sup> narrare M.

spiritibus hominum, qui instar fauillarum cum fumo ascendunt, nunc ad sublimiora proicerentur, nunc retractis ignium uaporibus relaberentur<sup>1</sup> in profunda<sup>2</sup>. Sed et fetor inconparabilis cum eisdem uaporibus ebulliens omnia illa tenebrarum loca replebat<sup>1</sup>. Et cum diutius ibi pauidus consisterem, utpote incertus, quid agerem, quo uerterem gressum, qui me finis maneret; | audio subitum post terga sonitum inmanis- f. 108 b. simi fletus ac miserrimi, simul et cachinnum crepitantem quasi uulgi indocti captis hostibus insultantis. Ut autem sonitus idem clarior redditus ad me usque peruenit, considero turbam malignorum spirituum, quae quinque animas hominum merentes heulantesque, ipsa multum exultans et cachinnans, medias illas trahebat in tenebras; e quibus uidelicet hominibus, ut dinoscere potui, quidam erat adtonsus ut clericus, quidam laicus, quaedam femina. Trahentes autem eos maligni spiritus descenderunt in medium baratri illius ardentis; factumque est, ut cum longius subeuntibus eis, fletum hominum et risum daemoniorum clare discernere nequirem, sonum tamen adhuc promiscuum in auribus haberem. Interea ascenderunt quidam spirituum obscurorum de abyssu illa flammium, et adcurrentes circumdederunt me, atque oculis flammantibus, et de ore ac naribus ignem putidum efflantes angebant; forcipibus quoque igneis, quos tenebant in manibus, minitabantur me comprehendere, nec tamen me ullatenus contingere, tametsi terrere praesumebant. Qui cum undiqueuersum hostibus et caecitate tenebrarum conclusus, huc illucque oculos circumferrem, si forte alicunde quid auxilii, quo saluarer, adueniret, apparuit retro uia, qua ueneram, quasi fulgor stellae micantis<sup>3</sup> inter tenebras, qui paulatim crescens, et ad

<sup>1</sup> in profunda . . . replebat om. C. W<sup>1</sup>. D. &c. <sup>2</sup> -do H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>3</sup> For this beautiful image which is the reading of all the MSS. which I have examined, the edd. give the infinitely poorer meantis.



me ocius festinans, ubi adpropinquauit, dispersi sunt et aufugerunt <sup>1</sup> omnes, qui me forcipibus rapere quaerebant spiritus infesti.

‘Ille autem, qui adueniens eos fugauit, erat ipse, qui me ante ducebat ; qui mox conuersus ad dextrum iter, quasi contra ortum solis brumalem me ducere coepit. Nec mora, exemptum tenebris in auras me serenae lucis eduxit ; cumque me in luce aperta duceret, uidi ante nos murum permaximum, cuius neque longitudini hinc uel inde, neque altitudini ullus esse terminus uideretur. Coepi autem mirari, quare ad murum accederemus, cum in eo nullam ianuam, uel fenestram, uel ascensum alicubi conspicerem. Cum ergo peruenissemus ad murum, statim nescio quo ordine fuimus in summitate eius. Et ecce ibi campus erat latissimus | ac laetissimus, tantaque flagrantia uernantium flosculorum plenus, ut omnem mox fetorem tenebrosi <sup>2</sup> fornacis, qui me peruaserat, effugaret admirandi huius suauitas odoris. Tanta autem lux cuncta ea loca perfuderat, ut omni splendore diei siue solis meridiani radiis uideretur esse praeclarior. Erantque <sup>3</sup> in hoc campo innumera hominum albatorum conuenticula, sedesque plurimae agminum laetantium. Cumque inter choros felicium incolarum medios me duceret, cogitare coepi, quod hoc fortasse esset regnum caelorum, de quo praedicari saepius audiui. Respondit ille cogitatu meo : “ Non,” inquires, “ non hoc est regnum caelorum, quod autumas.”

‘Cumque procedentes transissemus et has beatorum mansiones spirituum, aspicio ante nos multo maiorem luminis gratiam quam prius ; in qua etiam uocem cantantium dulcissimam audiui ; sed et odoris flagrantia miri tanta de loco effundebatur, ut is, quem antea <sup>4</sup> degustans quasi maximum rebar, iam permodicus mihi

<sup>1</sup> auferunt M ; aufegerunt B<sup>1</sup>. N<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> sic M. B. C. ; -sae H<sub>1</sub> ; tenebris N<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>3</sup> erant namque C. B<sup>3</sup>.    <sup>4</sup> ante ea M.

odor uideretur; sicut etiam lux illa campi florentis eximia, in comparatione eius, quae nunc apparuit, lucis, tenuissima prorsus uidebatur, et parua. In cuius amoenitatem loci cum nos intraturos sperarem, repente ductor substitit; nec mora, gressum retorquens ipsa me, qua uenimus, uia reduxit.

‘Cumque reuersi perueniremus ad mansiones illas laetas spirituum candidatorum, dixit mihi: “Scis, quae sint<sup>1</sup> ista omnia, quae uidisti?” Respondi ego: “Non.” Et ait: “Uallis illa, quam aspexisti flammis feruentibus et frigoribus horrenda rigidis, ipse est locus, in quo examinandae et castigandae sunt<sup>2</sup> animae illorum, qui differentes confiteri et emendare scelera, quae fecerunt<sup>3</sup>, in ipso tandem mortis articulo ad paenitentiam confugiunt, et sic de corpore exeunt; qui tamen, quia confessionem et paenitentiam uel in morte habuerunt, omnes in die iudicii ad regnum caelorum perueniunt. Multos autem preces uiuentium, et elemosynae, et ieiunia, et maxime celebratio missarum, ut etiam ante diem iudicii liberentur, adiuuant. Porro puteus ille flammium<sup>4</sup> ac putidus, quem uidisti, ipsum est os gehennae, in quo quicumque semel inciderit, numquam inde liberabitur in aeuum. Locus uero iste florifer, in quo pulcherrimam hanc iuuentutem iucundari<sup>5</sup> ac fulgere conspicias, | ipse est, in quo f. 109 b. recipiuntur<sup>6</sup> animae eorum, qui in bonis quidem operibus de corpore exeunt; non tamen sunt tantae perfectionis, ut<sup>7</sup> in regnum caelorum statim mereantur introduci; qui tamen omnes in die iudicii ad uisionem Christi, et gaudia regni caelestis intrabunt. Nam quicumque in omni uerbo, et opere, et cogitatione perfecti sunt, mox de corpore egressi ad regnum caeleste perueniunt; ad cuius uicina<sup>8</sup> pertinet locus ille, ubi sonum cantilenae dulcis cum odore suauitatis

<sup>1</sup> sunt C.      <sup>2</sup> sint M.      <sup>3</sup> -rant altered to -runt M; -rant C.

<sup>4</sup> -femus C.      <sup>5</sup> -re M.      <sup>6</sup> -antur M.      <sup>7</sup> ut non M.      <sup>8</sup> -nia N.C.

ac splendore lucis audisti. Tu autem, quia nunc ad corpus reuerti, et rursum inter homines uiuere debes, si actus tuos curiosius discutere, et mores sermonesque tuos in rectitudine ac simplicitate seruare studueris, accipies et ipse post mortem locum mansionis inter haec, quae cernis, agmina laetabunda spirituum beatorum. Namque ego, cum ad tempus abscessissem a te, ad hoc feci, ut, quid de te fieri deberet, agnoscerem." Haec mihi cum dixisset, multum detestatus sum reuerti ad corpus, delectatus nimirum suauitate ac decore loci illius, quem intuebar, simul et consortio eorum, quos in illo uidebam. Nec tamen aliquid ductorem meum rogare audebam; sed inter haec nescio quo ordine repente me inter homines uiuere cerno.'

Haec et alia, quae uiderat, idem uir Domini, non omnibus passim desidiosis ac uitae suae incuriosis referre uolebat, sed illis solummodo, qui uel tormentorum metu perterriti, uel spe gaudiorum perennium delectati, profectum pietatis ex eius uerbis haurire<sup>1</sup> uolebant<sup>2</sup>. Denique in uicinia<sup>3</sup> cellae illius habitabat quidam monachus, nomine Haemgils<sup>4</sup>, presbyteratus etiam, quem bonis actibus adaequabat, gradu praeminens, qui adhuc superest, et in Hibernia insula solitarius ultimam uitae aetatem pane cibario et frigida aqua sustentat. Hic saepius ad eundem uirum ingrediens, audiuit ab eo repetita interrogatione, quae et qualia essent, quae exutus corpore uideret; per cuius relationem ad nostram quoque agnitionem peruenere, quae de his pauca perstrinximus. Narrabat autem uisiones suas etiam regi Aldfrido, uiro undecumque doctissimo; et tam libenter tamque

He tells his  
visions to  
King  
Aldfrid.

<sup>1</sup> aurire M.

<sup>2</sup> At this point in N there is an erasure of nearly a line; then all is omitted from denique to seruat (p. 310). Then it continues: postea autem ille accepit locum secretiorem mansionis in monasterio, ubi liberius, &c. R<sub>2</sub> has this latter reading, but not the lacuna.

<sup>3</sup> -na M.

<sup>4</sup> -gisl B.

studiose ab illo auditus est, ut eius rogatu monasterio supra memorato inditus, ac monachica | sit tonsura f. 110 a. coronatus, atque ad eum audiendum saepissime, cum illas in partes deuenisset, accederet. Cui uidelicet monasterio tempore illo religiosae ac modestae uitae abbas et presbyter Ediluald<sup>1</sup> praeerat, qui nunc episcopalem Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae cathedram condignis gradu actibus seruat.

His  
rigorous  
asceticism.

Accepit autem in eodem monasterio locum mansionis secretiorem, ubi<sup>2</sup> liberius continuis in orationibus famulatui sui conditoris uacaret. Et quia locus ipse super ripam fluminis erat situs, solebat hoc creber ob magnum castigandi corporis affectum ingredi, ac saepius in eo supermeantibus undis inmergi; sicque ibidem quamdiu sustinere posse uidebatur, psalmis uel precibus insistere, fixusque manere, ascendente aqua fluminis usque ad lumbos, aliquando et<sup>3</sup> usque ad collum; atque inde egrediens ad terram, numquam ipsa uestimenta uda atque algida deponere curabat, donec ex suo corpore calefierent et sicarentur. Cumque tempore hiemali defluentibus circa eum semifractarum crustis glacierum, quas et ipse aliquando contriuerat, quo haberet locum standi siue inmergendi in fluuiio, dicerent, qui uidebant: ‘Mirum, frater Drycthelme<sup>4</sup>,’ (hoc enim erat uiro nomen), ‘quod tantam frigoris asperitatem ulla ratione tolerare praeuales.’ Respondebat ille simpliciter, erat namque homo simplicis ingenii, ac moderatae naturae<sup>5</sup>: ‘Frigidiora ego uidi.’ Et cum dicerent: ‘Mirum, quod tam austeram tenere continentiam uelis.’ Respondebat: ‘Austeriora ego uidi.’ Sicque usque ad diem suae uocationis infatigabili caelestium bonorum desiderio corpus senile inter cotidiana ieiunia domabat, multisque et uerbo et conuersatione saluti fuit.

<sup>1</sup> aediluuuald C.    <sup>2</sup> r. note<sup>2</sup>, p. 309.    <sup>3</sup> et om. M.    <sup>4</sup> drycht-  
C dryt- N.    <sup>5</sup> ac . . . naturae, added on margin M.

## CAP. XIII.

*Ut e contra alter <sup>1</sup> ad mortem ueniens oblatum sibi a daemonibus codicem suorum uiderit peccatorum.*

AT contra fuit quidam in prouincia Merciorum, cuius uisiones ac uerba, non autem et conuersatio, plurimis, sed non sibimet ipsi, profuit. Fuit autem temporibus Coenredi, qui post Aedilredum <sup>2</sup> regnauit, uir in laico habitu atque officio militari positus; sed quantum pro industria exteriori regi placens, tantum pro interna suimet neglegentia displicens. Ammonebat ergo illum sedulo, ut confiteretur, et emendaret, ac relinqueret scelera sua, priusquam subito mortis superuentu tempus omne paenitendi et emendandi perderet. Uerum ille, frequenter licet admonitus, spernebat uerba salutis, seseque tempore | sequente paenitentiam acturum esse promittebat. Haec inter tactus infirmitate, decidit in lectum, atque acri coepit dolore torqueri. Ad quem ingressus rex, diligebat enim eum multum, hortabatur, ut uel tunc, antequam moreretur, paenitentiam ageret commissorum. At ille respondit, non se tunc uelle confiteri peccata sua, sed cum ab infirmitate resurgeret; ne exprobrarent sibi sodales, quod timore mortis faceret ea, quae sospes facere noluerat; fortiter quidem, ut sibi uidebatur <sup>3</sup>, locutus, sed miserabiliter, ut post patuit, daemonica fraude seductus.

Cumque morbo ingrauescente, denuo ad eum uisitandum ac docendum rex intraret, clamabat statim miserabili uoce: 'Quid uis modo? quid huc uenisti? non enim mihi aliquid utilitatis aut salutis potes ultra conferre.' At ille: 'Noli,' inquit, 'ita loqui, uide ut sanum sapias.' 'Non,' inquit, 'insanio, sed pessimam mihi scientiam <sup>4</sup> certus prae oculis habeo.' 'Et

<sup>1</sup> alius C. <sup>2</sup> edil- N. <sup>3</sup> uideatur M. <sup>4</sup> conscientiam C. B<sup>3</sup>. W<sup>2</sup>. D. &c.; sententiam A<sub>1</sub>.

Farther  
visions, cc.  
13, 14.



quid,' inquit, 'hoc est?' 'Paulo ante,' inquit, 'intrauerunt domum hanc duo pulcherrimi iuuenes, et resederunt<sup>1</sup> circa me, unus ad caput, et unus ad pedes; protulitque unus libellum perpulehrum, sed uehementer modicum, ac mihi ad legendum dedit; in quo omnia, quae umquam bona feceram, intuens scripta repperi, et haec erant nimium pauca et modica. Receperunt codicem, neque aliquid mihi dicebant. Tum subito superuenit exercitus malignorum et horridorum uultu spirituum, domumque hanc et exterius obsedit, et intus maxima ex parte residens impleuit. Tunc ille, qui et obscuritate tenebrosae faciei, et primatu sedis maior esse uidebatur eorum, proferens codicem horrendae<sup>2</sup> uisionis, et magnitudinis enormis, et ponderis pene inportabilis, iussit uni ex satellitibus suis mihi ad legendum deferre. Quem cum legissem, inueni<sup>3</sup> omnia scelera, non solum quae opere uel uerbo, sed etiam quae tenuissima cogitatione peccaui, manifestissime in eo tetricis esse descripta litteris. Dicebatque ad illos, qui mihi adsederant, uiros albatos et praeclaros: "Quid hic sedetis, scientes certissime, quia noster est iste?" Responderunt: "Uerum dicitis: accipite et in eumulum damnationis uestrae ducite." Quo dicto statim disparuerunt; surgentesque duo nequissimi spiritus, habentes in manibus uomeres<sup>4</sup>, percusserunt me, unus in capite et alius | in pede: f. 111 A. qui uidelicet modo cum magno tormento inrepunt in interiora corporis mei, moxque ut ad se inuicem perueniunt, moriar, et paratis ad rapiendum me daemonibus in inferni claustra pertrahar.'

Sic loquebatur miser desperans, et non multo post

<sup>1</sup> sederunt B; residerant C<sup>1</sup>. <sup>2</sup> horridae C. <sup>3</sup> inuenio M.

<sup>4</sup> uomeres H<sub>1</sub>, added on lower margin M<sup>2</sup>; B has uomeres in text but in a different hand; above, in a later hand is written: uel cultra, uel furcas. N reads: hab. uom. in man. C reads: hab. cultra in man. hondseax (i. e. cultra) AS.; malleos A<sub>1</sub>.

defunctus, paenitentiam, quam ad breue tempus cum fructu ueniae facere supersedit, in aeternum sine fructu poenis subditus facit. De quo constat, quia, sicut beatus papa Gregorius de quibusdam scribit, non pro se ista, cui non profuere, sed pro aliis uiderit, qui eius interitum cognoscentes differre tempus paenitentiae, dum uacat, timerent, ne in prouiso mortis articulo praeuerti, in paenitentes perirent. Quod autem codices diuersos per bonos siue malos spiritus sibi uidit offerri, ob id superna dispensatione factum est, ut meminimus facta et cogitationes nostras non in uentum diffluere<sup>1</sup>, sed ad examen summi Iudicis cuncta seruari; et siue per amicos angelos in fine nobis ostendenda, siue per hostes. Quod uero prius candidum codicem protulerunt angeli, deinde atrum daemones; illi per paruum, isti enormem; animaduertendum est, quod in prima aetate bona aliqua fecit, quae tamen uniuersa praeu agendo iuuenis obnubilauit. Qui si e contrario errores pueritiae corrigere in adulescentia, ac bene faciendo a Dei oculis abscondere curasset, posset eorum numero sociari, de quibus ait psalmus: 'Beati, quorum remissae sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata.' Hanc historiam, sicut a uenerabili antistite Pecthelmo<sup>2</sup> didici, simpliciter ob salutem legentium siue audientium narrandam esse putauit.

## CAP. XIV.

*Ut item alius moriturus deputatum sibi apud inferos locum poenarum uiderit.*

NOVI autem ipse fratrem, quem utinam non nossem, cuius etiam nomen, si hoc aliquid prodesset, dicere possem; positum in monasterio nobili, sed ipsum ignobiliter uiuentem. Corripiebatur quidem sedulo a fratribus ac maioribus loci, atque ad castigationem

<sup>1</sup> defluere M.<sup>2</sup> pe'c't- N; peht- C.

uitam conuerti ammonebatur. Et quamuis eos audire noluisset, tolerabatur tamen ab eis longanimitè ob necessitatem operum ipsius exteriorum; erat enim fabrilis arte singularis. Seruiebat autem multum ebrietati, et ceteris uitae remissioris inlecebris; magisque in officina sua die noctuque residere, quam ad psallendum atque orandum in ecclesia, audiendumque cum fratribus uerbum uitae concurrere consuebat.

| Unde accidit illi, quod solent dicere quidam, quia, f. III b.  
qui non uult ecclesiae ianuam sponte humiliatus ingredi, necesse habet in ianuam inferni non sponte damnatus introduci. Percussus enim langore, atque ad extrema perductus, uocauit fratres, et multum merens ac damnato similis coepit narrare, quia uideret inferos apertos, et Satanan demersum<sup>1</sup> in profundis tartari, Caiphanque cum ceteris, qui occiderunt Dominum, iuxta eum flammis ultricibus contraditum: ‘in quorum uicinia,’ inquit, ‘heu misero mihi locum despicio aeternae perditionis esse praeparatum.’ Audientes haec fratres coeperunt diligenter exhortari, ut uel tunc positus adhuc in corpore, paenitentiam faceret. Respondebat ille desperans: ‘Non est mihi modo tempus uitam mutandi, cum ipse uiderim iudicium meum iam esse completum.’

Talia dicens, sine uiatico salutis obiit, et corpus eius in ultimis est monasterii locis humatum, neque aliquis pro eo uel missas facere, uel psalmos cantare, uel saltem orare praesumebat. O quam grandi distantia diuisit Deus inter lucem et tenebras! Beatus protomartyr Stephanus passurus mortem pro ueritate, uidit caelos apertos, uidit gloriam Dei et Iesum stantem a dextris Dei; et ubi erat futurus ipse post mortem, ibi<sup>2</sup> oculos mentis ante mortem, quo laetior occumberet, misit. At contra, faber iste tenebrosae mentis et actionis, imminente morte, uidit aperta tartara, uidit

cf. Gen.  
i. 4.  
cf. Act.  
vii. 56.

damnationem diaboli et sequacium eius; uidit etiam suum infelix inter tales carcerem, quo miserabilius ipse desperata salute periret, sed uiuentibus, qui haec cognouissent, causam salutis sua perditione relinqueret. Factum est hoc nuper in prouincia Berniciorum; ac longe lateque diffamatum, multos ad agendam et non differendam scelerum suorum paenitudinem prouocauit. Quod utinam exhinc etiam nostrarum lectione litterarum fiat!

## CAP. XV.

*Ut plurimae Scottorum ecclesiae, instante Adamnano, catholicum pascha susceperint; utque<sup>1</sup> idem librum de locis sanctis scripserit.*

Quo tempore plurima pars Scottorum in Hibernia, et nonnulla etiam de Brettonibus in Brittania, rationale et ecclesiasticum paschalis obseruantiae tempus Domino donante suscepit. Siquidem Adamnan, presbyter et abbas monachorum, qui erant in insula Hii<sup>2</sup>, cum legationis | gratia missus a sua gente, uenisset ad Aldfridum, regem Anglorum, et aliquandiu in ea prouincia moratus uideret ritus ecclesiae canonicos; sed et a pluribus<sup>3</sup>, qui erant eruditiores, esset solerter admonitus, ne contra uniuersalem ecclesiae morem uel in obseruantia paschali, uel in aliis quibusque decretis<sup>4</sup> cum suis paucissimis et in extremo<sup>5</sup> mundi angulo positus uiuere praesumeret, mutatus mente est; ita ut ea, quae uiderat et audierat in ecclesiis Anglorum, suae suorumque consuetudini libentissime praeferret. Erat enim uir bonus, et sapiens, et scientia scripturarum nobilissime instructus.

Qui cum domum redisset, curauit suos, qui erant in Hii, quiue eidem erant subditi monasterio, ad eum, quem cognouerat, quemque ipse toto ex corde susce-

Some of the Irish and Britons adopt the orthodox Easter.

Mission of Adamnan to Northumbria.

<sup>1</sup> atque C.

<sup>2</sup> hi N<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> plurimis M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> -tiis M.

<sup>5</sup> extrimo M.

He converts the  
northern  
Irish.

perat<sup>1</sup>, ueritatis callem perducere, nec ualuit. Nauigauit Hiberniam<sup>2</sup>, et praedicans eis, ac modesta exhortatione<sup>3</sup> declarans legitimum paschae tempus, plurimos eorum, et pene omnes, qui ab Hiensium dominio erant liberi, ab errore auito correctos, ad unitatem reduxit catholicam, ac legitimum paschae tempus obseruare perdocuit. Qui cum celebrato in Hibernia canonico pascha, ad suam insulam reuertisset, suoque monasterio catholicam<sup>4</sup> temporis paschalis obseruantiam instantissime praedicaret, nec tamen perficere, quod conabatur, posset, contigit eum ante expletum anni circulum migrasse<sup>5</sup> de saeculo. Diuina utique gratia disponente, ut uir unitatis ac pacis studiosissimus ante ad uitam raperetur aeternam, quam redeunte tempore paschali, grauiorem cum eis, qui eum ad ueritatem sequi nolebant, cogeretur habere discordiam.

His book on  
the Holy  
Places.

Scripsit idem uir de locis sanctis librum legentibus multis utillimum; cuius auctor erat docendo ac *dicendo Galliarum episcopus Arculfus*, qui locorum gratia sanctorum uenerat Hierosolymam, et lustrata<sup>6</sup> omni terra repromissionis, Damascum quoque, Constantinopolim, Alexandriam, multas maris insulas adierat; patriamque nauigio reuertens, ui tempestatis in occidentalia Brittaniae litora delatus<sup>7</sup> est; ac post multa ad memoratum Christi famulum Adamnanum perueniens, ubi doctus in scripturis, sanctorumque locorum gnarus esse conpertus est, libentissime est ab illo | susceptus, libentius auditus; adeo ut, quaeque ille se in locis sanctis memoratu digna uidisse testabatur, cuncta mox iste litteris mandare curauerit. Fecitque opus, ut dixi, multis utile, et maxime illis, qui longius ab eis locis, in quibus patriarchae uel apostoli erant, secreti, ea tantum de his, quae lec-

Adamnanus de  
Locis  
Sanctis.  
Praef.

f. 112 b.

<sup>1</sup> suscep- M. C<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> hyb- N.

<sup>3</sup> exort- M.

<sup>4</sup> canonicam N.

<sup>5</sup> migrare N.

<sup>6</sup> lustra M.

<sup>7</sup> di- M. C<sup>l</sup>. N.

<sup>8</sup> multum M.



tionem didicerint, norunt. Porrexit autem librum hunc Adamnan Aldfrido<sup>1</sup> regi, ac per eius est largitionem etiam minoribus ad legendum contraditus. Scriptor quoque ipse multis ab ea muneribus donatus patriam remissus est. De cuius scriptis aliqua decerpere, ac nostrae huic historiae inserere commodum fore legentibus reor.

## CAP. XVI.

*Quae in eodem libro de loco dominicae natiuitatis, passionis, et resurrectionis commemorauerit.*

SCRIPSIT<sup>2</sup> ergo de loco dominicae natiuitatis in hunc modum :—

*Bethleem ciuitas Dauid in dorso sita est angusto ex omni parte vallibus circumdato, ab occidente in orientem mille passibus longa, humili sine turribus muro per extrema plani uerticis instructo; in cuius orientali angulo quasi quoddam naturale semiantrum est, cuius exterior pars natiuitatis dominicae fuisse dicitur locus; interior Praesepe Domini nominatur. Haec spelunca tota interiori pretioso marmore tecta supra locum, ubi Dominus natus specialius traditur, sanctae Mariae grandem gestat ecclesiam.*

Extracts from Adamnan on the Holy Places, cc. 16-17.

Scrpsit item hoc modo de loco passionis ac resurrectionis illius :—

‘Ingressis a septentrionali parte urbem Hierosolymam, primum de locis sanctis pro condicione platearum diuertendum est ad ecclesiam Constantinianam, quae Martyrium appellatur. Hanc Constantinus imperator, eo quod ibi crux Domini ab Helena matre reperta sit, magnifico et regio cultu construxit. Dehinc ab occasu Golgothana uidetur ecclesia, in qua etiam rupis apparet illa, quae quondam ipsam adfixo Domini corpore crucem pertulit, argenteam modo pergrandem sustinens crucem, pendente magna desuper aerea rota cum lampadibus. Infra ipsum uero locum dominicae crucis, excisa in petra crypta est, in qua super altare pro defunctis honoratis sacrificium solet offerri, positus inter in platea corporibus. Huius quoque ad occasum<sup>3</sup> ecclesiae<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> alfrido N.      <sup>2</sup> There is no break in the text of M, but K (= capitulum) is written above the line, and XVI placed in the margin.

<sup>3</sup> occasum M.      <sup>4</sup> -sia C.

Bede, De Locis Sanctis, c. 7; Adamn. ii. 1, 2.

Bede, c. 2.

Adamn. i. 7.

ib. 2-3.

Anastasis, hoc est resurrectionis dominicae rotunda ecclesia, tribus cineta<sup>1</sup> parietibus, XII columnis sustentatur, inter parietes singulos latum habens spatium uiae, | quae tria altaria in tribus<sup>2</sup> locis parietis f. 113 a. medii continet, hoc est australi, aquilonali, et occidentali. Haec bis quaternas portas, id est introitus, per tres<sup>3</sup> e regione parietes habet, e quibus IIII ad Uulturnum, et IIII ad Eurum spectant. Huius in medio monumentum Domini rotundum petra excisum est, cuius culmen intrinsecus stans homo manu contingere potest, ab oriente habens introitum, cui<sup>4</sup> lapis ille magnus adpositus est; quod intrinsecus ferramentorum uestigia usque in praesens ostendit. Nam extrinsecus usque ad culminis summitatem totum marmore tectum est. Summum uero culmen auro ornatum auream magnam gestat crucem. In huius ergo monumenti Aquilonali<sup>5</sup> parte sepulchrum Domini in eadem petra excisum, longitudinis VII pedum, trium mensura palmarum pavimento altius eminet; introitum habens a latere meridiano, ubi<sup>6</sup> die noctuque XII lampades ardent, IIII intra sepulchrum, VIII supra in margine dextro. Lapis, qui ad ostium monumenti positus erat, nunc fissus est; cuius pars minor quadratum altare ante ostium nihilominus eiusdem monumenti stat; maior uero in orientali eiusdem ecclesiae loco quadrangulum<sup>7</sup> aliud<sup>8</sup> altare sub lintaminibus exstat. Color autem eiusdem monumenti et sepulchri albo et rubicundo permixtus uidetur<sup>9</sup>.

## CAP. XVII.

Quae item de loco ascensionis dominicae et sepulchris patriarcharum.

DE<sup>10</sup> loco quoque ascensionis dominicae<sup>11</sup> praefatus auctor hoc modo refert:—

Bede, c. 6:  
Adamn.  
i. 22, 23.

Mons Oliuarum altitudine monti Sion par est, sed latitudine et longitudine praestat; exceptis uitis et oliuis<sup>12</sup>, raras ferax arboris, frumenti quoque et hordei fertilis. Neque enim brucosa, sed herbosa et florida soli illius est qualitas; in cuius summo<sup>13</sup> uertice, ubi Dominus ad caelos ascendit, ecclesia rotunda grandis, ternas per circuitum cameratas habet porticus desuper tectas. Interior namque domus propter dominici corporis meatum camerari et tegi non potuit; altare ad orientem habens angusto culmine protectum, in

<sup>1</sup> anastasis . . . cineta om. B. <sup>2</sup> cineta . . . tribus om. C<sup>1</sup>. *Supplied very incorrectly by C<sup>2</sup>.* <sup>3</sup> III C<sup>1</sup> altered to VII C<sup>2</sup>. <sup>4</sup> cuius M. H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>5</sup> aquinali M. <sup>6</sup> ibi C. <sup>7</sup> -ungulum M<sup>1</sup>. <sup>8</sup> aliud, added on margin M.; illud Ad. <sup>9</sup> M at first wrote erat. <sup>10</sup> No break in the text of M, but XVII in margin. <sup>11</sup> dom. asc. M. <sup>12</sup> olibus C. <sup>13</sup> summa M on margin.

f. 113 b.

cuius medio ultima Domini uestigia, caelo desuper patente, ubi ascendit, uisuntur. Quae cum cotidie a credentibus terra tollatur, nihilominus manet, eandemque adhuc speciem ueluti impressis signata uestigiis seruat. Haec circa aerea rota iacet, usque ad ceruicem alta, | ab occasu habens introitum, pendente desuper in trocleis magna lampade, totaque die et nocte lucente. In occidentali eiusdem ecclesiae parte fenestrae octo, totidemque e regione lampades in funibus pendentes usque Hierosolymam per utrum fulgent; quarum lux corda intuentium cum quadam alacritate<sup>1</sup> et conpunctione pauere<sup>2</sup> dicitur. In die ascensionis dominicae per annos singulos, missa peracta, validi flaminis procella desursum uenire consuevit<sup>3</sup>, et omnes, qui in ecclesia adfuerint, terrae prosternere.

Adamn. De situ etiam Chebron et monumentis patrum ita  
ii. 8. 9, 10; scribit:—  
Bede, c. 8.

Chebron quondam ciuitas et metropolis regni David, nunc ruinis tantum, quid tunc fuerit, ostendens. Uno ad orientem stadio speluncam duplicem in ualle habet, ubi sepulchra patriarcharum quadrato muro circumdantur, capitibus uersis ad Aquilonem; et haec singula singulis tecta lapidibus instar basilicae dolutis; trium patriarcharum candidis, Adam obscurioris et uilioris operis, qui haud longe ab illis ad borealem extremamque muri illius partem pausat. Trium quoque feminarum uiliores et minores memoriae cernuntur.

Mamre<sup>4</sup> collis mille passibus a monumentis<sup>5</sup> his ad Boream, herbosus ualde et floridus, campestem habens in uertice planitiem; in cuius aquilonali<sup>6</sup> parte quercus Abrahae duorum hominum altitudinis truncus ecclesia circumdata est.

Haec de opusculis excerpta praefati scriptoris ad sensum quidem uerborum illius, sed breuioribus strictisque comprehensa sermonibus, nostris ad utilitatem legentium historiis indere placuit. Plura uoluminis illius, siqui scire delectat, uel in ipso illo uolumine, uel in eo, quod de illo dudum strictim excerpimus, epitomate requirat.

<sup>1</sup> ilaritate N<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> pauere facere C.      <sup>3</sup> conuenit C. D. &c.

<sup>4</sup> mambre B. C. N.      <sup>5</sup> -sibus a monumentis om. B.      <sup>6</sup> aquilonali M<sup>1</sup>.

## CAP. XVIII.

*Ut Australes Saxones episcopos acceperint Eadbertum<sup>1</sup> et Eallan<sup>2</sup>,  
Occidentales Danihelem<sup>3</sup> et Aldhelmum; et de scriptis eiusdem  
Aldhelmi.*

Death of  
Aldfrid;  
succession  
of Osred,  
A. D. 705.

Death of  
Hædde,  
Bishop of  
the West  
Saxons.

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCCV Aldfrid, rex Nordanhymbrorum, defunctus est, anno regni sui XX<sup>o</sup> needum inpleto; cui succedens in imperium filius suus Osred, puer octo circiter annorum, regnavit annis XI. Huius regni principio antistes Occidentalium Saxonum Haeddi<sup>4</sup> caelestem migravit ad uitam. Bonus quippe erat uir, ac iustus, et episcopalem uitam siue doctrinam magis insito sibi uirtutum amore quam lectionibus institutus exercebat. Denique reuerentissimus antistes Pecthelm<sup>5</sup>, de quo in sequentibus | suo f. 114 a. loco dicendum est, qui cum successore eius Aldhelmo multo tempore adhuc diaconus siue monachus fuit, referre est solitus, quod in loco, quo defunctus est, ob meritum sanctitatis eius multa sanitarum sint patrata miracula, hominesque prouinciae illius solitos ablatum inde puluerem propter languentes in aquam mittere, atque huius gustum siue aspersionem multis sanitatem egrotis et hominibus et pecoribus conferre; propter quod frequenti ablatione pulueris sacri fossa sit ibidem facta non minima.

Division of  
the West  
Saxon  
diocese.

Works of  
Aldhelm.

Quo defuncto, episcopatus prouinciae illius in duas parrochias diuisus est. Una data Daniheli, quam usque hodie regit; altera Aldhelmo, cui annis IIII strenuissime praefuit; ambo et in rebus ecclesiasticis. et in scientia scripturarum sufficienter instructi. Denique Aldhelm, cum adhuc esset presbyter et abbas monasterii, quod 'Maildufi<sup>6</sup> urbem' nuncupant, scripsit, iubente synodo suae gentis, librum egregium aduersus errorem Brettonum, quo uel pascha non suo tempore

<sup>1</sup> -berchtum C.    <sup>2</sup> eollan C.    <sup>3</sup> danielum C.    <sup>4</sup> hddi N.

<sup>5</sup> peht- C.    <sup>6</sup> -dubi C. N.

celebrant, uel alia perplura ecclesiasticae castitati<sup>1</sup> et paci contraria gerunt, multosque eorum, qui Occidentalibus Saxonibus subditi erant Brettones, ad catholicam dominici paschae celebrationem huius lectione perduxit. Scripsit et de uirginitate librum eximium, quem in exemplum Sedulii geminato opere, et uersibus exametris, et prosa composuit. Scripsit et alia nonnulla, utpote uir undecumque doctissimus; nam et sermone nitidus, et scripturarum, ut dixi, tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum erat eruditione mirandus. Quo defuncto, pontificatum pro eo suscepit<sup>2</sup> Fortheri<sup>3</sup>, qui usque hodie superest; uir et ipse in scripturis sanctis multum eruditus.

Quibus episcopatum administrantibus statutum est synodali decreto, ut prouincia Australium Saxonum, quae eatenus ad ciuitatis Uentanae, cui tunc Danihel praeerat, parrochiam pertinebat, et ipsa sedem episcopalem, ac proprium haberet episcopum; consecratusque est eis primus antistes Eadberet<sup>4</sup>, qui erat abbas monasterii beatae memoriae Uilfridi<sup>5</sup> episcopi, quod dicitur Selæseu<sup>6</sup>; quo defuncto, Eolla suscepit<sup>7</sup> officium pontificatus. Ipso autem ante aliquot annos ex hac luce subtracto, episcopatus usque hodie cessauit.

Eadbert  
first bishop  
of the  
South  
Saxons.

## CAP. XIX.

*Ut Coinred<sup>8</sup> Merciorum et Offa Orientalium Saxonum rex in monachico habitu Romae uitam finierint; et de uita uel obitu Uilfridi<sup>5</sup> episcopi.*

f. 114 b.

[ANNO autem imperii Osredi IIII<sup>o</sup>, Coinred<sup>9</sup>, qui regno Merciorum nobilissime tempore aliquanto prae- fuerat, nobilius multo regni sceptrum reliquit. Nam uenit Romam, ibique adtonsus, pontificatum habente

Cenred  
of Mercia  
and Offa of  
Essex go to  
Rome, A. D.  
709.

<sup>1</sup> caritati B<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> -cipit M.      <sup>3</sup> -re B; forðhere C.  
<sup>4</sup> -berht C.      <sup>5</sup> uuil- C.      <sup>6</sup> selescu C<sup>1</sup>; seal- C<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>7</sup> -cipit  
M.      <sup>8</sup> dred for coinred N; coenred C.      <sup>9</sup> coen- C.



Constantino, ac monachus factus, ad limina apostolorum, in precibus, ieiuniis, et elemosynis usque ad diem permansit ultimum; succedente in regnum Ceolredo filio Aedilredi<sup>1</sup>, qui ante ipsum Coinredum<sup>2</sup> idem regnum tenebat. Uenit autem cum illo et filius Sigheri<sup>3</sup> regis Orientalium Saxonum, cuius supra meminimus, uocabulo Offa, iuuenis amantissimae aetatis et uenustatis, totaeque suae genti ad tenenda seruandaque regni sceptrata exoptatissimus. Qui pari ductus deuotione mentis, reliquit uxorem, agros, cognatos, et patriam propter Christum, et propter euangelium, ut in hac uita centuplum acciperet, et in saeculo uenturo uitam aeternam. Et ipse ergo, ubi ad loca sancta Romam peruenerunt, adtonsus, et in monachico uitam habitu complens, ad uisionem beatorum apostolorum in caelis diu desideratam peruenit.

Luc. xviii.  
29, 30;  
Matth.  
xix. 29,  
30; Mc.  
x. 29, 30.

Death of  
Wilfrid,  
A. D. 709.

Eodem sane anno, quo hi Britanniam reliquere, antistes eximius Uilfrid post XL et V annos accepti *episcopatus* diem clausit extremum in prouincia, quae uocatur *Inundalum*; corpusque eius loculo inditum, perlatum est in monasterium ipsius, quod dicitur *Inhrypm*, et iuxta honorem tanto pontifici congruum in ecclesia beati apostoli Petri sepultum. De cuius<sup>4</sup> statu uitae, ut ad priora repedantes, paucis, quae sunt

Eddius.  
cc. 64-65.

Story of his  
life.

gesta, memoremus, cum esset puer bonae indolis, atque aetatem moribus transiens, ita se modeste et circumspecte in omnibus gereret, ut merito a maioribus quasi unus ex ipsis amaretur, ueneraretur, amplecteretur, ubi XIII<sup>um</sup> aetatis contigit annum, monasticam saeculari<sup>5</sup> uitam praetulit. Quod ubi patri suo narrauit, iam enim mater obierat, libenter eius uotis ac desideriiis<sup>6</sup> caelestibus adnuit, eumque coeptis insistere

ib. c. 2.

<sup>1</sup> edil- N; aedil- C.

<sup>2</sup> conin- N; coen- C.

<sup>3</sup> -re C.

<sup>4</sup> cuius added on margin M.

<sup>5</sup> singulari C<sup>1</sup>; id est seculari C<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> -ribus M.

salutaribus iussit. Uenit ergo<sup>1</sup> ad *insulam Lindisfar-*  
*nensem*, ibique monachorum famulatui se contradens,  
 diligenter ea, quae monasticae castitatis ac pietatis  
 erant, et discere curabat et agere. Et quia acris erat  
 ingenii, *didicit* citissime *psalmos*, et aliquot codices;  
 needum quidem adtonsus, uerum eis, quae tonsura  
 maiores sunt, | uirtutibus, humilitatis et oboedientiae,  
 non mediocriter insignitus; propter quod et a *seniori-*  
*bus et coetaneis* suis iusto colebatur affectu. In quo  
 uidelicet monasterio cum aliquot *annos Deo seruiret*,  
 animaduertit paulatim adulescens animi sagacis, minime  
 perfectam esse uirtutis uiam, quae tradebatur a Scottis,  
 proposuitque animo uenire Romam, et qui ad *sedem*  
 apostolicam ritus ecclesiastici siue monasteriales ser-  
 uarentur, uidere. Quod cum fratribus referret, lauda-  
 uerunt eius propositum, eumque id, quod mente  
 disposuerat, perficere suadebant. At ille confestim  
 ueniens ad *reginam Eanfledam*, quia notus erat ei,  
 eiusque consilio ac suffragiis praefato fuerat monasterio  
 sociatus, indicauit ei desiderium sibi inesse beatorum  
 apostolorum limina uisitandi; quae delectata bono  
 adulescentis proposito, *misit* eum Cantiam ad *regem*  
*Erconberctum*<sup>2</sup>, qui erat filius auunculi<sup>3</sup> sui, postulans,  
 ut eum *honorifice* Romam transmitteret. Quo tempore  
 ibi gradum archiepiscopatus Honorius, unus ex dis-  
 cipulis beati papae Gregorii, uir in rebus ecclesiasticis  
 sublimiter institutus seruabat. Ubi cum aliquandiu  
 demoratus adulescens animi uiuacis diligenter his,  
 quae<sup>4</sup> inspiciebat, discendis operam daret, superuenit  
 illo alius adulescens, nomine Biscop, cognomento  
 Benedictus, de *nobilibus Anglorum*, cupiens et ipse  
 Romam uenire; cuius supra meminimus.

He enters  
Lindis-  
farne.

Resolves to  
go to Rome.

Sojourns in  
Kent,

Huius ergo comitatu rex sociauit Uilfridum, utque  
 illum secum Romam perduceret, iussit. Qui cum

and at  
Lyons.

<sup>1</sup> enim C.

<sup>2</sup> -berchtum C.

<sup>3</sup> abunculi C<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> qui M.

*Lugdunum peruenissent, Uilfrid a Dalfino ciuitatis* Eddius, c. 4.  
*episcopo* ibi retentus est, Benedictus coeptum iter  
 nauiter Romam usque conpleuit. Delectabatur enim  
 antistes prudentia uerborum iuuenis, gratia uenusti  
 uultus, *alacritate* actionis, et constantia ac maturitate  
 cōgitationis. Unde et *omnia*, quae *necesse* habebat,  
*habundanter* ipsi cum sociis<sup>1</sup> suis, quamdiu secum  
 erant, donabat; et insuper offerebat, ut, si uellet,  
*partem Galliarum* non minimam illi *regendam* com-  
 mitteret, ac *filiam fratris* sui uirginem illi coniugem  
*daret*, eumque ipse loco *adoptiui* semper *haberet*. At  
 ille gratias agens pietati, quam erga eum, cum esset  
 peregrinus, habere dignaretur, respondit propositum se  
 magis alterius conuersationis habere, atque ideo, patria  
 relicta, Romam iter agere coepisse.

Reaches  
Rome.

Quibus *auditis* | antistes *misit* eum<sup>2</sup> Romam, dato f. 115 b.  
*duce* itineris, et cunctis simul, quae necessitas posebat  
 itineris, largiter subministratis; obsecrans sedulo, ut,  
 cum patriam *reuerteretur*, per se iter facere meminisset.  
*Veniens uero Romam*, et *orationibus* ac *meditationi* ib. c. 5.  
 rerum ecclesiasticarum, ut animo proposuerat, cotidiana  
 mancipatus instantia, peruenit ad amicitiam uiri sanctis-  
 simi ac doctissimi<sup>3</sup>, *Bonifatii* uidelicet *archidiaconi*<sup>4</sup>, qui  
 etiam *consiliarius* erat apostolici papae; cuius magisterio  
*IIII euangeliorum* libros ex ordine *didicit*, computum  
*paschae rationabilem*, et *alia multa*, quae in patria  
 nequiuera<sup>5</sup>, *ecclesiasticis disciplinis* accommoda, eodem  
 magistro tradente percepit; et cum *menses* aliquot ibi  
 studiis occupatus felicibus exegisset<sup>6</sup>, rediit ad *Dalfinum*  
 in *Galliam*, et *III annos* apud eum commoratus, ib. c. 6.  
*adtonsus* est ab eo, et in tanto habitus amore, ut *heredem*  
*sibi illum* facere *cogitasset*<sup>7</sup>. Sed ne hoc fieri posset,  
 antistes crudeli morte praereptus est, et Uilfrid ad  
 suae potius, hoc est Anglorum, *gentis* episcopatum

Returns to  
Lyons.

<sup>1</sup> socis M.    <sup>2</sup> 'eum' misit M.    <sup>3</sup> doct. ac sanct. M.    <sup>4</sup> -nis  
 M; -nii N.    <sup>5</sup> -quierat M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>6</sup> exig. M.    <sup>7</sup> -taret C. N.

reseruatus. Namque *Baldhild*<sup>1</sup> *regina* missis militibus *episcopum iussit* interfici; quem *ad locum* quidem, quo decollandus erat, secutus est *Uilfrid*<sup>2</sup> clericus illius, desiderans *cum eo*, tametsi ipso multum *prohibente*, pariter occumbere. Sed hunc ubi peregrinum atque oriundum *de natione*<sup>3</sup> *Anglorum* cognouere carnifices, *pepercere illi*, neque *cum* trucidare cum suo uoluere pontifice.

ib. c. 7. At ille Brittaniam ueniens, coniunctus est amicitii  
*Alchfridi*<sup>4</sup> *regis*, qui catholicas ecclesiae regulas sequi  
 ib. c. 8. semper, et amare didicerat. Unde et ille, quia catholicum eum esse conperiit, mox donauit *terram X* familiarum in loco, qui dicitur *Stanford*, et non multo post monasterium XXX familiarum in loco, qui uocatur *Inhrypum*; quem uidelicet locum dederat pridem ad construendum inibi monasterium his, qui Scottos sequebantur. Uerum quia illi postmodum optione data maluerunt loco cedere, quam pascha catholicum, ceterosque ritus canonicos iuxta Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae consuetudinem recipere, dedit hoc illi, quem melioribus inbutum disciplinis ac moribus uidit.

ib. c. 9. Quo in tempore, ad iussionem praefati regis *presbyter ordinatus* est in eodem monasterio ab *Agilbercto*<sup>5</sup>  
 f. 116 a. *episcopo* Geuissorum<sup>6</sup>, cuius supra meminimus, desiderante rege, ut uir tantae | eruditionis ac religionis sibi specialiter *indiuuiduo comitatu* sacerdos esset, ac  
 ib. c. 10. doctor. Quem non multo post, detecta et eliminata, ut  
 ib. c. 11. et supra docuimus, *Scottorum* secta, Galliam mittens, cum consilio atque consensu patris sui Osuii, episcopum sibi rogauit ordinari, cum esset *annorum circiter XXX*,  
 ib. c. 12. eodem *Agilbercto*<sup>7</sup> tunc *episcopatum* agente Parisiacae ciuitatis; cum quo et alii XI *episcopi* ad dedicationem  
 antistitis *conuenientes*, multum *honorifice* ministerium

and  
 Britain.  
 Grant of  
 Stamford  
 and Ripon.

Refutes the  
 Irish party.

Con-  
 secrated  
 Bishop.

<sup>1</sup> balt- C. N. Several MSS. both of Bede and Eddius read brunhild here for baldhild.

<sup>2</sup> uuil- C.

<sup>3</sup> degere N, therefore the scribe probably had de genere before him.

<sup>4</sup> alh- C.

<sup>5</sup> -berchto C.

<sup>6</sup> geuessorum N; geuissiorum C.

<sup>7</sup> -berhto C.

impleuerunt. Quo adhuc in transmarinis partibus Eddius.  
demorante, consecratus est in episcopatum Eboraci<sup>1</sup>, c. 14.  
iubente rege Osuio<sup>2</sup>, Ceadda uir sanctus, ut supra  
memoratum est, et tribus annis ecclesiam sublimiter  
regens, dehinc ad monasterii sui, quod est in Læstingæi<sup>3</sup>,  
curam secessit, accipiente Uilfrido episcopatum totius  
Nordanhymbrorum prouinciae.

First ex-  
pulsion and  
appeal to  
Rome.

Qui deinde regnante Ecgfrido, pulsus est episcopatu, ib. cc. 24,  
et alii pro illo consecrati antistites, quorum supra 25.  
meminimus; Romamque iturus, et coram apostolico  
papa causam dicturus, ubi nauem conscendit, flante  
Fauonio pulsus est Fresiam, et honorifice susceptus ib. cc. 26,  
a barbaris ac rege illorum Aldgilso<sup>4</sup>, praedicabat eis 27.  
*Christum*, et multa eorum milia uerbo ueritatis instituens, cf. Act.  
a peccatorum suorum sordibus fonte Saluatoris abluit; viii. 5.  
et quod postmodum Uilbrord, reuerentissimus Christi  
pontifex, in magna deuotione compleuit, ipse *primus*  
*ibi* opus euangelicum coepit. Ibi ergo *hiemem* cum Eddius.  
noua Dei plebe feliciter exigens, sic Romam ueniendi<sup>5</sup> cc. 28-32.  
*iter* repetiit; et *ubi causa eius* uentilata est, praesente  
*Agathone papa* et pluribus *episcopis*, uniuersorum iudicio  
absque crimine accusatus fuisse, et episcopatu esse  
dignus inuentus est.

Quo in tempore idem papa Agatho, cum synodum ib. c. 53.  
congregaret Romae CXXV episcoporum, aduersus eos,  
qui unam in Domino Salvatore uoluntatem atque opera-  
tionem dogmatizabant, uocari iussit et<sup>6</sup> Uilfridum,  
atque inter episcopos considentem dicere fidem suam,  
simul et prouinciae siue insulae, de qua uenerat.  
Cumque catholicus fide cum suis esset inuentus, placuit  
hoc inter cetera eiusdem synodi gestis inseri, scriptum-  
que est hoc modo: '*Uilfridus Deo amabilis episcopus*  
*Eboracae*<sup>7</sup> *ciuitatis, apostolicam sedem de sua causa*

<sup>1</sup> ebur- C.

<sup>2</sup> -iu B. C. N.

<sup>3</sup> laest- B; laestingaei C;

-guaei N.

<sup>4</sup> -gislo N.

<sup>5</sup> ueniendi added on margin M.

<sup>6</sup> et om. C.

<sup>7</sup> ebur- C.



appellans, et ab<sup>1</sup> hac potestate de certis incertisque rebus absolutus, | et cum aliis CXXV coepiscopis<sup>2</sup> in synodo in iudicii sede constitutus, et pro omni aquilonali parte Britannie et Hiberniae, insulis [que]<sup>3</sup> quae ab Anglorum, et Brettonum, nec non Scottorum et Pictorum gentibus incoluntur, ueram et catholicam fidem confessus est, et cum subscriptione<sup>4</sup> sua corroborauit.<sup>5</sup>

ib. c. 41. Post haec reuersus Britanniam prouinciã Australium Saxonum ab idolatriae ritibus ad Christi fidem conuertit. Uectae quoque insulae uerbi ministros destinauit; et secundo anno Aldfridi, qui post Ecgfridum<sup>5</sup> regnauit, sedem suam et episcopatum ipso rege inuitante recepit. Sed post V annos denuo accusatus, ab eodem ipso rege et plurimis episcopis praesulatu pulsus est; ueniensque Romam, cum praesentibus accusatoribus<sup>6</sup> acciperet locum se defendendi, considentibus episcopis pluribus cum apostolico papa Iohanne, omnium iudicio probatum est accusatores<sup>6</sup> eius non nulla in parte falsas contra eum machinasse calumnias; scriptumque a praefato papa regibus Anglorum Aedilredo et Aldfrido, ut eum in episcopatum suum, eo quod iniuste fuerit condemnatus, facerent recipi<sup>8</sup>.

Iuuit autem causam absolutionis eius lectio synodi beatae memoriae papae Agathonis, quae quondam ipso praesente in urbe atque<sup>9</sup> in eodem concilio inter episcopos residente, ut praediximus, acta est. Cum ergo<sup>10</sup> causa exigente synodus eadem coram nobilibus et frequentia populi, iubente apostolico papa, diebus aliquot legeretur, uentum est ad locum, ubi scriptum erat: 'Uilfridus Deo amabilis episcopus Eboracae<sup>11</sup> ciuitatis, apostolicam sedem de sua causa appellans, et ab hac potestate de certis incertisque rebus absolutus,' et cetera,

<sup>1</sup> ab om. C.    <sup>2</sup> episc. M. N.    <sup>3</sup> que supplied from Eddius. It was omitted in the MSS. owing to the quae following.    <sup>4</sup> suscrip- M; scrip- C.    <sup>5</sup> ecf- C.    <sup>6</sup> accus- M. C<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>7</sup> edil- C.    <sup>8</sup> recepi M.    <sup>9</sup> atque eo praesente B.    <sup>10</sup> enim C. W. D. &c.    <sup>11</sup> the scribe of M at first wrote Eborae; ebur- C. N.

Restoration.  
Second expulsion and appeal.

quae supra posuimus. Quod ubi lectum est, *stupor* adprehendit *audientes*; et silente lectore coeperunt alterutrum requirere, quis esset ille Uilfridus<sup>1</sup> episcopus. Tum *Bonifatius* consiliarius apostolici<sup>2</sup> papae, et alii perplures, *qui eum* temporibus *Agathonis* papae ibi *uiderant*<sup>3</sup> dicebant ipsum *esse episcopum*, qui nuper Romam accusatus<sup>4</sup> a suis, atque ab *apostolica* sede iudicandus aduenerit<sup>5</sup>: ‘qui iamdudum,’ inquit, ‘aeque accusatus<sup>4</sup> huc adueniens, mox audita ac diiudicata<sup>6</sup> causa et controuersia utriusque partis, a beatae memoriae papa Agathone probatus est contra fas a suo episcopatu repulsus; et tanti apud eum habitus est, ut ipsum in concilio, quod congregarat, episcoporum, | quasi uirum incorruptae fidei, et animi f. 117 a. probi residere praeciperet.’ Quibus auditis dicebant omnes una cum ipso pontifice, uirum tantae auctoritatis, qui *per XL* prope annos *episcopatu* *fungebatur*, nequaquam damnari debere, sed ad integrum culpis accusationum<sup>7</sup> *absolutum patriam* cum honore reuerti.

Illness and  
vision at  
Meaux.

Qui cum Brittaniam remeans in *Galliarum* partes Eddius. c. 56. deuenisset, tactus est *infirmirate* repentina, et ea crescente adeo<sup>8</sup> pressus, ut neque *equo uchi* posset, sed *manibus* ministrorum *portaretur* in grabato<sup>9</sup>. Sic delatus in *Maeldum*<sup>10</sup> ciuitatem Galliae *IIII diebus* ac *noctibus* quasi mortuus iacebat, *halitu tantum* pertenui, quia *uiueret, demonstrans*. Cumque ita sine cibo et potu, sine uoce et auditu, quadriduo perseueraret, *quinta demum inlucescere die*<sup>11</sup>, quasi de graui experrectus somno, *exurgens resedit*; apertisque oculis uidit circa se *choros* psallentium simul et *flentium* fratrum; ac modicum suspirans interrogauit, *ubi* esset *Acca presbyter*; *qui statim uocatus* intrauit, et *uidens eum*

<sup>1</sup> uilfrid N.    <sup>2</sup> -ce N; -cae B. C.    <sup>3</sup> -runt B.    <sup>4</sup> accuss-  
M. C. B.    <sup>5</sup> uenerit B.    <sup>6</sup> iudicata C. D. &c.    <sup>7</sup> accuss-  
M. C.    <sup>8</sup> ab eo M. B. N<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>9</sup> grauato M. N<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>10</sup> mel- B;  
mel- C.    <sup>11</sup> die om. M<sup>1</sup>.

melius habentem, ac loqui iam ualentem, flexis genibus gratias egit Deo cum omnibus, qui aderant, fratribus. Et cum parum consedissent, ac de supernis iudiciis<sup>1</sup> trepidi aliqua confabulari coepissent, iussit pontifex ceteros ad horam egredi, et ad Accan presbyterum ita loqui exorsus est :

‘*Uisio* mihi modo tremenda apparuit, quam te audire ac silentio tegere uolo, donec sciam, quid de me fieri uelit Deus. Adstitit enim mihi quidam candido praeclarus habitu, dicens se Michahalem esse archangelum : “et ob hoc,” inquit, “missus sum, ut te a morte reuocem ; donauit enim tibi Dominus uitam per orationes ac lacrimas discipulorum ac fratrum tuorum, et per intercessionem beatae suae genetricis semperque uirginis Mariae. Quapropter dico tibi, quia modo quidem ab infirmitate hac sanaberis ; sed paratus esto, quia post quadriennium reuertens uisitabo te ; patriam uero perueniens, maximam possessionum tuarum, quae tibi ablatae sunt, portionem recipies, atque in pace tranquilla uitam terminabis.”’ Conualuit igitur episcopus, cunctis gaudentibus, ac Deo gratias agentibus, coeptoque itinere Britanniam<sup>2</sup> uenit.

Lectis autem epistulis, quas ab apostolico papa aduexerat, Berctuald<sup>3</sup> archiepiscopus, et Aedilred<sup>4</sup> quondam rex, tunc autem abbas, libentissime fauerunt ; | qui uidelicet Aedilred<sup>5</sup> accitum ad se Coinredum<sup>6</sup>, quem pro se regem fecerat, amicum episcopo fieri petiit, et inpetrauit. Sed Aldfrid Nordanhymbrorum rex eum suscipere contempsit, nec longo tempore superfuit ; unde factum est, ut, regnante Osredo<sup>7</sup> filio eius, mox synodo facta iuxta fluuium Nidd, post aliquantum utriusque partis conflictum, tandem cunctis fauentibus in praesulatum sit suae receptus ecclesiae. Sicque IIII annis,

Return and  
restora-  
tion.

<sup>1</sup> -cis M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> -tiniam N.    <sup>3</sup> berchtuuald C.    <sup>4</sup> aedil- C ;  
edil- N.    <sup>5</sup> edil- N.    <sup>6</sup> coen- C. B ; conin- N.    <sup>7</sup> -de,  
altered to -do C ; -di M.

ib. c. 57.

f. 117 b.

ib. cc. 58,  
59.

ib. cc. 60-  
65.

Death at  
Oundle.

id est usque ad diem obitus sui, uitam duxit in pace. Defunctus est autem in monasterio suo, quod habebat in prouincia Undalum<sup>1</sup> sub regimine<sup>2</sup> Cudualdi<sup>3</sup> abbatibus; et ministerio fratrum perlatus in primum suum monasterium, quod uocatur Inhryppum, positus est in ecclesia beati apostoli Petri iuxta altare ad Austrum, ut et supra docuimus; et hoc de illo supra epitaphium scriptum<sup>4</sup>:

*Uilfridus hic magnus requiescit corpore praesul,  
Hanc Domino qui aulam ductus pietatis amore  
Fecit, et eximio sacrauit nomine Petri,  
Cui clauces caeli Christus dedit arbiter orbis;  
Atque auro ac Tyrio deuotus uestiit ostro<sup>5</sup>.  
Quin etiam sublime crucis, radiante metallo,  
Hic posuit tropaeum, nec non et quattuor auro  
Scribi euangelii praecepit<sup>6</sup> in ordine libros;  
Ac thecam e rutilo his condignam condidit auro;  
Paschalis qui etiam sollemnia tempora cursus  
Catholici ad iustum correxit dogma canonis,  
Quem statuere patres, dubioque errore remoto,  
Certa suae genti ostendit moderamina ritus;  
Inque locis istis monachorum examina crebra  
Colligit, ac monitis cauit, quae regula patrum  
Sedulus instituit; multisque domique forisque  
Iactatus nimium per tempora longa periclis,  
Quindecies ternos postquam egit episcopus annos,  
Transiit, et gaudens caelestia regna petiuit.  
Dona, Iesu, ut grex pastoris calle sequatur.*

## CAP. XX.

*Ut religioso abbati Hadriano<sup>7</sup> Albinus, Uilfrido<sup>8</sup> in episcopatum Acca successerit.*

Death of  
Abbot  
Hadrian.

Anno post obitum praefati patris proximo, id est quinto Osredi regis, reuerentissimus pater Hadrianus

<sup>1</sup> undu- altered to unda- C.    <sup>2</sup> regmine M.    <sup>3</sup> cudbaldi C. N; cuðbaldes AS.    <sup>4</sup> scripsit M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>5</sup> auro M. N.    <sup>6</sup> -cipit M; -coepit C.    <sup>7</sup> adr- N.    <sup>8</sup> uuil- C.

abbas, cooperator in uerbo Dei Theodori beatae memoriae episcopi, defunctus est, et in monasterio suo in ecclesia beatae Dei genetricis sepultus; qui est annus XL<sup>mus</sup> primus, ex quo a Uitaliano papa directus est cum Theodoro; ex quo autem Britanniam uenit, XXXIX. Cuius doctrinae simul et Theodori inter alia testimonium perhibet, quod Albinus discipulus eius, qui | monasterio ipsius in regimine successit, in tantum studiis scripturarum institutus est, ut Grecam quidem linguam non parua ex parte, Latinam uero non minus quam Anglorum, quae sibi naturalis est, nouerit.

Suscepit uero pro Ulfrido episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiae Acca presbyter eius, uir et ipse strenuissimus, et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus; qui et ipsius ecclesiae suae, quae in beati Andreae apostoli honorem consecrata est, aedificium multifario decore ac mirificis ampliavit operibus. Dedit namque operam, quod et hodie facit, ut adquisitis undecumque reliquiis beatorum apostolorum et martyrum Christi, in uenerationem illorum poneret altaria, distinctis porticibus in hoc ipsum intra muros eiusdem ecclesiae, sed et historias passionis eorum, una cum ceteris ecclesiasticis uoluminibus, summa industria congregans, amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit, nec non et uasa sancta, et luminaria, aliaque huiusmodi, quae ad ornatum domus Dei pertinent, studiosissime parauit. Cantatorem quoque egregium, uocabulo Maban<sup>1</sup>, qui a successoribus discipulorum beati papae Gregorii in Cantia fuerat cantandi sonos edoctus, ad se suosque instituendos accersiit, ac per annos XII tenuit; quatinus et, quae illi non nouerant<sup>2</sup>, carmina ecclesiastica doceret; et ea, quae quondam cognita longo usu uel negligentia inueterare coeperunt, huius doctrina priscum renouarentur in statum. Nam et ipse episcopus

Acca,  
Bishop of  
Hexham,  
A. D. 709.

<sup>1</sup> mafán C.

<sup>2</sup> -runt, altered to -rant M.



Acca cantator erat peritissimus, quomodo etiam in litteris sanctis doctissimus, et in catholicae fidei confessione castissimus, in ecclesiasticae quoque institutionis regulis solertissimus exstiterat; et usquedum praemia pia<sup>1</sup> deuotionis accipiat, existere non desistit; utpote qui a pueritia in clero sanctissimi ac Deo dilecti Bosa Eboracensis<sup>2</sup> episcopi nutritus atque eruditus est; deinde ad Uilfridum episcopum spe melioris propositi adueniens, omnem in eius obsequio usque ad obitum illius expleuit aetatem; cum quo etiam Romam ueniens multa illic, quae in patria nequiuera, ecclesiae sanctae institutis<sup>3</sup> utilia didicit.

## CAP. XXI.

*U<sup>1</sup> Ceolfrid<sup>4</sup> abbas regi Pictorum architectos ecclesiae, simul et epistulam de catholico pascha uel de tonsura miserit.*

Naiton  
(Nechtan),  
King of the  
Picts, con-  
sults Abbot  
Ceolfrid on  
the Paschal  
and tonsure  
ques-  
tions.

Eo tempore Naiton rex Pictorum, qui septentrionales Britanniae plagas inhabitant, admonitus ecclesiasticarum frequenti meditatione scripturarum, | abre- f. 118 b.  
nuntiauit errori, quo eatenus in obseruatione paschae cum sua gente tenebatur, et se suosque omnes ad catholicum dominicae resurrectionis tempus celebrandum perduxit. Quod ut facilius et maiore<sup>5</sup> auctoritate perficeret, quaesiuit auxilium de gente Anglorum, quos iamdudum ad exemplum sanctae Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae suam religionem instituisse cognouit. Siquidem misit legatarios ad uirum uenerabilem Ceolfridum, abbatem monasterii beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quod est ad ostium Uiuri amnis, et iuxta amnem Tinam, in loco, qui uocatur Ingyruum<sup>6</sup>, cui ipse post Benedictum, de quo supra diximus, gloriosissime praefuit; postulans, ut exhortatorias sibi litteras mitteret, quibus potentius confutare posset eos, qui pascha non suo tempore obseruare praesumerent;

<sup>1</sup> pie M.    <sup>2</sup> ebur- C. N.    <sup>3</sup> -tutionis C. D. &c.    <sup>4</sup> -dus B.  
<sup>5</sup> -ri, altered to -re M; re- C. N.    <sup>6</sup> gyrum N.

simul et de tonsurae modo uel ratione, qua clericos insigniri deceret; excepto, quod etiam ipse in his non parua ex parte esset inbutus. Sed et architectos sibi mitti petiit, qui iuxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent, promittens hanc in honorem beati apostolorum principis dedicandam; se quoque ipsum cum suis omnibus morem sanctae Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae semper imitaturum, in quantum dumtaxat tam longe a Romanorum loquella et natione segregati hunc ediscere potuissent. Cuius religiosus uotis ac precibus fauens reuerentissimus abba Ceolfrid misit architectos, quos petebatur, misit illi et litteras scriptas in hunc modum:

*‘Domino excellentissimo et gloriosissimo regi Naitano, Ceolfrid abbas in Domino salutem.*

*‘Catholicam sancti paschae obseruantiam, quam a nobis, rex Deo deuote, religioso studio quaesisti, promptissime ac libentissime tuo desiderio, iuxta quod ab apostolica sede didicimus, patefacere satagimus. Scimus namque caelitus sanctae ecclesiae donatum, quotiens ipsi rerum domini discendae, docendae, custodiendae ueritati operam impendunt. Nam et uere omnino dixit quidam saecularium scriptorum, quia felicissimo<sup>1</sup> mundus statu ageretur, si uel reges philosopharentur<sup>2</sup>, uel regnarent philosophi. Quod si de philosophia huius mundi uere intellegere, de statu huius mundi merito diligere potuit homo huius mundi; quanto magis ciuibus | patriae caelestis in hoc mundo peregrinantibus<sup>3</sup> optandum est, et totis animi uiribus supplicandum, ut, quo plus in mundo quique ualent, eo amplius eius, qui super omnia est, Iudicis mandatis auscultare contendant, atque ad haec obseruanda secum eos quoque, qui sibi commissi<sup>4</sup> sunt, exemplis<sup>5</sup> simul et auctoritate instituant?*

*‘Tres sunt ergo regulae sacris inditae litteris, quibus*

<sup>1</sup> -me M<sup>l</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> philopharentur M.    <sup>3</sup> peri- M.    <sup>4</sup> -misi M.    <sup>5</sup> ex exemplis C.

Letter of  
Ceolfrid.

Plat. Rep.  
473 D.

f. 119 a.

paschae celebrandi tempus nobis praefinitum, nulla prorsus humana licet auctoritate mutari; e quibus duae in lege Mosi diuinitus statutae, tertia in euangelio per effectum dominicae passionis et resurrectionis adiuncta est. Praecepit enim<sup>1</sup> lex, ut pascha primo mense anni et tertia eiusdem mensis septimana, id est a XV<sup>a</sup> die<sup>2</sup> usque ad XXI<sup>am</sup>, fieri deberet; additum est per institutionem apostolicam ex euangelio, ut in ipsa tertia septimana diem dominicam expectare, atque<sup>3</sup> in ea temporis paschalis initium tenere debeamus. Quam uidelicet regulam triformem quisquis rite custodierit, numquam in adnotatione festi paschalis errabit. Uerum si de his singulis enucleatius ac latius audire desideras, scriptum est in Exodo, ubi liberandus de Aegypto populus Israel primum pascha facere iubetur, quia: “dixerit Dominus ad Moysen et Aaron: Mensis iste uobis principium mensium primus<sup>4</sup> erit in mensibus<sup>5</sup> anni. Lequimini ad uniuersum coetum filiorum Israel et dicite eis: X<sup>a</sup> die mensis huius tollat unusquisque agnum per familias et domus suas.” Et paulo post: “Et seruabitis eum usque ad XIII<sup>am</sup> diem<sup>6</sup> mensis huius; immolabitque<sup>5</sup> eum uniuersa multitudo filiorum Israel ad uesperam.” Quibus uerbis manifestissime constat, quod ita in obseruatione paschali mentio fit diei XIII<sup>ae</sup>, ut non tamen in ipsa die XIII<sup>a</sup> pascha fieri praecipiat: sed adueniente tandem uespera diei XIII<sup>ae</sup>, id est XV<sup>a</sup> luna, quae initium tertiae septimanae faciat, in caeli faciem prodeunte, agnus immolari iubeatur; et quod ipsa sit nox XV<sup>ae</sup> lunae, in qua percussis Aegyptiis Israel est a longa seruitute redemptus. “VII,” inquit, “diebus azyma<sup>6</sup> comedetis.” Quibus item uerbis tota tertia septimana eiusdem primi mensis decernitur sollemnis esse debere. Sed ne putaremus easdem VII dies a XIII<sup>a</sup> usque ad XX<sup>am</sup> esse computandas, continuo subiecit: “In die primo non erit fermentum in domibus uestris. Qui-

Exod. xii.  
1-3.

ib. 6.

ib. 15-17.

<sup>1</sup> etiam M. H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>2</sup> die om. M.      <sup>3</sup> que om. M.      <sup>4</sup> -ibus om. M<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>5</sup> -lauitque M. C.      <sup>6</sup> azima M<sup>1</sup>. N.

f. 119 b. *cumque | comederit fermentum, peribit anima illa de Israel, a die primo usque ad diem septimum,*" et cetera, usquedum ait: "*In eadem enim ipsa die educam exercitum uestrum de terra Aegypti.*"

Num. xxxiii. 3. *'Primum ergo diem azymorum appellat eum, in quo exercitum eorum esset educturus de Aegypto. Constat autem, quia non XIII<sup>a</sup> die, in cuius uespera agnus est immolatus, et quae proprie pascha siue phase dicitur; sed XV<sup>a</sup> sunt educti ex<sup>1</sup> Aegypto, sicut in libro Numerorum apertissime scribitur: "Profecti igitur de Ramesse XV<sup>a</sup> die mensis primi, altera die phase, filii Israel in manu excelsa." VII ergo dies<sup>2</sup> azymorum, in quarum prima eductus est populus Domini<sup>3</sup> ex Aegypto, ab initio, ut diximus, tertiae septimanae, hoc est a XV<sup>a</sup> die mensis primi usque ad XXI<sup>am</sup> eiusdem mensis diem completam computari oportet. Porro dies XIII<sup>a</sup> extra hunc numerum separatim<sup>4</sup> sub paschae titulo praenotatur, sicut Exodi sequentia patenter edocent; ubi cum dictum esset: "In eadem enim ipsa die educam exercitum uestrum de terra Aegypti;" protinus adiunctum est: "Et custodietis diem istum in generationes uestras ritu perpetuo. Primo mense<sup>5</sup>, XIII<sup>a</sup> die mensis comedetis azyma usque ad diem XXI<sup>am</sup> eiusdem mensis ad uesperam. VII diebus fermentatum<sup>6</sup> non inuenietur in domibus uestris." Quis enim<sup>7</sup> non uideat, a XIII<sup>a</sup> usque ad XXI<sup>am</sup> non VII solummodo, sed octo potius esse dies, si et ipsa XIII<sup>a</sup> adnumeretur? Sin autem, ut diligentius explorata scripturae ueritas docet, a uespera diei XIII<sup>ae</sup> usque ad uesperam XXI<sup>ae</sup> computauerimus, uidebimus profecto, quod ita dies XIII<sup>a</sup> uesperam suam in festi paschalis initium prorogat, ut non amplius tota sacra sollemnitas, quam VII tantummodo noctes cum totidem diebus comprehendat; unde<sup>8</sup> uera esse probatur nostra definitio<sup>9</sup>, qua*

Exod. xii. 17-19.

<sup>1</sup> de M<sup>l</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> dies, added on margin M.    <sup>3</sup> dei C.    <sup>4</sup> seper-M.    <sup>5</sup> -sis M.    <sup>6</sup> fermentum N. and so Vulgate.    <sup>7</sup> enim om. M<sup>l</sup>.    <sup>8</sup> unde et M.    <sup>9</sup> diuin- C<sup>l</sup>; difin- M.



*tempus paschale primo mense anni et tertia eius ebdomada celebrandum esse diximus. Ueraciter enim tertia agitur ebdomada, quod a uespera XIII<sup>ae</sup> diei incipit, et in uespera XXI<sup>ae</sup> completur.*

*‘Postquam uero pascha nostrum<sup>1</sup> immolatus est Christus, 1 Cor. v. diemque nobis dominicam, quae apud antiquos una uel<sup>2</sup> prima sabbati siue sabbatorum uocatur, gaudio suae resurrectionis fecit<sup>3</sup> esse sollemnem; ita hanc apostolica traditio festis paschalibus inseruit, ut nil omnimodis de tempore paschae legalis praecoccupandum, nihil minuendum | esse f. 120 a. decerneret. Quin potius statuit, ut expectaretur iuxta praeceptum legis idem primus anni mensis, expectaretur XIII<sup>ae</sup> dies illius, expectaretur uespera eiusdem. Et cum haec dies in sabbatum forte inciderit<sup>3</sup>, tolleretur unusquisque agnum per familias et domus suas, et immolaret eum ad uesperam, id est praepararent omnes ecclesiae per orbem, quae unam catholicam faciunt, panem et uinum<sup>4</sup> in mysterium<sup>5</sup> carnis et sanguinis agni immaculati, qui cf. Joh. i. 20; 1 Pet. i. 19. abstulit peccata mundi; et praecedente congrua lectionum orationum<sup>6</sup>, caerimoniarum paschalium sollemnitate, offerrent<sup>7</sup> haec Domino in spem futurae suae redemptionis. Ipsa est enim eadem nox, in qua de Aegypto per sanguinem agni Israelitica plebs erepta est; ipsa, in qua per resurrectionem Christi liberatus est<sup>8</sup> a morte aeterna populus omnis Dei. Mane autem inlucescente die dominica, primam paschalis festi diem celebrarent. Ipsa est enim dies, in qua resurrectionis suae gloriam Dominus multifario pia reuelationis gaudio discipulis patefecit. Ipsa prima dies azymorum, de qua multum distincte in Leuitico scriptum est: “Mense primo, XIII<sup>ae</sup> die mensis ad uesperam phase Domini est, et XV<sup>a</sup> die mensis huius sollemnitas azymorum Domini est. VII diebus azyma comeditis<sup>9</sup>. Dies primus erit celeberrimus, sanctusque.”*

<sup>1</sup> uestrum C<sup>l</sup>.<sup>2</sup> facit M<sup>l</sup>.<sup>3</sup> -ret C.<sup>4</sup> uiuum M.<sup>5</sup> ministerium C. H<sub>1</sub>.<sup>6</sup> et or. C.<sup>7</sup> offerent M.<sup>8</sup> ipsain . . . est om. M<sup>l</sup> added on upper margin.<sup>9</sup> -ditis M.

Leuit. xxiii. 5-7



‘Si ergo fieri posset, ut semper in diem XV<sup>m</sup> primi mensis, id est in lunam XV<sup>m</sup> dominica dies incurreret, uno semper eodemque tempore cum antiquo Dei populo, quanquam sacramentorum genere discreto, sicut una eademque fide, pascha celebrare possemus. Quia uero dies septimanae non aequali cum luna tramite procurrit, decreuit apostolica traditio, quae per beatum Petrum Romae praedicata, per Marcum euangelistam et interpretem ipsius Alexandriae confirmata est, ut adueniente primo mense, adueniente in eo uespera diei XIII<sup>ae</sup>, expectetur etiam dies dominica, a XV<sup>a</sup> usque ad XXI<sup>m</sup> diem eiusdem mensis. In quacumque enim harum inuenta fuerit, merito in ea pascha celebrabitur; quia nimirum haec ad numerum pertinet illarum VII dierum, quibus azyma celebrari iubetur. Itaque fit<sup>1</sup>, ut numquam pascha nostrum a septimana mensis primi tertia in utramvis partem declinet; sed uel totam eam, id est omnes VII legalium | azymorum dies, uel certe aliquos de illis teneat. Nam etsi saltim unum ex eis, hoc est ipsum septimum adprehenderit, quem tam excellenter scriptura commendat: “Dies autem,” inquit<sup>2</sup>, “septimus erit<sup>1</sup> celebrior et sanctor, nullumque seruire opus fiet in eo”; nullus arguere nos poterit, quod non recte dominicum paschae diem, quem de euangelio suscepimus<sup>3</sup>, in ipsa, quam lex statuit, tertia primi mensis ebdomada celebremus.’

‘Cuius obseruantiae<sup>4</sup> catholica ratione patefacta, patet e contrario error inrationabilis eorum, qui praefixos in lege terminos, nulla cogente necessitate, uel anticipare uel transcendere praesumunt. Namque sine<sup>1</sup> ratione necessitatis alicuius anticipant illi tempus in lege praescriptum, qui dominicum paschae diem a XIII<sup>ae</sup> mensis primi usque ad XX<sup>m</sup> putant lunam esse seruandum. Cum enim a uespera diei XIII<sup>ae</sup> uigilias sanctae noctis celebrare incipiunt, claret, quod illam in exordio sui paschae diem

<sup>1</sup> fit, erit, sine, added on margin M.  
mus M.

<sup>4</sup> -tia M.

<sup>2</sup> inquit M.

<sup>3</sup> -cipi-

statuunt, cuius nullam omnino mentionem in decreto legis inueniunt. Et cum XXI<sup>a</sup> die mensis pascha dominicum celebrare refugiunt, patet profecto, quod illam per omnia diem a sua sollemnitate<sup>1</sup> secernunt, quam lex maiore prae ceteris festiuitate memorabilem saepenumero commendat; sicque diem paschae ordine peruerso, et aliquando in secunda ebdomada totam compleant, et numquam in ebdomadae tertiae die septima ponant; rursumque, qui a XVI<sup>a</sup> die mensis saepedicti usque ad XXII<sup>am</sup> pascha celebrandum magis autumant, non minore utique errore, tametsi altero latere a recto ueritatis tramite diuertunt, et ueluti naufragia Scyllae fugientes, in Charybdi<sup>2</sup> uoraginem submergendi decidunt. Nam cum a luna XVI<sup>a</sup> primi mensis oriente, id est a uespera diei XV<sup>ae</sup> pascha incipiendum doceant: nimirum constat, quia XIII<sup>am</sup> diem mensis eiusdem, quam lex primitus et praecipue commendat, a sua prorsus sollemnitate secludunt; ita ut XV<sup>ae</sup>, in qua populus Dei ab Aegyptia seruitute redemptus est, et in qua Dominus suo mundum sanguine a peccatorum tenebris liberauit, in qua etiam sepultus spem nobis post mortem beatae quietis tribuit, uix uesperam tangant.

‘Idemque poenam erroris sui in semet ipsos recipientes, Rom. i. 27. cum in XXII<sup>a</sup> die mensis paschae | diem statuunt domini- f. 121 a. cum, legitimos utique terminos paschae aperta transgressione uiolant, utpote qui ab illius diei uespera pascha incipiunt, in qua hoc lex consummari et perfici debere decreuit, illam in pascha diem adsignent primam, cuius in lege mentio nulla usquam repperitur, id est quartae primam septimanae. Qui utrique non solum in definitione<sup>3</sup> et computo lunaris aetatis, sed et in mensis primi nonnumquam inuentione falluntur. Quae disputatio maior est, quam epistula hac uel ualeat comprehendere, uel debeat. Tantum hoc dicam, quod per aequinoctium uernale semper inerra-

<sup>1</sup> -nite M.      <sup>2</sup> -rubdi, altered to -rybdi M; -ryfdi B -rypdi N; -rybdis C<sup>2</sup> on erasure.      <sup>3</sup> difin- M. C.

*biliter possit inueniri, qui mensis iuxta computum lunae primus anni, qui esse debeat ultimus. Aequinoctium autem iuxta sententiam omnium Orientalium et maxime Aegyptiorum, qui prae ceteris<sup>1</sup> doctoribus calculandi palmam tenent, XII Kalendarum Aprilium die prouenire consuevit, ut etiam ipsi horologica inspectione probamus. Quaecumque ergo luna ante aequinoctium plena est, XIII<sup>2</sup> uidelicet uel XV<sup>a</sup> existens, haec ad praecedentis anni nouissimum pertinet mensem, ideoque paschae celebrando habilis non est. Quae uero post aequinoctium, uel in ipso aequinoctio suum plenilunium habet, in hac absque ulla dubietate, quia primi mensis est, et antiquos pascha celebrare solitos, et nos, ubi dominica dies aduenerit, celebrare debere noscendum est. Quod ita fieri oportere illa*

Gen. i. 16. *nimirum ratio cogit, quia in Genesi scriptum est, quod “fecit Deus duo magna luminaria; luminare maius, ut praecesset diei; et luminare minus, ut praecesset nocti”; uel, sicut alia dicit editio, “luminare maius in inchoationem<sup>2</sup> diei, et luminare minus in inchoationem noctis.” Sicut ergo prius sol a medio procedens orientis, aequinoctium uernale suo praefixit exortu; deinde luna, sole ad uesperam occidente, et ipsa plena a medio secutu est orientis; ita omnibus annis idem primus lunae mensis eodem necesse est ordine seruari, ut non ante aequinoctium, sed uel ipso aequinoctii die, sicut in principio factum est, uel eo transcenso plenilunium habere debeat. At si uno saltim die plenilunium tempus aequinoctii praecesserit, non hanc primo mensi anni incipientis, sed ultimo potius praeteriti lunam esse adscribendam; et ideo festis paschalibus*

f. 121 b. *| inhabilem memorata ratio probat.*

‘Quod si mysticam quoque uos in his rationem audire delectat, primo mense anni, qui etiam mensis nouorum dictus est, pascha<sup>3</sup> facere iubemur; quia renouato ad amorem caelestium spiritu mentis nostrae, sacramenta dominicae resurrectionis et ereptionis nostrae celebrare

<sup>1</sup> -ribus M.<sup>2</sup> incoh- M.<sup>3</sup> pasca M.

debemus, tertia eiusdem mensis septimana facere praecipimur; quia ante legem et sub lege promissus, tertio tempore saeculi cum gratia uenit ipse, qui<sup>1</sup> pascha nostrum immolaretur Christus; quia tertia post immolationem suae passionis die resurgens a mortuis, hanc dominicam uocari, et in ea nos annuatim paschalia eiusdem resurrectionis uoluit festa celebrare; quia nos quoque ita solum ueraciter eius sollemnia celebramus, si per fidem, spem et caritatem pascha, id est transitum, de hoc mundo ad Patrem, cum illo facere curamus. Post aequinoctium ueris plenilunium mensis praecipimur obseruare paschalis; ut uidelicet primo sol longiorem nocte faciat diem, deinde luna plenum suae lucis orbem mundo praesentet; quia primo quidem sol iustitiae, in cuius pennis est sanitas, id est Dominus Iesus, per resurrectionis suae triumphum cunctas mortis tenebras superauit; ac sic ascendens in caelos, misso desuper Spiritu, ecclesiam suam, quae saepe lunae uocabulo designatur, internae gratiae luce repleuit. Quem uidelicet ordinem nostrae salutis propheta contemplatus aiebat: “Eleuatus est sol<sup>2</sup>, et luna stetit in ordine suo.”

1 Cor. v. 7.

cf. Ioh. xiii. 1.

Mal. iv. 2.

Habac. iii. 11.

‘Qui ergo plenitudinem lunae paschalis ante aequinoctium prouenire posse contenderit, talis in mysteriorum celebratione maximorum a sanctarum quidem scripturarum doctrina discordat; concordat autem eis, qui sine praeueniente gratia Christi se saluari posse confidunt; qui<sup>3</sup> etsi uera lux tenebras mundi moriendo ac resurgendo numquam uicisset, perfectam se habere posse iustitiam dogmatizare praesumunt. Itaque post aequinoctialem solis exortum<sup>4</sup>, post plenilunium primi mensis hunc ex ordine subsequens, id est post completam diem eiusdem mensis XIII<sup>um</sup>, quae cuncta ex lege obseruanda accepimus, expectamus adhuc monente euangelio in ipsa ebdomada tertia tempus diei dominicae, | et sic demum uotiuu paschae nostri festa celebramus, ut indicemus nos non cum antiquis

f. 122 a.

<sup>1</sup> insequi, for ipse qui C. O<sup>1</sup>. D<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> sol in ortu suo N.<sup>3</sup> quia M. <sup>4</sup> ortum B<sup>1</sup> ?.



*excussum Aegyptiae seruitutis iugum uenerari, sed redemptionem totius mundi, quae in antiqui Dei populi liberatione praefigurata, in Christi autem resurrectione completa est, deuota fide ac dilectione colere, utque resurrectionis etiam nostrae, quam eadem die dominica futuram credimus, spe nos certissima gaudere signemus.*

*‘Hic autem, quem uobis sequendum monstramus, computus paschae decennouenali circulo continetur; qui dudum quidem, hoc est ipsis apostolorum temporibus, iam seruari in ecclesia coepit, maxime Romae et Aegypti, ut supra iam diximus. Sed per industriam Eusebii, qui a beato martyre Pamphylo<sup>1</sup> cognomen habet, distinctius in ordinem compositus est; ut quod eatenus per Alexandriac pontificem singulis annis per omnes ecclesias mandari consuevit, iam deinde congesta in ordinem serie lunae XIII<sup>ae</sup> facillime posset ab omnibus sciri. Cuius computum paschalis Theophilus Alexandriae praesul in centum annorum tempus Theodosio imperatori composuit. Item successor eius Cyrillus seriem XC et V annorum in quinque decennouenalibus circulis comprehendit; post quem Dionysius Exiguus totidem alios ex ordine pari schemate subnexuit, qui ad nostra usque tempora pertingebant. Quibus termino adpropinquantibus, tanta hodie calculatorum exuberat copia, ut etiam in nostris per Britanniam ecclesiis plures sint, qui mandatis memoriae ueteribus<sup>2</sup> illis Aegyptiorum argumentis, facillime possint in quotlibet spatia temporum paschales protendere circulos, etiamsi ad quingentos usque et XXX duos uoluerint annos; quibus expletis, omnia, quae ad solis et lunae, mensis et septimanae consequentiam spectant, eodem, quo prius, ordine recurrunt. Ideo autem circulos eosdem temporum instantium uobis mittere supersedimus, quia de ratione tantum temporis paschalis instrui quaerentes, ipsos uobis circulos paschae catholicos abundare probastis.*

*‘Uerum his de pascha succincte, ut petisti, strictimque*

<sup>1</sup> pamphilio N.      <sup>2</sup> -ris M.



commemoratis, tonsuram quoque, de qua pariter vobis litteras fieri | uoluisti, hortor, ut ecclesiasticam et Chris- f. 122 b.  
tianae fidei congruam habere curetis. Et quidem scimus, quia neque apostoli omnes uno eodemque sunt modo ad-  
tonsi, neque nunc ecclesia catholica, sicut una fide, spe, et  
caritate in Deum consentit, ita etiam una atque indissimili  
totum per orbem tonsurae sibi forma congruit. Denique,  
ut superiora, id est patriarcharum, tempora respiciamus, Iob, exemplar patientiae, dum ingruente tribulationum Iob i. 20.  
articulo caput totondit, probauit utique, quia tempore  
felicitatis capillos nutrire consuevit. At Ioseph et ipse Gen. xli.  
castitatis, humilitatis, pietatis, ceterarumque uirtutum ex- 14.  
secutor ac doctor eximius, cum seruitio absoluendus adtonsus  
esse legitur, patet profecto, quia tempore seruitutis intonsis  
in carcere criminibus<sup>1</sup> manere solebat. Ecce uterque uir  
Dei diuersum ab altero uultus habitum foris praemonstra-  
bat, quorum tamen intus conscientia in parili uirtutum  
sibi gratia concordabat.

‘ Uerum, etsi profiteri nobis liberum est, quia tonsurae  
discrimen non noceat, quibus pura in Deum fides, et  
caritas in proximum sincera est; maxime cum numquam  
patribus catholicis sicut de paschae uel fidei diuersitate  
conflictus, ita etiam de tonsurae differentia legatur aliqua  
fuisse controuersia; inter omnes tamen, quas uel in eccle-  
sia, uel in uniuerso hominum genere repperimus tonsuras,  
nullam magis sequendam nobis amplectendamque iure  
dixerim ea<sup>1</sup>, quam in capite suo gestabat ille, cui se  
confitenti Dominus ait: “Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Matth.  
petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferni non xvi. 18, 19.  
praeualebunt aduersus eam; et tibi dabo claues regni  
caelorum”; nullam magis abominandam detestandamque  
merito cunctis fidelibus crediderim ea, quam habebat ille,  
cui gratiam Spiritus Sancti comparare uolenti dicit idem  
Petrus: “Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem, quoniam Act. viii.  
donum Dei existimasti per pecuniam possideri; non est 20, 21.

<sup>1</sup> M. wrote at first criminibus, eam.

tibi pars neque sors in sermone hoc." Neque uero ob id tantum in coronam adtondemur<sup>1</sup>, quia Petrus ita adtonsus est; sed quia Petrus in memoriam dominicae passionis ita adtonsus est, idcirco et nos, qui per eandem passionem saluari<sup>2</sup> desideramus, ipsius | passionis signum cum illo in uertice, summa uidelicet corporis nostri parte gestamus. Sicut enim omnis ecclesia, quia per mortem sui uiuificatoris ecclesia facta est, signum sanctae crucis eius in fronte portare consuevit ut crebro uexilli huius<sup>3</sup> munimine a malignorum spirituum defendatur incursibus; crebra huius<sup>3</sup> admonitione doceatur se quoque carnem suam cum uitiiis et concupiscentiis<sup>4</sup> crucifigere debere; ita etiam oportet eos, qui uel monachi uotum, uel gradum clericatus habentes, artioribus se necesse habent pro Domino continentiae frenis astringere, formam quoque coronae, quam ipse in passione<sup>5</sup> spineam portauit in capite, ut spinas ac tribulos peccatorum nostrorum portaret, id est exportaret et auferret a nobis, suo quemque in capite per tonsuram praeferre; ut se etiam inrisiones et obprobria pro illo libenter ac promte omnia sufferre ipso etiam frontispicio doceant; ut coronam uitae aeternae, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se, se semper expectare, proque huius perceptione et aduersa se mundi et prospera contemnere designent. Ceterum tonsuram eam, quam magum ferunt habuisse Simonem, quis, rogo, fidelium non statim cum ipsa magia primo detestetur et merito exsufflet aspectu? Quae in frontis quidem superficie coronae uidetur speciem praeferre; sed ubi ad ceruicem considerando perueneris, decurtatam eam, quam te uidere putabas, inuenies coronam; ut merito talem simoniacis et non Christianis habitum conuenire cognoscas<sup>6</sup>; qui in praesenti quidem uita a deceptis hominibus putabantur digni perpetuae gloriae coronae; sed in ea, quae hanc

<sup>1</sup> -dimur M. C. N. H<sub>1</sub>. W.<sup>2</sup> saluatoris C.<sup>3</sup> eius N.<sup>4</sup> -tis M.<sup>5</sup> -ne sua C.<sup>6</sup> agnoscas C.

*sequitur uitam, non solum omni spe coronae priuati, sed aeterna insuper sunt poena damnati.*

*\* Neque uero me haec ita prosecutum aestimes, quasi eos, qui hanc tonsuram habent, condemnandos<sup>1</sup> iudicem, si fide et operibus unitati catholicae fauerint; immo confidenter profiteor plurimos ex eis sanctos ac Deo dignos extitisse, ex quibus est<sup>2</sup> Adamnan, abbas et sacerdos Columbiensium egregius, qui cum legatus suae gentis ad Aldfridum regem missus, nostrum quoque monasterium uidere uoluisset, miramque in moribus ac uerbis prudentiam, humilitatem, religionem ostenderet, dixi illi inter alia conloquens: "Obsecro, sancte<sup>3</sup> frater, qui ad coronam te<sup>4</sup> uitae, quae terminum nesciat, tendere credis, quid contrario tuae fidei habitu terminatam in capite coronae imaginem portas? et si beati Petri consortium quaeris, cur eius, quem ille anathematizauit<sup>5</sup>, tonsurae imaginem imitaris? et non potius eius, cum quo in aeternum beatus uiuere cupis, etiam nunc habitum te, quantum potes, diligere monstras?" Respondit ille: "Scias pro certo, frater mi dilecte, quia etsi Simonis tonsuram ex consuetudine patria habeam, simoniacam<sup>6</sup> tamen perfidiam tota mente detestor ac respuo; beatissimi autem apostolorum principis, quantum mea paruitas sufficit, uestigia sequi desidero." At ego: "Credo," inquam, "uere, quod ita sit; sed tamen indicio fit, quod ea, quae apostoli Petri sunt, in abdito cordis amplectimini<sup>7</sup>, si quae eius esse nostis, etiam in facie tenetis. Namque prudentiam tuam facillime diiudicare reor, quod aptius multo sit, eius, quem corde toto abominaris, cuiusque horrendam faciem uidere refugis, habitum uultus<sup>8</sup> a tuo uultu Deo iam dicato separare<sup>9</sup>; et econtra eius, quem apud Deum habere patronum quaeris,*

f. 123 b.

<sup>1</sup> -natos M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>2</sup> est etiam N.    <sup>3</sup> domine N.    <sup>4</sup> te, added on margin M.    <sup>5</sup> eur . . . -auit om. C. D. &c. O<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>. R<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>; eur simoniacae O<sub>3</sub>; eur hostis eius O<sub>8</sub>.    <sup>6</sup> -nicam M    <sup>7</sup> con- plect- N.    <sup>8</sup> -tum M.    <sup>9</sup> seper- M.

*sicut facta uel monita cupis sequi, sic etiam morem habitus te imitari condeceat."*

*'Haec tunc Adamnano dixi, qui quidem quantum<sup>1</sup> conspectis ecclesiarum nostrarum statutis profecisset, probauit, cum reuersus ad Scottiam, multas postea gentis eiusdem turbas<sup>2</sup> ad catholicam temporis paschalis obseruantiam sua praedicatione correxit; tametsi eos, qui in Hii insula morabantur, monachos, quibusque speciali rectoris<sup>3</sup> iure praeerat, necdum ad uiam statuti melioris reducere ualebat. Tonsuram quoque, si tantum sibi auctoritatis subesset, emendare meminisset.*

*'Sed et tuam nunc prudentiam, rex, admoneo, ut ea, quae unitati catholicae et apostolicae ecclesiae concinnant, una cum gente, cui te Rex regum et Dominus dominorum praefecit, in omnibus seruare contendas. Sic enim fit, ut post acceptam temporalis regni potentiam ipse beatissimus apostolorum princeps caelestis quoque regni tibi tuisque cum ceteris electis libens pandat introitum. | Gratia te Regis aeterni longiori tempore regnantem ad nostram omnium pacem custodiat incolumem, dilectissime in Christo fili.'*

Haec epistula cum praesente rege Naitono<sup>4</sup> multisque uiris doctioribus esset lecta, ac diligenter ab his, qui intellegere poterant, in linguam eius propriam interpretata, multum de eius exhortatione gauisus esse perhibetur; ita ut exsurgens de medio optimatum suorum consessu, genua flecteret in terram, Deo gratias agens, quod tale munusculum de terra Anglorum mereretur accipere. 'Et quidem et antea noui,' inquit, 'quia haec erat uera paschae celebratio, sed in tantum modo rationem huius temporis obseruandi cognosco, ut parum mihi omnimodis uidear de his antea intellexisse. Unde palam profiteor uobisque, qui adsidetis, praesentibus protestor, quia hoc obseruare

Naiton  
enforce  
the Roman  
Easter and  
tonsure.

<sup>1</sup> quantum, added on margin M.      <sup>2</sup> turbas om. C and the a of  
multas altered into o; so O<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>3</sup> -ri M.      <sup>4</sup> naitano C.

Rev. xvii.  
14; cf.  
xix. 16.

f. 124 a.



tempus paschae cum uniuersa mea gente perpetuo uolo; hanc accipere debere<sup>1</sup> tonsuram, quam plenam esse rationis<sup>2</sup> audimus<sup>3</sup>, omnes, qui in meo regno sunt, clericos decerno.' Nec mora, quae dixerat, regia auctoritate perfecit. Statim namque iussu puplico mittebantur ad transcribendum, discendum, obseruandum, per uniuersas Pictorum prouincias circuli paschae decennouenales, oblitteratis per omnia erroneis LXXX et IIII annorum circulis. Adtondebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris ac<sup>4</sup> monachi; et quasi nouo se discipulatu beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri subditam, eiusque tutandam patrocinio gens correcta gaudebat<sup>5</sup>.

## CAP. XXII.

*Ut Hiienses monachi cum subiectis sibi monasteriis canonicum praedicante Ecgercto<sup>6</sup> celebrare pascha coeperint.*

Egbert con-  
verts the  
monks of  
Iona to the  
Roman  
Easter and  
tonsure,  
A. D. 716.

NEC multo post illi quoque, qui insulam Hii incolebant, monachi Scotticae nationis cum his, quae sibi erant subdita, monasteriis ad ritum paschae ac tonsurae canonicum Domino procurante perducti<sup>7</sup> sunt. Siquidem anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXVI, quo Osredo occiso Coenred<sup>8</sup> gubernacula regni Nordanhymbrorum suscepit, cum uenisset ad eos de Hibernia Deo amabilis, et cum omni honorificentia nominandus pater ac sacerdos, Ecgerct<sup>9</sup>, cuius superius memoriam saepius fecimus, honorifice ab eis et multo cum gaudio susceptus est. Qui<sup>10</sup> quoniam et doctor suauissimus, et eorum, quae agenda docebat, erat exsecutor deuotissimus, libenter auditus ab uniuersis, inmutauit piis | ac sedulis exhortationibus inueteratam illam traditionem parentum eorum, de quibus apostolicum illum licet proferre sermonem, quod aemulationem Dei habe-

f. 124 b.  
cf. 1 Pet.  
i. 18.  
Rom. x. 2.

<sup>1</sup> debere, *added on margin* M.    <sup>2</sup> rationis *om.* C. O<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>3</sub>. D. &c.  
<sup>3</sup> audiuius C.    <sup>4</sup> et M<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>5</sup> altaris . . . gaudebat, *added on the lower margin* B.    <sup>6</sup> -bercto C.    <sup>7</sup> pro- M.    <sup>8</sup> coinredo N.  
<sup>9</sup> -berht C.    <sup>10</sup> qui et M.



bant, sed non secundum scientiam ; catholicoque illos atque apostolico more celebrationem, ut diximus, praecipuae<sup>1</sup> sollemnitatis sub figura coronae perpetis agere perdocuit. Quod mira diuinae constat factum dispensatione pietatis, ut quoniam gens illa, quam nouerat scientiam diuinae cognitionis libenter ac sine inuidia populis Anglorum communicare curauit ; ipsa quoque postmodum per gentem Anglorum in eis, quae minus habuerat, ad perfectam uiuendi normam perueniret. Sicut econtra Brettones, qui nolebant Anglis eam, quam habebant, fidei Christianae notitiam pandere, credentibus iam populis Anglorum, et in regula fidei catholicae per omnia instructis, ipsi adhuc inueterati et claudicantes a semitis suis, et capita sine corona praetendunt, et sollemnia Christi sine ecclesiae Christi societate uenerantur.

Susceperunt autem Hiienses monachi docente Ecgbercto<sup>2</sup> ritus uiuendi catholicos sub abbate Duunchado<sup>3</sup>, post annos circiter LXXX, ex quo ad praedicationem gentis Anglorum Aidanum<sup>4</sup> miserant<sup>5</sup> antistitem. Mansit autem uir Domini Ecgberet<sup>6</sup> annos XIII in praefata insula, quam ipse uelut noua quadam relucente gratia ecclesiasticae societatis et pacis Christo consecrauerat ; annoque<sup>7</sup> dominicae incarnationis DCCXXVIII<sup>8</sup>, quo pascha<sup>9</sup> dominicum octauo Kalendarum Maiarum die celebrabatur<sup>10</sup>, cum missarum sollemnia in memoriam eiusdem dominicae resurrectionis celebrasset, eodem die et ipse migravit ad Dominum, ac gaudium summae festiuitatis, quod cum fratribus, quos ad unitatis gratiam conuerterat, inchoauit, cum Domino et apostolis, ceterisque caeli ciuibus conpleuit, immo id ipsum celebrare sine fine non desinit. Mira autem diuinae dispensatio prouisionis

His death.  
Easter, 729.

<sup>1</sup> -pue M.      <sup>2</sup> -berchto C ; -berecto N<sup>1</sup> (?).      <sup>3</sup> -c'h'ato N.

<sup>4</sup> aed- B<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>5</sup> -runt M<sup>1</sup>. C.      <sup>6</sup> -bercht C.      <sup>7</sup> anno quoque C.

<sup>8</sup> VIII. N.      <sup>9</sup> pasca M.      <sup>10</sup> -bratur C. B<sup>1</sup>.

erat, quod uenerabilis uir non solum in pascha transiuit de hoc mundo ad Patrem ; uerum etiam cum eo die pascha celebraretur, quo numquam prius in eis locis celebrari<sup>1</sup> solebat. Gaudebant ergo fratres de agnitione certa et catholica temporis paschalis ; laetabantur de patrocinio pergentis ad Dominum patris, per quem fuerant correcti ; | gratulabatur ille, quod f. 125 a. eatenus in carne seruatus est, donec illum in pascha diem suos auditores, quem semper antea uitabant, suscipere ac secum agere uideret. Sicque certus de illorum correctione reuerentissimus pater exsultauit, Ioh. viii. 56. ut uideret diem Domini ; uidit et gauisus est<sup>2</sup>.

## CAP. XXIII.

*Qui sit in praesenti status gentis Anglorum uel Britanniae totius.*

Death of  
Witred of  
Kent, A. D.  
725 ;

and of  
Tobias of  
Rochester,  
A. D. 726.

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCCXXV, qui erat annus<sup>3</sup> septimus Osrici regis Nordanhymbrorum, qui Coenredo successerat, Uictred<sup>4</sup> filius Ecgberecti<sup>5</sup>, rex Cantuariorum, defunctus est nono die Kalendarum Maiarum ; et regni, quod per XXXIII semis annos tenebat, filios tres, Aedilberctum<sup>6</sup>, Eadberctum<sup>7</sup>, et Alricum, reliquit heredes. Anno post quem proximo Tobias Hrofensis ecclesiae praesul defunctus est, uir, ut supra meminimus, doctissimus. Erat enim discipulus beatae memoriae magistrorum Theodori archiepiscopi, et abbatis Hadriani ; unde, ut dictum est, cum eruditione litterarum uel ecclesiasticarum uel generalium, ita Grecam quoque cum Latina didicit linguam, ut tam notas ac familiares sibi eas quam natiuitatis suae loquellam haberet. Sepultus uero est in porticu sancti Pauli apostoli, quam intro ecclesiam

<sup>1</sup> -re C. B'.    <sup>2</sup> gratulabatur . . . gauisus est om. N.    <sup>3</sup> annus om. M. H'.    <sup>4</sup> uiictred N ; uiichred C<sup>1</sup> ; uiichtred C<sup>2</sup>.  
<sup>5</sup> -bercti N ; defective in C. B.    <sup>6</sup> -berhtum C.    <sup>7</sup> -berchtum C.

sancti Andreae sibi ipse in locum sepulchri fecerat. Post quem episcopatus officium Alduulf, Berctualdo <sup>1</sup> archiepiscopo consecrante, suscepit.

Anno dominicae incarnationis DCCXXVIII apparuerunt cometae duae circa solem, multum intuentibus terrorem incutientes. Una quippe solem praecedebat, mane orientem; altera uespere sequebatur occidentem, quasi orienti simul et occidenti dirae cladis praesagae; uel certe una diei, altera noctis praecurrebat <sup>2</sup> exortum, ut utroque tempore mala mortalibus imminere signarent. Portabant autem facem <sup>3</sup> ignis contra Aquilonem <sup>4</sup>, quasi ad accendendum adclinem; apparebantque mense Ianuario, et duabus ferme septimanis permanebant. Quo tempore grauissima Sarracenorum lues Gallias misera caede <sup>5</sup> uastabat, et ipsi non multo post in eadem prouincia dignas suae perfidiae poenas luebant. Quo anno sanctus uir Domini Ecgberct <sup>6</sup>, ut supra commemorauimus, ipso die paschae migravit ad Dominum; et mox, peracto pascha, hoc est VII<sup>a</sup> Iduum Maiarum <sup>7</sup> die, Osric <sup>8</sup> rex Nordanhymbrorum uita decessit, cum ipse regni, quod XI annis gubernabat, successorem fore Ceolulfum <sup>9</sup> decreuisset, fratrem illius, qui ante se regnauerat, Coenredi regis, cuius regni et principia <sup>10</sup> et processus tot ac tantis redundauere rerum aduersantium motibus, ut, quid de his scribi debeat, quemue habitura sint finem singula, necdum sciri ualeat.

Anno dominicae incarnationis DCCXXXI, Berctuald <sup>11</sup> archiepiscopus longa consumtus <sup>12</sup> aetate defunctus est die Iduum <sup>13</sup> Ianuariarum; qui sedit annos XXXVII,

Two  
Comets,  
A. D. 720.

The Saracens in  
Gaul.

Death of  
Osric.  
Ceolwulf  
succeeds,  
Apr. 25, 720.

Death of  
Bertwald,  
Jan. 731;  
Tatwin  
succeeds.

<sup>1</sup> bercht- C.    <sup>2</sup> -curebat M.    <sup>3</sup> faciem N.    <sup>4</sup> aquilonalem M.    <sup>5</sup> sic C; cede B. N; clade M. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>6</sup> -berht C.    <sup>7</sup> idus M<sub>ai</sub> C.    <sup>8</sup> osrio N.    <sup>9</sup> ceolulfum C.    <sup>10</sup> et principia, added on margin M.    <sup>11</sup> berchtuald C.    <sup>12</sup> consummatum M. H<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>13</sup> die v. Iduum. C. (the i above the line being perhaps by a later hand); die v. Iduum. O<sub>1-4</sub>. O<sub>6</sub>. O<sub>16-20</sub>. D. &c. þy fiftan dæge Id. AS.

menses VI, dies XIII; pro quo anno eodem factus est archiepiscopus, uocabulo Tatuini<sup>1</sup>, de prouincia Merciorum, cum fuisset presbyter in monasterio, quod uocatur Briudun<sup>2</sup>. Consecratus est autem in Doru- uerni<sup>3</sup> ciuitate a uiris uenerabilibus Danihele<sup>4</sup> Uentano, et Ingualdo<sup>5</sup> Lundoniensi, et Alduino Lyccitfeldensi<sup>6</sup>, et Alduulfo<sup>7</sup> Hrofensi<sup>8</sup> antistitibus, die decima Iunii mensis, dominica; uir religione et prudentia insignis, sacris quoque litteris nobiliter instructus.

Condition  
of the Eng-  
lish Church  
in A. D. 731.

Itaque in praesenti ecclesiis Cantuariorum Tatuini<sup>1</sup> et Alduulf episcopi praesunt. Porro prouinciae Orientalium Saxonum Inguald<sup>5</sup> episcopus; prouinciae Orientalium Anglorum Aldberct<sup>9</sup> et Hadulae episcopi; prouinciae Occidentalium Saxonum Danihel et Fortheri<sup>10</sup> episcopi; prouinciae Merciorum Alduini<sup>1</sup> episcopus; et eis populis, qui ultra amnem Sabrinam ad occidentem habitant, Ualehstod<sup>11</sup> episcopus; prouinciae Huicciorum Ulfrid episcopus; prouinciae Lindisfarorum Cyniberct<sup>12</sup> episcopus praeest. Episcopatus Uectae insulae ad Danihelem pertinet episcopum Uentae ciuitatis. Prouincia Australium Saxonum iam aliquot<sup>13</sup> annis<sup>14</sup> absque episcopo manens ministerium sibi episcopale ab Occidentalium Saxonum antistite quaerit. Et hae omnes prouinciae ceteraeque<sup>15</sup> australes ad confinium usque Hymbrae<sup>16</sup> fluminis cum suis quaeque regibus Merciorum regi Aedilbaldo<sup>17</sup> subiectae sunt.

At uero prouinciae Nordanhymbrorum, cui rex Ceoluulf<sup>18</sup> praeest, IIII nunc episcopi praesulatum tenent; Ulfrid<sup>19</sup> in Eburacensi ecclesia, Ediluald<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -uine C.    <sup>2</sup> -duun C. N.    <sup>3</sup> doruerni C.    <sup>4</sup> danihele C.

<sup>5</sup> inguuald- C.    <sup>6</sup> liccit- C. B; -feldelsi N.    <sup>7</sup> aldulfo C.

<sup>8</sup> rof- C; rhof- B.    <sup>9</sup> alberet N; aldbercht C<sup>1</sup>; eald- C<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> -re C.    <sup>11</sup> uualstod C; ualh- B.    <sup>12</sup> -bercht C.    <sup>13</sup> aliquo

M.    <sup>14</sup> annis om. M.    <sup>15</sup> cetera 'que' M.    <sup>16</sup> humbrae C. B.

<sup>17</sup> aedil- C<sup>2</sup> (?).    <sup>18</sup> ceoluulf C.    <sup>19</sup> uuil- C.    <sup>20</sup> ediluald N;

aediluuuld C.

in Lindisfaronensi<sup>1</sup>, Acca in Hagustaldensi<sup>2</sup>, Pecthelm<sup>3</sup> in ea, quae Candida Casa uocatur, quae nuper, multiplicatis fidelium plebibus, in sedem pontificatus addita ipsum primum habet antistitem.

f. 126 R.

Pictorum quoque natio tempore hoc et foedus pacis cum gente habet Anglorum, | et catholicae pacis ac ueritatis cum uniuersali ecclesia particeps existere gaudet. Scotti, qui Brittaniam incolunt, suis contenti finibus nil contra gentem Anglorum insidiarum moliuntur aut fraudium. Brettones, quamuis et maxima ex parte domestico sibi odio gentem Anglorum, et totius catholicae ecclesiae statum pascha minus recto, moribusque inprobis inpugnent; tamen et diuina sibi et humana prorsus resistente uirtute, in neutro cupitum possunt obtinere propositum; quippe qui quamuis ex parte sui sint iuris, nonnulla tamen ex parte Anglorum sunt seruitio mancipati.

Relations  
with the  
Picts,  
Scots, and  
Britons.

Qua adridente pace ac serenitate temporum, plures in gente Nordanhymbrorum, tam nobiles, quam priuati, se suosque liberos, depositis armis, satagunt magis, accepta tonsura, monasterialibus adscribere uotis, quam bellicis exercere studiis. Quae res quem sit habitura finem, posterior aetas uidebit.

Growth of  
Monastic-  
ism.

Hic est inpraesentiarum uniuersae status Britanniae, anno aduentus Anglorum in Brittaniam circiter ducentesimo octogesimo quinto, dominicae autem incarnationis anno DCCXXXI; in cuius regno perpetuo exsultet terra, et congratulante in fide eius Brittaniam, laetentur insulae multae, et confiteantur memoriae sanctitatis eius.

Ps. xvi.

1.  
Ps. xxix.

4.

<sup>1</sup> -farnensi N.<sup>2</sup> ag- N.<sup>3</sup> pecht- C.



## CAP. XXIV.

*Recapitulatio chronica totius operis ; et de persona auctoris.*

Chrono-  
logical  
Summary.

UERUM ea, quae temporum distinctione latius digesta sunt, ob memoriam conseruandam breuiter recapitulari placuit.

Anno igitur ante incarnationem dominicam sexagesimo Gaius Iulius Caesar primus Romanorum Britannias<sup>1</sup> bello pulsauit, et uicit, nec tamen ibi regnum potuit obtinere.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini XLVI, Claudius secundus Romanorum Britannias adiens, plurimam insulae partem in deditionem recepit, et Orcadas quoque insulas Romano adiecit imperio.

Anno incarnationis dominicae CLXVII, Eleuther Romae<sup>2</sup> praesul factus XV annos ecclesiam gloriosissime rexit, cui litteras rex Britanniae Lucius mittens, ut Christianus efficeretur, petiit et inpetrauit.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini CLXXXVIII, Seuerus imperator factus XVII annis regnauit, qui Britanniam uallo a mari usque ad mare praecinxit.

Anno CCCLXXXI, Maximus in Brittania creatus imperator, in Galliam transiit, et Gratianum interfecit.

Anno CCCCVIII, Roma a Gothis fracta, ex quo tempore Romani in Brittania regnare cessarunt.

Anno CCCCLXXX, Palladius ad Scottos in Christum credentes a Caelestino papa primus<sup>3</sup> mittitur episcopus.

Anno CCCCLVIII, Marcianus cum Ualentiniano imperium suscipiens, VII annis tenuit, quorum tempore Angli a Brettonibus accersiti<sup>4</sup> Britanniam adierunt.

<sup>1</sup> -niam N.

<sup>2</sup> romanae M. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> primus om. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> arcesiti M.

Anno DXXXVIII, eclypsis<sup>1</sup> solis<sup>2</sup> facta est XIII. Kalendas Martias, ab hora prima usque ad tertiam.

Anno DXL, eclypsis solis facta XII. Kalendas Iulias<sup>3</sup>, et apparuerunt stellae pene hora dimidia ab hora diei tertia.

Anno DXLVII, Ida regnare coepit, a quo regalis Nordanhymbrorum prosapia originem tenet, et XII annis in regno permansit.

iii. 4. Anno DLXV, Columba presbyter de Scottia uenit Brittaniam, ad docendos Pictos, et in insula Hii monasterium fecit.

i. 23. Anno DXCVI, Gregorius papa misit Brittaniam Augustinum<sup>4</sup> cum monachis, qui uerbum Dei genti Anglorum euangelizarent.

i. 25. Anno DXCVII, uenere Brittaniam praefati doctores, qui fuit annus plus minus CL<sup>5</sup> aduentus Anglorum in Brittaniam.

i. 29. Anno DCI, misit papa Gregorius pallium Brittaniam Augustino iam facto episcopo, et plures uerbi ministros, in quibus et Paulinum.

i. 34. Anno DCIII, pugnatum ad Degsastanæ<sup>6</sup>.

ii. 3. Anno DCIIII, Orientales Saxones fidem Christi percipiunt sub rege Sabercto<sup>7</sup> antistite Mellito.

ii. 1. Anno DCV, Gregorius obiit.

ii. 5. Anno DCXVI, Aedilberct<sup>8</sup> rex Cantuariorum defunctus est.

ii. 9. Anno DCXXV, Paulinus a Iusto archiepiscopo ordinatur genti Nordanhymbrorum antistes.

ib. Anno DCXXVI, Eanfled, filia Aeduini<sup>9</sup> regis, baptizata cum XII in sabbato pentecostes.

ii. 14. Anno DCXXVII, Eduini<sup>10</sup> rex baptizatus cum sua gente in pascha.

<sup>1</sup> ecleypsis, altered to eclypsis M.      <sup>2</sup> solis, added on margin M, at the end of line. H<sub>1</sub> inserts solis after tertiam.      <sup>3</sup> iulii C.      <sup>4</sup> ag-C.

<sup>5</sup> annus CL. M. H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>6</sup> daegsa- C; -ne C. N; daigestane O<sub>2</sub>; daysastagne O<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>7</sup> saeberchto C; sigberchto D. &c. O<sub>2</sub>.      <sup>8</sup> -bercht C; -bere N.      <sup>9</sup> eduini N; eduuini C.

<sup>10</sup> eduuine C.

Anno DCXXXIII, Eduine rege peremto, Paulinus ii. 20.  
Cantium rediit.

Anno DCXL, Eadbald <sup>1</sup> rex Cantuariorum obiit. iii. 8.

Anno DCXLII, Osuald rex occisus. iii. 9.

Anno DCXLIII, Paulinus, quondam Eboraci <sup>2</sup>, iii. 14.  
sed tunc Hrofensis antistes ciuitatis, migravit ad  
Dominum.

Anno DCLI, Osuini <sup>3</sup> rex occisus, et Aidan episcopus ib.  
defunctus est.

Anno DCLIII <sup>4</sup>, Middilangli <sup>5</sup> sub principe Peada iii. 21.  
fidei mysteriis <sup>6</sup> sunt inbuti.

| Anno DCLV, Penda periit <sup>7</sup>, et Mercii sunt facti f. 127 a.  
iii. 24.  
Christiani <sup>8</sup>.

Anno DCLXIII <sup>9</sup>, eclypsis facta; Earconberet <sup>10</sup> rex iii. 26 28.  
iv. 1.  
Cantuariorum defunctus, et Colman cum Scottis ad  
suos reuersus est; et pestilentia uenit; et Ceadda ac  
Uilfrid <sup>11</sup> Nordanhybrorum ordinantur episcopi <sup>12</sup>.

Anno DCLXVIII, Theodorus ordinatur episcopus. ib.

Anno DCLXX <sup>13</sup>, Osui rex Nordanhybrorum iv. 5.  
obiit <sup>14</sup>.

Anno DCLXXIII, Ecgberet <sup>15</sup> rex Cantuariorum obiit; ib.  
et synodus facta est ad Herutforda <sup>16</sup>, praesente Ecg-  
frido rege, praesidente archiepiscopo Theodoro, utillima,  
X capitulorum.

Anno DCLXXV, Uulfheri <sup>17</sup> rex Merciorum, post-  
quam XVII annos regnauerat, defunctus, Aedilredo <sup>18</sup>  
fratri reliquit imperium.

<sup>1</sup> eadwald O<sub>2</sub>. *The whole annal omitted* O<sub>3</sub>. <sup>2</sup> ebur- N. <sup>3</sup> -ne  
C. <sup>4</sup> DCLVI W. O<sub>2</sub>. <sup>5</sup> -engli N; -aengli C. <sup>6</sup> minis-  
teriis H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>7</sup> penda rex merciorum occisus est C. <sup>8</sup> *here*  
*a later hand in C. has inserted anno LXLVIII (meaning DCLVIII)*  
Wulf[here] suble[uatus] in regem: and this with the right date,  
and 'regnum' for regem is in the text of W. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>. D. &c.  
<sup>9</sup> DCLXVII W. O<sub>2</sub>. <sup>10</sup> -berht C. <sup>11</sup> -frið C. <sup>12</sup> Anno DCLXVII<sup>o</sup>  
nŕ aþþ sċri [noster abbas scripsit], insert W. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>. D. &c. *erased*  
*in H<sub>2</sub>*. <sup>13</sup> DCLXVIII C. <sup>14</sup> Ecgfrid regnum suscepit, add W.  
O<sub>2</sub>. D. &c. <sup>15</sup> -berht C; -bere N. <sup>16</sup> herud- C. N. <sup>17</sup> -re C.  
<sup>18</sup> ædil- N; æðel- C; æthelfrido W.

- iv. 12. Anno DCLXXVI, Aedilred<sup>1</sup> uastauit Cantiam.
- ib.; v. 10. Anno DCLXXVIII<sup>2</sup>, cometa apparuit; Uilfrid episcopus a sede sua pulsus est ab Ecgfrido rege; et pro eo Bosa, Eata, et Eadhaeth<sup>3</sup> consecrati antistites<sup>4</sup>.
- iv. 21. Anno DCLXXVIII, Ælfuini<sup>5</sup> occisus.
- iv. 17, 18. Anno DCLXXX, synodus facta in campo Haethfeltha<sup>6</sup> de fide catholica, praesidente archiepiscopo Theodoro; in quo adfuit Iohannes abba Romanus.
- iv. 23. Quo anno Hild abbatissa in Streanæshalæ<sup>7</sup> obiit.
- iv. 26. Anno DCLXXXV, Ecgfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum occisus est. Anno eodem Hlothri<sup>8</sup> rex Cantuariorum obiit<sup>9</sup>.
- v. 7. Anno DCLXXXVIII, Caeduald<sup>10</sup> rex Occidentalium Saxonum Romam de Brittania pergit.
- v. 8. Anno DCXC, Theodorus archiepiscopus obiit<sup>11</sup>.
- Anno DCXCVII, Osthryd<sup>12</sup> regina a suis, id est Merciorum, primatibus interemta<sup>13</sup>.
- Anno DCXCVIII, Beretred dux regius Nordanhymbrorum a Pictis interfectus<sup>13</sup>.
- v. 19. Anno DCCIII<sup>14</sup>, Aedilred<sup>15</sup>, postquam XXXI<sup>16</sup> annos

<sup>1</sup> ædil- N; æðil- C.      <sup>2</sup> the last digit seems to have been added later in M.      <sup>3</sup> -haet C; -hæt N<sup>1</sup>; -heth N<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> antistes C.      <sup>5</sup> aelbuini N; aelfwine C.      <sup>6</sup> -feldo N; haetfelda C.      <sup>7</sup> -hele N; -neshale C; streoneshale W. O<sub>2</sub>.      <sup>8</sup> -re C. N.

<sup>9</sup> Anno DCLXXXVI, Wilfridus in sedem suam receptus est ab Alfrido rege, *adit* D. O<sub>9</sub>. &c. Anno DCLXXXVII, Wilfrid a sede repulsus ab Ecgfrido rege, *insert* W. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>.      <sup>10</sup> ceadualla C. W. O<sub>2</sub>; cædualla N.      <sup>11</sup> Anno DCXCII [Wilfridus episcopus] ab Alfrido rege iterum expulsus est, et XIII annos exulabat, et primo Romam adiit, et inde rediit, et in Mediterraneorum Anglorum regione morabatur, multaque diu loca peruagatus, Romam adiit, Brettaniam et [et Brit. O<sub>19</sub>; et om. D; et inde O<sub>9</sub>] rediit; diuertens ad [prouinciam *adit* D<sup>2</sup>] Australium Saxonum [-les -nes O<sub>19</sub><sup>1</sup> pagano [-ne O<sub>19</sub>] adhuc cultura [-rae, O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>; cultui D<sup>2</sup>] dediti, [-tos O<sub>19</sub>. -tam D<sup>2</sup>] illis [ibi, D. O<sub>9</sub>] in illa patria per V annos docebat euangelium *insert* W. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>. D. &c. A later hand in O<sub>2</sub> has attempted various corrections, not very successfully.      <sup>12</sup> ostryd N.      <sup>13</sup> This annal is omitted by C. W. O<sub>2</sub>-4. D. &c.      <sup>14</sup> DCCIII W. O<sub>2</sub>. D. &c.      <sup>15</sup> ædil- N.      <sup>16</sup> XXX C.

Merciorum genti praefuit, monachus factus Coenredo<sup>1</sup> regnum dedit.

Anno DCCV, Aldfrid<sup>2</sup> rex Nordanhymbrorum de- v. 18.  
functus est<sup>3</sup>.

Anno DCCVIII, Coenred<sup>4</sup> rex Merciorum, post- v. 19.  
quam V annos regnavit<sup>5</sup>, Romam pergit<sup>6</sup>.

Anno DCCXI, Beretfrid<sup>7</sup> praefectus cum Pictis  
pugnauit.

Anno DCCXVI<sup>8</sup>, Osred rex Nordanhymbrorum v. 22.  
interfectus, et rex Merciorum Ceolred defunctus; et  
uir Domini Ecgberet<sup>9</sup> Hienses<sup>10</sup> monachos ad catho-  
licum pascha et ecclesiasticam correxit tonsuram.

Anno DCCXXV<sup>11</sup>, Uictred<sup>12</sup> rex Cantuariorum obiit. v. 23.

Anno DCCXXVIII, cometae apparuerunt, sanctus ib.  
Ecgberet<sup>13</sup> transiit, Osric mortuus est.

Anno DCCXXXI, Beretuald<sup>14</sup> archiepiscopus obiit. ib.

Anno eodem Tatuini<sup>15</sup> consecratus archiepiscopus nonus  
Doruuernensis ecclesiae, | Aedilbaldo rege Merciorum f. 127 b.  
XV. agente annum inperii<sup>16</sup>.

Haec<sup>17</sup> de historia ecclesiastica Brittaniarum, et maxime

<sup>1</sup> coin- N. <sup>2</sup> Al'h'frid W. O<sub>2</sub>. <sup>3</sup> et Osred regnum sus[cepit]; et  
Wilfrid epis [copus] in suam recep [tus est] sed [em], adds C;  
et Osred regnum suscepit; et Wilfrid episcopus in suam receptus  
est sedem, et IIII<sup>or</sup> annos, id est usque ad diem obitus sui,  
uitam duxit [ducit, O<sub>9</sub>] in pace, et sicque [et erased D; que om.  
O<sub>19</sub>] eximius [uir inserts D; uir uitae O<sub>19</sub> for uirtute] uirtute  
uenerabilis uictor conscendit altithronum, add W. O<sub>2</sub>. D. &c.

<sup>4</sup> conred N. <sup>5</sup> -abit M. at this point ends MS. B. imperfectly.

<sup>6</sup> This annal is omitted by C. W. O<sub>2</sub>. D. &c. <sup>7</sup> berht- C;  
beretid N; berhtferht W; -ferth O<sub>2</sub>. <sup>8</sup> XIII N.

<sup>9</sup> -berht C. <sup>10</sup> hienses C. N. <sup>11</sup> XXII N. <sup>12</sup> uicht- C.

<sup>13</sup> -berht C; -ber'c't N. <sup>14</sup> berhtwald C. <sup>15</sup> -uine C.

<sup>16</sup> nonus . . . inperii om. C. W. O<sub>1-3</sub>. O<sub>3-6</sub>. O<sub>8-11</sub>. P. H<sub>2</sub>. R<sub>1</sub>, which  
then give annals 733, 734, as far as 'reuersa' (p. 361), and then  
the following paragraph: haec de historia, &c. O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> has inserted the  
omitted portions on the margin: hence they are in the text of H<sub>3</sub> and Ar.  
They also insert the whole of the annals 731 to 734 from p. 361. In A<sub>3</sub>.  
the whole of the additional matter which it contains pp. 361-3 is inserted  
at this point.

<sup>17</sup> D. &c. make a new chapter, xxv, begin here.



gentis Anglorum, prout uel ex litteris antiquorum, uel ex traditione maiorum, uel ex mea ipse cognitione scire potui, Domino adiuuante digessi Baeda<sup>1</sup> famulus Christi, et presbyter monasterii beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli<sup>2</sup>, quod est ad Uiuraemuda<sup>3</sup>, et In-gyruum.

Qui natus in territorio eiusdem monasterii, cum essem annorum septem, cura propinquorum datus sum educandus reuerentissimo abbati Benedicto, ac deinde Ceolfrido; cunctumque ex eo tempus uitae in eiusdem monasterii habitatione peragens, omnem meditandis scripturis operam dedi; atque inter obseruantiam disciplinae regularis, et cotidianam cantandi in ecclesia curam, semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere dulce habui.

Notice of  
the author  
and his  
works.

Nono decimo autem uitae meae anno diaconatum, tricesimo gradum presbyteratus, utrumque per ministerium reuerentissimi episcopi Iohannis, iubente Ceolfrido abbate, suscepi.

Ex quo tempore accepti presbyteratus usque ad annum<sup>4</sup> aetatis meae LVIII, haec in<sup>5</sup> scripturam sanctam meae meorumque<sup>6</sup> necessitati ex opusculis uenerabilium patrum breuiter adnotare, siue etiam ad formam sensus et interpretationis eorum superadidicere curaui<sup>7</sup>:

‘In principium Genesis, usque ad natiuitatem Isaac et eiectionem<sup>8</sup> Ismahelis, libros IIII<sup>9</sup>.

De tabernaculo et uasis eius, ac uestibus sacerdotum, libros III.

In primam partem Samuelis<sup>10</sup>, id est usque ad mortem Saulis, libros III<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> beada C. but with the former a erased; beda W. O<sub>2</sub>. <sup>2</sup> et pauli om. W. O<sub>2</sub>. <sup>3</sup> uuiurae- C; uiuremunda W; uiuremuda O<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> ad annum om. W. O<sub>2</sub>. <sup>5</sup> in om. M. <sup>6</sup> que om. M. <sup>7</sup> here ends Bu<sub>1</sub>. <sup>8</sup> iectionem M. N (?); isaac adiectionis W. O<sub>2</sub>. <sup>9</sup> III W. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>4</sub>; II O<sub>3</sub>. <sup>10</sup> -h’elis M<sup>2</sup> (?).

<sup>11</sup> IIII C. O<sub>2</sub>-4. D. &c. AS; in primam . . . III om. N.

Opp. vii.  
1-224.

ib. 225-  
367.

vii. 368-  
viii. 231.

- De aedificatione templi, allegoricae<sup>1</sup> expositionis, viii. 262-359.  
sicut et cetera, libros II.
- Item, in Regum librum XXX quaestionum. viii. 232-261.
- In Prouerbia Salomonis libros III. ix. 53-185.
- In Cantica canticorum libros VII<sup>2</sup>. ib. 186-404.
- In Isaïam, Danihelem, XII prophetas, et partem Hieremiae, distinctiones capitulorum ex tractatu beati Hieronimi excerptas<sup>3</sup>.
- In Ezram et Neemiam libros III. viii. 360-ix. 52.
- In Canticum Habacum librum I<sup>4</sup>. ix. 405-426.
- In librum beati patris Tobiae explanationis allegoricae de Christo et ecclesia librum I<sup>5</sup>. ib. 427-444.
- Item, Capitula lectionum in Pentateucum Mosi, Iosue, Iudicum ;
- In libros Regum et Uerba dierum ;
- In librum beati patris Iob ;
- In Parabolas, Ecclesiasten, et Cantica canticorum ;
- In Isaïam prophetam, Ezram quoque<sup>6</sup> et Neemiam.
- In euangelium Marci libros IIII. x. 1-264.
- In euangelium Lucae libros VI. x. 265-xi.
- Omeliarum euangelii libros II. v.
- In apostolum quaecumque in opusculis sancti Augustini<sup>7</sup> exposita inueni, | cuncta per ordinem transcribere curauit. f. 128 a.
- In Actus apostolorum libros II. xii. 1-95.
- In Epistulas VII catholicas libros singulos<sup>8</sup>. ib. 157-336.
- In Apocalypsin sancti Iohannis libros III. ib. 337-452.
- Item, Capitula lectionum in totum nouum testamentum, excepto euangelio.
- Item librum epistularum ad diuersos : quarum de i. 144-154.  
sex aetatibus saeculi una est ; de mansionibus filiorum i. 198-202.  
Israel una ; una de eo, quod ait Isaïas : ' Et claudentur Is. xxiv.  
22.

<sup>1</sup> allig- M.    <sup>2</sup> VI C. W. O<sub>2-4</sub>. D. &c. AS.    <sup>3</sup> in isaïam . . .  
excerptas om. C. W. O<sub>2-4</sub>. D. &c. AS. *reinserted by* O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar.

<sup>4</sup> abaeue I. W. O<sub>2</sub>.    <sup>5</sup> libros II N.    <sup>6</sup> here ends R<sub>1</sub> imperfectly.

<sup>7</sup> ag- C.    <sup>8</sup> libros III O<sub>1</sub>, (not W).

i. 203-214. ibi in carcerem, et post dies multos uisitabantur ;' de  
vi. 222-4 ;  
i. 155-164. ratione bissexti una ; de aequinoctio iuxta Anatolium  
una.

iv. 173-  
201. Item de historiis sanctorum : librum uitae et pas-  
sionis<sup>1</sup> sancti Felicis confessoris de metrico Paulini  
opere in prosam transtuli ; librum uitae et passionis<sup>1</sup>  
sancti Anastasii, male de Greco<sup>2</sup> translatus, et peius  
a quodam inperito emendatum, prout potui, ad sensum  
correxī ; uitam sancti patris monachi simul et antistitis  
Cudberti<sup>3</sup>, et prius heroico metro et postmodum plano  
sermone, descripsi<sup>4</sup>.

i. 1-34.  
iv. 202-  
357.  
iv. 358-  
401. Historiam abbatum monasterii huius, in quo supernae  
pietati deseruire gaudeo, Benedicti, Ceolfridi, et Huaet-  
bereti<sup>5</sup> in libellis duobus.

ii. iii. Historiam ecclesiasticam nostrae insulae ac gentis in  
libris V.

iv. 16-172. Martyrologium de nataliciis<sup>6</sup> sanctorum martyrum  
diebus ; in quo omnes, quos inuenire potui, non solum  
qua die, uerum etiam quo genere certaminis, uel sub  
quo<sup>7</sup> iudice mundum uicerint, diligenter adnotare  
studui.

i. 54-104. Librum hymnorum diuerso metro siue rhythmō.

Librum epigrammatum heroico metro, siue ele-  
giaco<sup>8</sup>.

vi. 99-342. De natura rerum, et de temporibus libros singulos ;  
item de temporibus librum I maiorem.

vi. 1-39. Librum de orthographia, alfabeti<sup>9</sup> ordine dis-  
tinctum.

vi. 40-98. Item librum de metrica arte, et huic adiectum alium  
de schematibus siue tropis libellum, hoc est de figuris

<sup>1</sup> confessionis O<sub>4</sub>. <sup>2</sup> mali de metro H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>3</sup> -berhti C ; -berti  
N. <sup>4</sup> C. at first wrote decon- then erased de- ; conscripsi O<sub>4</sub>. <sup>5</sup> huēt-  
C ; huet- N ; huc- O<sub>3</sub>. O<sub>4</sub>. <sup>6</sup> here end O<sub>5</sub>. O<sub>14</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>. <sup>7</sup> at this  
point ends MS. C. imperfectly, a folio being probably lost. A later hand  
has added the word princeps and then continues : in suis quique  
prouinciis . . . inueniam. Amen. v. p. 8. <sup>8</sup> ilaico W<sup>1</sup> ;  
eliaco W<sup>2</sup>. O<sub>3</sub>. <sup>9</sup> alfabeti M.

modisque locutionum, quibus scriptura sancta contexta est<sup>1</sup>.’

The  
author's  
prayer.

Teque deprecor, bone Iesu<sup>2</sup>, ut cui propitius donasti uerba tuae scientiae dulciter haurire, dones etiam benignus aliquando ad te fontem omnis sapientiae peruenire, et parere semper ante faciem tuam<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Here ends R<sub>2</sub>.                      <sup>2</sup> here ends O<sub>3</sub> imperfectly.                      <sup>3</sup> The last paragraph of the Preface: ‘praeterea omnes . . . inueniam’ p. 8, is omitted there and inserted here in the following MSS.: W. O<sup>1</sup>. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>4</sub>. O<sub>6</sub>. O<sub>8-12</sub>. O<sup>2</sup><sub>14</sub>. O<sub>15-20</sub>. D. H<sub>2</sub>. [He.] P. A<sub>2</sub>. A<sub>5</sub>. Bu<sub>2</sub>. S. The following MSS. are imperfect here, but originally contained the clause at this point: C. O<sub>3</sub>. O<sub>13</sub>. R<sub>1</sub>. The following MSS never were complete at this point: Bu<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>5</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>. O<sup>1</sup><sub>2</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar. and originally O<sub>7</sub> (which is incomplete here) have the clause both after the Preface and here. B and R<sub>2</sub> are also imperfect here, but R<sub>2</sub> has, and B had the clause after the Preface.

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## [BAEDAE CONTINUATIO.]

ANNO DCCXXXI, Ceoluulf rex captus, et adtonsus. et remissus in regnum ; Acca episcopus de sua sede fugatus <sup>1</sup>.

Anno DCCXXXII, Ecgberet pro Uilfrido Eboraci episcopus factus <sup>1</sup>.

[Cynibertus episcopus Lindisfarorum obiit <sup>2</sup>.]

[Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXXXIII Tatuini archiepiscopus, accepto ab apostolica auctoritate pallio, ordinavit Aluic et Sigfridum episcopos <sup>2</sup>.]

Anno DCCXXXIII, eclipsis facta est <sup>3</sup> solis XVIII<sup>4</sup>, Kal. Sep. circa horam diei tertiam, ita ut pene totus orbis solis quasi nigerrimo et horrendo scuto <sup>5</sup> uideretur <sup>6</sup> esse coopertus <sup>7</sup>.

Anno DCCXXXIII <sup>8</sup>, luna sanguineo rubore perfusa, quasi hora integra II. Kal. Febr. <sup>9</sup> circa galli cantum, dehinc nigredine subsequente ad lucem propriam reuersa <sup>7</sup>.

[Anno ab incarnatione Christi DCCXXXIII Tatuini episcopus obiit.

Anno DCCXXXV, Nothelmus archiepiscopus ordinatur; et Ecgberctus episcopus, accepto ab apostolica sede pallio, primus post Paulinum in archiepiscopatum confirmatus est; ordinavitque Fruibertum <sup>10</sup> et Fruiduualdum episcopos, et Baeda presbyter obiit.

<sup>1</sup> These annals are not in C. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>3</sub>. O<sub>9</sub>. The former is not in A<sub>3</sub>.  
<sup>2</sup> from A<sub>3</sub>. a. b.    <sup>3</sup> est om. C.    <sup>4</sup> XVIII C. W. O<sub>2</sub>.    <sup>5</sup> sicut C. O<sub>2</sub>. D. situ O<sub>18</sub> ; sacco S.    <sup>6</sup> uidetur M. W. O<sub>2</sub>.    <sup>7</sup> not in A<sub>3</sub>. hoc anno Beda doctor obiit in Gyruum vii. kl. Iunii. Bu<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>8</sup> DCCXXXIII<sup>9</sup> W. O<sub>2</sub>.    <sup>9</sup> Sept. O<sub>2</sub>. (not W.).    <sup>10</sup> Fruidu- bertum A<sub>3</sub>.



Anno DCCXXXVII, nimia siccitas terram fecit infecundam; et Ceoluulfus sua uoluntate adtonsus regnum Eadbercto reliquit.

Anno DCCXXXIX, Edilhartus<sup>1</sup> Occidentalium Saxonum rex obiit; et Nothelmus archiepiscopus.

Anno DCCXL, Cudbertus pro Nothelmo consecratus est. Aedilbaldus rex Merciorum per impiam fraudem uastabat partem Nordanhymbrorum; eratque rex eorum Eadbertus occupatus cum suo exercitu contra Pictos. Aedilualdus quoque episcopus obiit, et pro eo Conuulfus<sup>2</sup> ordinatur antistes. Arnwuini<sup>3</sup> et Eadbertus interempti.

Anno DCCXLI, siccitas magna terram occupauit. Carolus rex Francorum obiit; et pro eo filii Caroloman<sup>4</sup> et Pippin regnum acceperunt.

Anno DCCXLV, Uilfrid episcopus et Ingualdus Lundoniae episcopus migrauerunt ad Dominum.

Anno DCCXLVII, Herefridus uir Dei obiit.

Anno DCCL, Cudretus rex Occidentalium Saxonum surrexit contra Aedilbaldum regem et Oengusum. Theodor<sup>5</sup> atque Eanredus obierunt. Eadbertus campum Cyil cum aliis regionibus suo regno addidit.

Anno DCCLIII<sup>6</sup>, anno regni Eadberti quinto, [quinto] Idus Ianuarias eclipsis solis facta est. Postea eodem anno et mense, hoc est nono Kalendarum Februariarum, luna eclipsim pertulit, horrendo et nigerrimo scuto, ita ut sol paulo ante, cooperta.

Anno DCCLVIII, Bonifacius, qui et Uinfridus, Francorum episcopus, cum quinquaginta tribus martyrio coronatur; et pro eo Redgerus consecratur archiepiscopus a Stephano papa.

Anno DCCLVII, Aedilbaldus rex Merciorum a suis tutoribus nocte morte fraudulenta miserabiliter peremptus occubuit; Beornredus regnare coepit; Cyniuulfus rex Occidentalium Saxonum obiit. Eodem etiam anno Offa, fugato Beornredo, Merciorum regnum sanguinolento quaesiuit gladio.

<sup>1</sup> -hard A<sub>3</sub>.      <sup>2</sup> erniulfus a.      <sup>3</sup> sic Mon. Hist. Brit.; arnwini (?) A<sub>3</sub>; arnwyn b.; aruwini Smith.      <sup>4</sup> karlman A<sub>3</sub>; ceolymon a.      <sup>5</sup> from A<sub>3</sub>. theneorus edd.; thendor b.

<sup>6</sup> DCCLVI edd. DCCLXVI altered from DCCLXXI A<sub>3</sub>.

Anno DCCLVIII, Eadberctus rex Nordanhymbrorum Dei amoris causa, et caelestis patriae uiolentia, accepta sancti Petri tonsura, filio suo Osuulfo regnum reliquit.

Anno DCCLVIII, Osuulfus a suis ministris facinore<sup>1</sup> occisus est; et Edilualdus anno eodem a sua plebe electus intrauit in regnum; cuius secundo anno magna tribulatio mortalitatis uenit et duobus ferme annis permansit, populantibus duris ac diuersis<sup>2</sup> egritudinibus, maxime tamen dysenteriae languore.

Anno DCCLXI, Oengus Pictorum rex obiit, qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruento tyrannus perduxit carnifex; et Osuini occisus est.

Anno DCCLXV, Aluchredus rex susceptus est in regnum.

Anno DCCLXVI, Ecgberctus archiepiscopus prosapia regali ditatus, ac diuina scientia imbutus, et Frithubertus, uere fideles episcopi, ad Dominum migrauerunt.]

<sup>1</sup> facinorose edd.

<sup>2</sup> aduersis b.

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BENEDICTI, CEOLFRIDI, EOSTER-  
WINI, SIGFRIDI,

ATQUE

HWAETBERHTI<sup>1</sup>.

Benedict  
Biscop,  
founder of  
Wear-  
mouth.

I. RELIGIOSUS Christi famulus Biscopus cognomento Benedictus, aspirante superna gratia, *monasterium* construxit in honore beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri, *iuxta ostium fluminis Uiri*<sup>2</sup> ad aquilonem, iuuante se ac terram tribuente uenerabili ac piissimo gentis illius rege Æcgfrido; idemque monasterium annis sedecim, inter innumeros uel itinerum uel infirmitatum labores, eadem qua construxit religione, sedulus rexit. Qui ut beati papae Gregorii<sup>3</sup> uerbis, quibus cognominis eius abbatis uitam glorificat, utar: 'Fuit uir uitae uenerabilis, gratia Benedictus et  
nomine, ab ipso pueritiae suae tempore cor gerens  
senile, aetatem quippe moribus transiens, nulli animum  
uoluptati dedit.' Nobili quidem stirpe gentis Anglo-  
rum progenitus, sed non minori nobilitate<sup>4</sup> mentis ad  
promerenda semper angelorum consortia suspensus.  
Denique cum esset minister Oswiu<sup>5</sup> regis, et possessionem terrae suo gradui competentem illo donante perciperet, annos natus circiter XX<sup>ti</sup> et V fastidiuit

Dialog.  
ii. 1.

His origin.

f. 7 b.

<sup>1</sup> Incipit vita sanctorum abbatum monasterii in Wiremutha et Gyruum, Benedicti, Ceolfridi, Easterwini, Sigfridi atque Hwetberti, ab eiusdem monasterii presbitero et monacho Beda composita D. and so, with only minute differences, H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F. Incipit uita Sancti Benedicti 'cognomento Biscop' abbatis, que est ii. id. Ianuarii Δ.

<sup>2</sup> sic H<sub>1</sub>. Δ; wiri D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C.

B; wyri F.

<sup>3</sup> gregorii papae C.

<sup>4</sup> -tatis H<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> oswiii H<sub>1</sub>; oswini C; oswii Δ; -wyn F.

possessionem caducam, ut adquirere posset aeternam ; despexit<sup>1</sup> militiam cum corruptibili donatio terrestrem<sup>2</sup>, ut uero Regi militans<sup>3</sup>, regnum in superna ciuitate mereretur habere perpetuum<sup>4</sup>; reliquit<sup>5</sup> do-

He chooses the religious life.

cf. Mc. x. 29; Matth. xix. 29.

mum, cognatos, et patriam propter Christum et propter Euangelium, ut centuplum acciperet, et uitam aeternam possideret; respuit nuptiis seruire carnalibus, ut sequi ualeret Agnum uirginitatis gloria candidum in regnis celestibus<sup>6</sup>; abnuit liberos carne procreare mortales, praedestinatus a Christo ad educandos ei spiritali doctrina filios caelesti in uita perennes.

cf. Apoc. xiv. 4.

2. Dimissa ergo patria Romam adiit, beatorum apostolorum, quorum desiderio semper ardere consuerat, etiam loca corporum corporaliter uisere atque adorare curauit; ac<sup>7</sup> patriam mox reuersus, studiosius<sup>8</sup> ea quae uidit<sup>9</sup> ecclesiasticae uitae instituta, diligere, uenerari, et quibus potuit praedicare non desiit. Quo tempore Alehfridus<sup>10</sup> supradicti regis Oswii<sup>11</sup> filius et ipse propter adoranda<sup>12</sup> apostolorum limina Romam uenire disponens, comitem eum eiusdem itineris accepit. Quem cum pater suus ab intentione<sup>13</sup> memorati itineris reuocaret, atque in patria ac regno suo faceret residere, nihilominus ipse ut bone indolis adolescens, coeptum confestim explens iter, summa | sub festinatione Romam rediit, tempore cuius supra<sup>14</sup> beatae memoriae Uitaliani papae; et non pauca scientiae salutaris quemadmodum et prius hausta dulcedine, post menses<sup>15</sup> aliquot inde digrediens ad insulam Lirinensem, ibidem se monachorum coetui tradidit, tonsuram accepit, et disciplinam regularem monachi uoto insignitus debita cum sollicitudine seruauit; ubi per

His first and second visits to Rome.

f. 8 a.

He becomes a monk at Lerins.

<sup>1</sup> dispexit H<sub>1</sub>. Δ.      <sup>2</sup> terrestre H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>3</sup> militare D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F.      <sup>4</sup> in perp. F.      <sup>5</sup> -quid H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>6</sup> in regn. cel. om. Δ.      <sup>7</sup> ad D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F.      <sup>8</sup> studiosus C.      <sup>9</sup> uidit om. C.      <sup>10</sup> alh- Δ.      <sup>11</sup> oswyii H<sub>1</sub>; oswiii B.      <sup>12</sup> ad ador. H<sub>2</sub>.      <sup>13</sup> ob intentionem C.      <sup>14</sup> meminimus adds H<sub>2</sub>.      <sup>15</sup> menses uero Δ.

biennium idonea<sup>1</sup> monasticae conuersationis doctrina institutus, rursus beati Petri apostolorum principis amore deuictus, sacratam eius corpore ciuitatem repere statuit.

His third  
visit to  
Rome.

3. Nec post longum adueniente naue<sup>2</sup> mercatoria, desiderio satisfacit. Eo autem tempore miserat Egeberchtus Cantuariorum rex de Brittannia electum ad episcopatus officium uirum nomine Uighardum<sup>3</sup>, qui a Romanis beati papae<sup>4</sup> Gregorii discipulis in Cantia fuerat omni aecclesiastica institutione sufficienter edoctus; cupiens eum sibi Romae ordinari episcopum, quatinus suae gentis et linguae habens antistitem, tanto perfectius cum subiectis sibi populis uel uerbis imbueretur fidei uel mysteriis; quanto haec non per interpretem, sed per cognati et contribulis uiri linguam simul manumque susciperet. Qui uidelicet Uieghardus<sup>5</sup> Romam ueniens, cum | cunctis qui secum uenere f. 8 b. comitibus, antequam gradum pontificatus perciperet, morbo ingruente defunctus est. At uero papa apostolicus, ne legatariis obeuntibus legatio religiosa fidelium fructu competente careret, inito consilio elegit de suis quem Brittannias archiepiscopum mitteret. Theodorum uidelicet saeculari simul et aecclesiastica philosophia praeditum uirum, et hoc in utraque lingua, Graeca scilicet et Latina, dato ei collega et consiliatore uiro aequae strenuissimo ac prudentissimo Adriano abbate. Et quia uenerabilem Benedictum sapientem, industrium, religiosum ac nobilem uirum fore conspexit, huic ordinatum cum suis omnibus commendauit episcopum, precepitque ut, relicta peregrinatione quam pro Christo susceperat, commodi altioris intuitu patriam reuersus, doctorem ei ueritatis quem sedula<sup>6</sup> quesierat adduceret, cui uel illo pergenti uel ibidem docenti,

He returns  
to Britain  
with Theo-  
dore.

<sup>1</sup> -neo Δ.      <sup>2</sup> nauem H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>3</sup> wig- D. H<sub>2</sub>. P C. B; wyg- F; wi- Δ.      <sup>4</sup> greg. papae D. C. P. B. F.      <sup>5</sup> wihardus Δ. D. H<sub>2</sub>. B; wig- P; wic- F.      <sup>6</sup> -lo Δ.



pariter interpres existere posset et ductor. Fecit Benedictus<sup>1</sup> ut iusserat; uenerunt<sup>2</sup> Cantiam<sup>3</sup>; gratis sunt suscepti; Theodorus sedem episcopatus conscendit; Benedictus<sup>4</sup> suscepit monasterium beati Petri apostoli regendum<sup>5</sup>, cuius postea praefatus Adrianus factus est abbas.

He becomes abbot of St. Peter's, Canterbury.

f. 9 a.

4. | Quod ubi<sup>6</sup> duobus annis monasterium rexit, tertium de Brittannia Romam iter arripiens solita<sup>7</sup> prosperitate compleuit librosque omnis diuinae eruditionis non paucos uel placito praetio emptos, uel amicorum dono<sup>8</sup> largitos<sup>9</sup> retulit. Rediens autem ubi Uiennam<sup>10</sup> peruenit, empticios ibi quos apud amicos commendauerat, recepit<sup>11</sup>. At ingressus Brittanniam, ad regem se<sup>12</sup> Occidentalium Saxonum nomine Counualh<sup>13</sup> conferendum putauit, cuius et ante non semel amicitii usus, et beneficiis erat adiutus. Sed ipso eodem tempore in matura morte praerepto, tandem ad patriam gentem, solumque in quo natus est pedem conuertens, Æcfridum<sup>14</sup> Transhumbranae regionis regem adiit<sup>15</sup>, cuncta quae egisset ex quo patriam adolescens deseruit, replicauit; quo religionis desiderio arderet, non celauit; quid aecclesiasticae, quid monachicae<sup>16</sup> institutionis Romae uel circumquaque didicisset, ostendit<sup>17</sup>, quot diuina uolumina, quantas beatorum apostolorum siue martyrum Christi reliquias adtulisset, patefecit; tantamque apud eum<sup>18</sup> gratiam familiaritatis inuenit, ut confestim ei *terram septuaginta familiarum* de suo largitus, monasterium inibi primo pastori aecclesiae

His fourth visit to Rome.

He returns to Britain.

Foundation of Wearmouth, 674 A. D.

Hist.  
Anon. § 7.

<sup>1</sup> benedictus om. Δ. D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F.      <sup>2</sup> uen. enim Δ.  
<sup>3</sup> cantie B.      <sup>4</sup> ben. uero Δ.      <sup>5</sup> ad reg. D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F.  
<sup>6</sup> altered to ibi H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>7</sup> -tate B.      <sup>8</sup> dona C.      <sup>9</sup> largitus  
H<sub>1</sub>. D. P. B. F.      <sup>10</sup> uienna D. P. C. B. F.      <sup>11</sup> cepit C. B.  
<sup>12</sup> se om. D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F.      <sup>13</sup> coynwalh D. P. C. B. F.;  
coynnualh H<sub>2</sub>; kenwallum Δ.      <sup>14</sup> eeg- Δ. D. P. C. B.;  
hecg- H<sub>2</sub>; eg- F.      <sup>15</sup> adii Δ.      <sup>16</sup> altered to monasticae H<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>17</sup> ostendit om. D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F.      <sup>18</sup> eam H<sub>1</sub>; regem D. H<sub>2</sub>.  
P. C. B. F.

facere<sup>1</sup> prae-ciperet. Quod<sup>2</sup> factum est, sicut et in f. 9 b. prohemio memini, ad ostium fluminis Wyri<sup>3</sup> ad leuam<sup>4</sup> anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo septuagesimo quarto, indictione secunda, anno autem quarto<sup>5</sup> imperii Ecgfridi regis<sup>6</sup>.

Heprocures  
masons, &c.  
from Gaul.

5. Nec plusquam unius anni spatio post fundatum monasterium interiecto, Benedictus oceano transmisso Gallias petens, cementarios<sup>7</sup> qui lapideam sibi aeccleriam iuxta Romanorum quem semper amabat morem facerent, postulauit, accepit, adtulit. Et tantum in operando studii<sup>8</sup> prae amore beati Petri in cuius honorem<sup>9</sup> faciebat exhibuit, ut intra unius anni circulum ex quo fundamenta sunt iecta, culminibus superpositis, missarum inibi solempnia celebrari uideres. Proximante autem ad perfectum opere, misit legatarios<sup>10</sup> Galliam, qui uitri factores, artifices uidelicet Brittanniis<sup>11</sup> eatenus incognitos, ad<sup>12</sup> cancellandas<sup>13</sup> aeccleriae porticumque et caenaculorum eius fenestras adducerent. Factumque est<sup>14</sup>, uenerunt; nec solum opus postulatam<sup>15</sup> compleuerunt, sed et Anglorum ex eo gentem huiusmodi artificium nosse ac discere<sup>16</sup> fecerunt; artificium nimirum uel lampadis<sup>17</sup> aeccleriae claustris, uel uasorum multifariis usibus non ignobiliter aptum. Sed et cuncta quae ad altaris et aeccleriae ministerium competeabant, uasa sancta, | uel uestimenta, quia<sup>18</sup> domi f. 10 a. inuenire non potuit, de transmarinis regionibus aduectare religiosus emptor curabat.

His fifth  
visit to  
Rome.

6. Et ut<sup>19</sup> ea quoque quae nec in Gallia quidem<sup>20</sup> Hist. Anon. §§ 9. 10. repperiri ualebant, Romanis e finibus aeccleriae suae

<sup>1</sup> facere ecclesiae C. <sup>2</sup> quod et Δ. <sup>3</sup> wiri D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F<sup>1</sup>; wyri F<sup>2</sup>; weiri Δ. <sup>4</sup> aquilonem D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F. <sup>5</sup> ii. F. <sup>6</sup> reges Δ. <sup>7</sup> commentarios B. <sup>8</sup> -dui H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>9</sup> honorem Δ. <sup>10</sup> -torios Δ. <sup>11</sup> -nis H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>12</sup> ad faciendas cancellorum porticumque Δ. <sup>13</sup> -dos D. H<sub>2</sub> P. C. B. F. <sup>14</sup> est et Δ. D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F. <sup>15</sup> -lantum C. <sup>16</sup> discere H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>17</sup> -dibus Δ. <sup>18</sup> que Δ. <sup>19</sup> ut om. Δ. <sup>20</sup> quidam H<sub>2</sub>.

prouisor inpiger ornamenta uel munimenta conferret ; quarta<sup>1</sup> illo, post compositum iuxta regulam monasterium, profectioe completa multipliciore quam prius spiritalium mercium fenore cumulatus rediit. Primo quod innumerabilem *librorum* omnis generis *copiam* adportauit ; Secundo quod *reliquiarum beatorum* apostolorum *martirumque* Christi habundantem gratiam multis Anglorum aeclesiis profuturam aduexit ; Tertio quod *ordinem cantandi* psallendi atque *in aeclesia ministrandi iuxta* morem *Romanae institutionis* suo monasterio contradidit, postulato uidelicet atque accepto ab Agathone papa *archicantore aeclesiae* beati apostoli Petri et *abbate monasterii beati Martini*<sup>2</sup> Iohanne, quem sui futurum magistrum monasterii *Brittannias*, Romanum Anglis adduceret. Qui illo perueniens, non solum *uiua uoce* quae Romae didicit aeclesiastica discentibus tradidit ; sed et non pauca etiam *litteris* mandata reliquit<sup>3</sup>, quae hactenus in eiusdem monasterii bibliotheca memoriae gratia seruantur. Quartum, Benedictus non uile munus | adtulit, epistolam priuilegii a uenerabili papa Agathone cum licentia, consensu, desiderio, et hortatu Ecgfridi regis acceptam, qua monasterium, quod fecit, ab omni prorsus extrinseca irruptione tutum perpetuo redderetur ac liberum. Quintum, *picturas* imaginum sanctarum quas ad ornandam<sup>4</sup> aeclesiam beati Petri apostoli, quam construxerat, detulit ; imaginem uidelicet beatae Dei genetricis semperque uirginis Mariae, simul et duodecim apostolorum, quibus mediam eiusdem aeclesiae testudinem, ducto a pariete ad parietem tabulato<sup>5</sup> praecingeret ; imagines euangelicae historiae quibus australem aeclesiae parietem decoraret ; imagines uisionum apocalipsis beati Iohannis, quibus septentrionalem aequae parietem ornaret, quatinus intrantes

Treasures  
brought  
back by  
him.

<sup>1</sup> quarta igitur Δ.

<sup>2</sup> et abbate . . . martini om. Δ.

<sup>3</sup> -quid H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> adorandam Δ.

<sup>5</sup> -ta H<sub>1</sub>. D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. B. F.

aecclesiam omnes etiam litterarum ignari, quaquaversum intenderent, uel semper amabilem Christi sanctorumque eius, quamuis in<sup>1</sup> imagine, contemplarentur aspectum; uel dominicae incarnationis gratiam uigilantiore mente recolerent; uel extremi discrimen examinis, quasi coram oculis habentes, districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent.

Founda-  
tion of  
Jarrow.

7. Igitur uenerabilis Benedicti uirtute, industria ac religione, rex Ecgfridus non minimum delectatus, Hist. Anon. § 11.  
terram, quam ad construendum monasterium ei donauerat, quia bene se ac fructuose | donasse<sup>2</sup> conspexit, f. 11 a  
*quadraginta* adhuc *familiarum* data possessione, augmentare curauit; ubi post annum missis monachis numero ferme decem et septem, et praeposito abbate ac presbitero Ceolfrido<sup>3</sup>, Benedictus consultu<sup>4</sup> immo etiam iussu praefati Ecgfridi regis<sup>5</sup>, *monasterium beati apostoli Pauli*<sup>6</sup> construxit, ea duntaxat ratione, ut una utriusque loci pax et concordia, eadem perpetuo<sup>7</sup> familiaritas conseruaretur et gratia: ut sicut uerbi gratia, corpus a capite, per quod spirat, non potest auelli, caput<sup>8</sup> corporis, sine quo non uiuit, nequit obliuisci, ita<sup>9</sup> nullus haec<sup>10</sup> monasteria primorum apostolorum *fraterna* societate coniuncta aliquo ab inuicem temptaret disturbare conatu. *Ceolfridus* autem hic, quem abbatem constituit Benedictus, a primis instituti monasterii prioris exordiis adiutor illi per omnia *strenuissimus* aderat, et cum eo tempore congruo Romam discendi necessaria simul et adorandi gratia adierat. Quo tempore etiam presbiterum Eosterwyni<sup>11</sup> de monasterio beati Petri eligens abbatem, eidem monasterio regendi iure praefecit; ut quem solus non

Ceolfrid  
abbot of  
Jarrow;  
Eosterwine  
of Wear-  
mouth.

<sup>1</sup> in om. H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>2</sup> ordinatum esse H<sub>1</sub> (not Δ'; but it is hard to see what sense can be got out of this reading. Possibly the original reading was ordinasse.      <sup>3</sup> cel- Δ and so fq.      <sup>4</sup> -to H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> regis E. C. P.      <sup>6</sup> pauli ap. D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B F.      <sup>7</sup> -tua D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F.      <sup>8</sup> capud H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>9</sup> ita ut B.      <sup>10</sup> haec om. C.

<sup>11</sup> -winum D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. B; -wynum F; esterwinum Δ.

poterat laborem, socia dilectissimi<sup>1</sup> commilitonis uirtute leuius ferret. Nec ab re uideatur cuiquam *duos unum monasterium* simul habuisse abbates. Fecit hoc frequens illius pro *monasterii* utilitate profectio, creber trans | oceanum aegressus incertusque regressus. Nam et beatissimum Petrum apostolum Romae pontifices sub se duos per ordinem ad regendam aecclesiam constituisse, causa instante necessaria, tradunt historiae. Et ipse magnus abbas Benedictus, sicut de illo beatus papa Gregorius scribit, XII<sup>im</sup> abbates suis discipulis, prout utile iudicauit, sine caritatis detrimento, immo pro augmento caritatis praefecit.

f. 11 b.

ib. § 12.

8. Suscepit igitur memoratus uir curam monasterii regendi, nono ex quo fundatum est anno. Permansit in ea<sup>2</sup> usque ad obitum suum annis quattuor, uir ad saeculum<sup>3</sup> nobilis, sed insigne nobilitatis non ad iactantiae materiem, ut quidam, despectumque<sup>4</sup> aliorum, sed ad maiorem, ut Dei seruum decet, animi nobilitatem conuertens. Patruelis quippe erat abbatis sui Benedicti, sed amborum tanta ingenuitas<sup>5</sup>, talis mundanae ingenuitatis fuit pro nichilo contemptus, ut neque iste monasterium ingressus, aliquem sibi prae ceteris ob intuitum consanguinitatis aut nobilitatis honorem quaerendum, neque ille<sup>6</sup> putaret offerendum; sed aequali cum fratribus lance boni propositi iuuenis gloriabatur se regularem per omnia seruare disciplinam. Et quidem cum fuisset minister Ægfridi regis, relictis semel negotiis saecularibus, depositis armis, assumpta militia spiritali, tantum mansit humilis, fra|trumque simillimus aliorum, ut<sup>7</sup> uentilare cum eis et triturare, oues uitulasque<sup>8</sup> mulgere, in pistrino, in orto, in coquina, in cunctis monasterii operibus iocundus et obediens gauderet

Character  
of Easter-  
wine.

f. 12 a.

<sup>1</sup> lectissimi Δ. <sup>2</sup> eo D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F. <sup>3</sup> ad saec. om. D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F. <sup>4</sup> dispectumque H<sub>1</sub>. Δ<sup>1</sup>. <sup>5</sup> mentis ing. D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. F. <sup>6</sup> illum Δ. <sup>7</sup> ut om. D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F. <sup>8</sup> -losque H<sub>2</sub>.



exerceri. Sed et abbatis nomine<sup>1</sup> graduque assumpto, idem animo qui<sup>2</sup> prius manebat ad omnes, iuxta id quod quidam sapiens ammonet dicens: 'Rectorem te constituerunt, noli extolli, sed esto in illis, quasi unus ex illis,' mitis, affabilis, et<sup>3</sup> benignus omnibus. Et quidem, ubi oportunum conperiebat, peccantes regulari disciplina coercens, sed magis tamen ingenta diligendi consuetudine sedulus ammonens, ne qui peccare uellet, et limpidissimam uultus eius lucem nubilo sibi suae inquietudinis abscondere. Saepe pro curandis monasterii negotiis alicubi digrediens, ubi operantes inuenit fratres, solebat eis confestim in opere coniungi; uel aratri gressum stiba<sup>4</sup> regendo<sup>5</sup>, uel ferrum malleo domando, uel uentilabrum manu<sup>6</sup> concutiendo, uel aliud quid tale gerendo. Erat enim et uiribus fortis iuuenis, et lingua suauis; sed et animo hilaris, et beneficio largus, et honestus aspectu. Eodem quo fratres ceteri cibo, semper eadem uescabatur in domo, ipso quo priusquam abbas esset communi dormiebat in loco, adeo ut etiam morbo correptus, et obitus sui certis ex signis iam praescius, duos adhuc dies in dormitorio fratrum quiesceret. f. 12 b. Nam quinque reliquos usque ad exitus horam dies in secretiori se aede locabat; qua<sup>7</sup> die quadam egrediens, et sub diuo residens, accitis ad se fratribus cunctis, more naturae misericordis osculum pacis eis flentibus, ac de abscessu tanti patris et pastoris merentibus dedit. Obiit autem per nonas Martias noctu, fratribus matutinae psalmodiae laude<sup>8</sup> uacantibus. Uiginti IIII<sup>or</sup> annorum erat cum monasterium peteret, .XII. in eo uixit annis, septem presbiteratu<sup>9</sup> functus est<sup>10</sup> annis, IIII<sup>or</sup> ex eis monasterii regimen agebat;

Ecclus.  
xxxii. 1.

His death,  
March 6.

<sup>1</sup> regimine D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F.    <sup>2</sup> eodem . . . quo D. H<sub>2</sub>. P. C. B. F.    <sup>3</sup> ac H<sub>2</sub>.    <sup>4</sup> sic MSS. except Δ - stiuā.    <sup>5</sup> -da B.

<sup>6</sup> manuum H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>7</sup> quam Δ.    <sup>8</sup> laudi C.    <sup>9</sup> -tus H<sub>2</sub>. P.

<sup>10</sup> est om. C.

ac sic 'terrenos artus moribundaque membra relin-  
quens,' caelestia regna petiuit.

9. Uerum his de uita uenerabilis Æosterwyni<sup>1</sup>  
breuiter praelibatis, redeamus ad ordinem narrandi.  
Constituto illo abbate Benedictus<sup>2</sup> monasterio beati  
Petri apostoli, constituto<sup>3</sup> et Ceolfrido monasterio<sup>4</sup>  
beati Pauli, non multo post temporis spatio quinta  
uice de Brittannia Romam adcurrens<sup>5</sup>, innumeris sicut

Benedict's  
sixth visit  
to Rome.  
He returns  
with fresh  
treasures.

Hist.  
Anon. §§  
13, 15.

f. 13 a.

semper aecclesiasticorum donis commodorum locu-  
pletatus rediit; magna quidem copia uoluminum  
sacrorum; sed non minori<sup>6</sup>, sicut et prius, sanctarum  
imaginum munere ditatus. Nam et tunc dominicae  
historiae picturas quibus totam beatæ Dei genetricis,  
quam in monasterio maiore fecerat, aecclesiam in gyro  
coronaret, adtulit<sup>7</sup>; imagines quoque ad ornandum  
| monasterium aecclesiamque beati Pauli apostoli de  
concordia ueteris et noui Testamenti summa ratione  
conpositas exhibuit; uerbi gratia, Isaac ligna, quibus  
inmolaretur portantem, et Dominum crucem in qua  
pateretur<sup>8</sup> aequè portantem, proxima super inuicem  
regione, pictura coniunxit. Item serpenti in heremo  
a Moyse exaltato, Filium hominis in cruce exaltatum  
conparauit<sup>9</sup>. Adtulit inter alia, et pallia duo oloserica  
incomparandi operis, quibus postea ab Aldfrido rege  
eiusque consiliariis, namque Ecgfridum<sup>10</sup> postquam  
rediit iam interfectum repperit, terram trium fami-  
liarum ad austrum Uuiri<sup>11</sup> fluminis, iuxta ostium  
conparauit<sup>9</sup>.

ib. §§ 13,  
15.

10. Uerum inter laeta quae ueniens adtulit, tristia  
domi repperit; uenerabilem uidelicet presbiterum  
Æosterwini<sup>12</sup> quem abiturus abbatem constituerat,

<sup>1</sup> eosteruini C; -wini D. H<sub>2</sub>. P; -wyni F; æsterwini Δ.  
<sup>2</sup> bened. inserted after pauli Δ. <sup>3</sup> constituto om. Δ. <sup>4</sup> -rii P.  
<sup>5</sup> occurrens C. <sup>6</sup> minori om. Δ. <sup>7</sup> adtulit om. D. H<sub>2</sub>. P.  
C. B. F. <sup>8</sup> Here at the end of f. 89<sup>d</sup> ends H<sub>2</sub>. imperfectly. <sup>9</sup> -par-  
uit F. <sup>10</sup> -do H<sub>1</sub>. <sup>11</sup> wiri Δ. D. P. C. B. F. <sup>12</sup> -num  
D. P. C. B; -wynum F; æsterwinum Δ.

Election of  
Sigfrid in  
place of  
Eoster-  
wine.

simul et fratrum ei commissorum cateruam non paucam, per cuncta grassante *pestilentia*, iam migrasse de saeculo. Sed aderat et solamen, *quia* in loco *Æosterwyni*<sup>1</sup> uirum aequè reuerentissimum ac mitissimum de monasterio eodem, *Sicgfridum*<sup>2</sup> uidelicet *diaconum*, electione *fratrum* suorum simul et *coabbatis* eius *Ceolfredi*, mox substitutum cognouit; uirum scientia quidem *scripturarum* sufficienter *instructum*, moribus optimis ornatum, *mira* abstinentiae uirtute praeditum, sed ad custodiam uirtutum animi, corporis infirmitate | non minime depressum, ad<sup>3</sup> conseruan- f. 13 b.  
dam cordis innocentiam nociuo et inremediabili pul-  
monum uitio laborantem.

Sickness of  
Benedict  
and Sig-  
frid.

11. Nec multo post etiam Benedictus ipse morbo caepit ingruente fatigari. Ut enim tantam religionis instantiam etiam patientiae uirtus adiuncta probaret, diuina utrumque pietas temporali egritudine prostrauit in lectum; ut post egritudinem morte deuictam perpetua supernae pacis et lucis quiete refoueret. Nam et Sigfridus<sup>4</sup>, ut diximus, longa interiorum molestia castigatus diem peruenit ad ultimum; et Benedictus per triennium languore paulatim aderescente tanta paralisi dissolutus est, ut ab omni prorsus inferiorum membrorum factus sit parte praemortuus, superioribus solum, sine quorum uita uiuere nequit homo, ad officium patientiae uirtutemque reseruatis; studebant in<sup>5</sup> dolore *semper* Auctori<sup>6</sup> *gratias* referre, *semper* Dei laudibus fraternisue hortatibus uacare. Agebat<sup>7</sup> Benedictus aduenientes sepius ad se fratres de custodienda, quam statuerat, regula firmare: 'Neque enim putare habetis,' inquit, 'quod ex meo haec quae uobis statui decreta indoctus corde protulerim. Ex *decem* quippe *et septem* monasteriis quae inter longos

Benedict's  
address to  
the Brethren.

cf. Hist.  
Anon. § 6.

<sup>1</sup> eosterwini D. P. B; -uini C; -wyni F; æsterwini Δ.  
<sup>2</sup> sic- Δ; sig- D. P. B. F.    <sup>3</sup> et ad Δ.    <sup>4</sup> sic- Δ.    <sup>5</sup> autem in Δ.    <sup>6</sup> auct. omnium Δ<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>7</sup> augebat H<sub>1</sub>.

f. 14 a.

cf. ib. §  
16.

f. 14 b.

meae crebre peregrinationis discursus *optima* conperi,  
*haec* uniuersa *didici*, et uobis salubriter obseruanda  
*contradidi*.<sup>1</sup> | Bibliothecam quam de Roma nobilissi-  
 mam copiosissimamque aduexerat, ad instructionem  
 aeclesiae necessariam, sollicite seruari integram, nec<sup>1</sup>  
 per incuriam fedari, aut passim<sup>2</sup> dissipari<sup>3</sup> praecepit.  
 Sed et hoc sedulus eisdem solebat iterare mandatum,  
 ne quis in electione abbatis, generis prosapiam, et non  
 magis uiuendi docendique probitatem putaret esse  
 quaerendam. ‘Et uere,’ inquit, ‘dico uobis, quia in  
 comparatione duorum malorum, tolerabilius mihi  
 multo<sup>4</sup> est totum hunc locum in quo monasterium  
 feci, si sic iudicauerit Deus, in solitudinem sempi-  
 ternam redigi, quam ut frater meus carnalis, quem  
 nouimus uiam ueritatis non ingredi, in eo regendo  
 post me abbatis nomine succedat. Ideoque multum  
 cauetote fratres semper, ne secundum genus umquam,  
 ne<sup>5</sup> deforis aliunde, uobis patrem quaeratis. Sed  
 iuxta quod *regula* magni<sup>6</sup> quondam abbatis *Benedicti*,  
 iuxta quod *priuilegii* nostri *continent* decreta, in con-  
 uentu uestrae congregationis communi consilio per-  
 quiratis, qui secundum *uitae* meritum et sapientiae  
*doctrinam* aptior<sup>7</sup> ad tale ministerium perficiendum  
 digniorque probetur, et quemcunque omnes unanime<sup>8</sup>  
 caritatis inquisitione optimum cognoscentes elegeritis;  
 hunc uobis accito episcopo rogetis abbatem consueta  
 benedictione firmari. Nam qui carnali,’ inquit ‘ordine  
 carnales filios generant, carnali necesse | est<sup>9</sup> ac terrenae  
 suae hereditati carnales terrenosque quaerant heredes;  
 at qui spiritales Deo filios spiritali semine uerbi pro-  
 creant, spiritalia oportet sint cuncta quae agunt. Inter  
 spiritales suos liberos eum maiorem qui ampliori  
 spiritus gratia sit praeditus aestiment, quomodo terreni

<sup>1</sup> ne MSS.      <sup>2</sup> spassim P.      <sup>3</sup> diss. posset Δ.      <sup>4</sup> mul-  
 tum B.      <sup>5</sup> nec Δ      <sup>6</sup> magna H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>7</sup> -ra B.      <sup>8</sup> -mi D.  
 P. C. B. F.      <sup>9</sup> est om. H<sub>1</sub>.

parentes, quem primum partu fuderint, eum principium liberorum suorum cognoscere, et caeteris in partienda sua hereditate praeferendum ducere solent.'

His devotion during his sickness.

12. Neque hoc reticendum, quod uenerabilis abbas Benedictus ad temperandum sepe longae noctis tedium, quam prae infirmitatis onere ducebat insomnem, aduocato lectore, uel exemplar patientiae Iob, uel aliud quid scripturarum quo consolaretur aegrotus, quo depressus in infimis uiuacius ad superna erigetur<sup>1</sup>, coram se recitari iubebat<sup>2</sup>. Et quia nullatenus ad orandum surgere, non facile ad explendum solitae psalmodiae cursum linguam uocemue poterat leuare, didicit uir prudens, affectu<sup>3</sup> religionis dictante, per singulas diurnae siue nocturnae orationis horas aliquos ad se fratrum uocare, quibus psalmos consuetos duobus in choris resonantibus, et ipse cum eis quatenus poterat psallendo, quod per se solum nequiuerat, eorum iuuamine suppleret.

13. At ubi *uterque* abbas lassatus<sup>4</sup> infirmitate diutina, iam se morti | uicinum, nec regendo monasterio f. 15 a. idoneum fore conspexit; tanta namque eos affecit infirmitas carnis, ut perficeretur in eis uirtus Christi, cf. 2 Cor. xii. 9. ut cum quadam die desiderantibus<sup>5</sup> eis se inuicem, priusquam de hoc saeculo migrarent, uidere et alloqui, Sigfridus in feretro deportaretur ad cubiculum, ubi Benedictus et ipse suo iacebat in grabato, eisque uno in loco ministrorum manu conpositis, caput<sup>6</sup> utriusque in eodem ceruicali locaretur, lacrimabili spectaculo, nec tantum habuere uirium, ut proprius posita ora ad osculandum se alterutrum coniungere possent, sed et hoc fraterno compleuerunt officio; *inito*<sup>7</sup> *Benedictus* Hist. Anon. § 16. cum eo, cumque uniuersis *fratribus* salubri consilio, acciit abbatem *Ceolfridum*, quem monasterio beati

Last farewell of Benedict and Sigfrid.

<sup>1</sup> erigetur H<sub>1</sub>. Δ<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> uidebat B.    <sup>3</sup> -tum H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>4</sup> lassatus Δ<sup>1</sup>.    <sup>5</sup> -ratus H<sub>1</sub>; -rassent Δ, omitting eis.    <sup>6</sup> capud H<sub>1</sub>.  
<sup>7</sup> inito ergo Δ.



Pauli apostoli praeferat<sup>1</sup>, uirum uidelicet sibi non tam carnis necessitudine, quam uirtutum<sup>2</sup> societate propinquum; et *cum utrique monasterio*, cunctis fauentibus, atque hoc utilissimum iudicantibus, praeposuit patrem; salubre ratus *per omnia* ad conseruandam pacem, unitatem, concordiamque locorum, si unum perpetuo patrem rectoremque tenerent; commemorans sepius Israhelitici regni exemplum, quod inexterminabile semper exteris nationibus, inuiolatumque perdurauit, quamdiu unis hisdemque suae gentis regebatur a ducibus; at postquam praecedentium causa peccatorum inimico | ab inuicem est certamine direptum<sup>3</sup>, periit paulisper, et a sua concussum soliditate defecit. Sed et euangelicam illam monebat sine intermissione recolendam esse sententiam, quia: ‘omne regnum in seipso diuisum desolabitur.’

Ceolfred  
appointed  
abbot of  
both mon-  
asteries.

f. 15 b.

Luc. xi.  
17; Matth.  
xii. 25.

#### INCIPIE LIBELLUS SECUNDUS<sup>4</sup>.

Hist.  
Anon. §§  
17, 18.  
cf. Ps.  
lxv. 12, 13.

14. Igitur post haec reuolutis mensibus duobus, primo *uenerabilis* ac Deo dilectus abbas *Sigfridus*, pertransito igne et aqua tribulationum temporalium, inductus est in refrigerium sempiternae quietis, introiit in domum regni caelestis, in holocaustis perpetue laudationis reddens sua uota Domino, quae sedula labiorum mundorum distinctione promiserat; ac deinde adiunctis aliis mensibus IIII<sup>or</sup>, uitiorum uictor *Benedictus* et uirtutum patrator egregius, uictus *infirmirate* carnis ad extrema peruenit. ‘Nox ruit hibernis algida flatibus,’ diem<sup>5</sup> mox sancto<sup>6</sup> nascitura

Death of  
Sigfrid,  
Aug. 22,  
and of  
Benedict,  
Jan. 12.

<sup>1</sup> pra-H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> -te Δ.

<sup>3</sup> direptum C. Δ.

<sup>4</sup> This

heading is only in C; but all the other MSS. (except Δ) have here, and only here, a large illuminated initial marking a new division. Bede himself, *sup.* p. 359, entitles his work: ‘Historiam abbatum . . . in libellis duobus.’ <sup>5</sup> dies uero ‘illi’ C. <sup>6</sup> sancta D. P. C. B. F.

aeterne felicitatis, serenitatis et lucis. Conueniunt<sup>1</sup> fratres ad aecclesiam, insomnes orationibus et psalmis<sup>2</sup> transigunt umbras noctis; et paternae decessionis pondus continua diuinae laudis modulatione solantur. Alii cubiculum in quo eger, animo robustus egressum<sup>3</sup> mortis et uitae expectabat ingressum, non deserunt. Euangelium tota nocte pro doloris leuamine, quod et aliis noctibus fieri consuevit, a presbytero legitur; dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum hora exitus instante pro uiatico datur; et sic anima | illa f. 16 a. sancta longis flagellorum felicitum excocta atque examinata flammis luteum carnis fornacem deserit, cf. Ps. 1xv. 10. et supernae beatitudinis libera peruolat ad gloriam. Cuius aegressui uictoriosissimo, neque ab inmundis spiritibus aliquatenus impediendo uel retardando, etiam psalmus qui tum pro eo canebatur, testimonium dat. Namque fratres ad aecclesiam principio noctis concurrentes, psalterium<sup>4</sup> ex ordine decantantes, ad octogesimum tunc et secundum cantando peruenerant psalmum, qui habet in capite: 'Deus quis<sup>5</sup> similis Ps. lxxxii. erit tibi?' Cuius totus hoc resonat textus, quod<sup>1</sup> inimici nominis Christi siue carnales siue spirituales, semper aecclesiam Christi, semper animam quamque cf. Hist. Anon. 18. 19. fidelem disperdere ac dissipare conentur; sed e contra ipsi confusi et conturbati sint perituri in saeculum, eneruante illos Domino, cui non est quisquam similis, qui est solus<sup>6</sup> altissimus super omnem terram. Unde recte dabatur intellegi caelitus dispensatum, ut talis diceretur psalmus ea hora qua exiret de corpore anima, cui iuuante Domino nullus praeualere posset inimicus. Sextodecimo postquam monasterium fundauit anno, quieuit in Domino confessor, pridie<sup>7</sup> iduum Ianuariarum, sepultus<sup>8</sup> in aecclesia beati<sup>9</sup> apostoli Petri;

<sup>1</sup> -nerunt D. P. C. B. F.<sup>2</sup> salmis H<sub>1</sub>. Δ.<sup>3</sup> -sus D. P.

C. B. F.

<sup>4</sup> et salt. Δ.<sup>5</sup> qui H<sub>1</sub>. Δ.<sup>6</sup> solus est Δ.<sup>7</sup> secunda die F. B.<sup>8</sup> sep. est Δ.<sup>9</sup> bæti H<sub>1</sub>.

ut quem degens in carne semper solebat amare, quo  
 pandente ianuam regni caelestis | intrabat, ab huius  
 reliquiis et altari post mortem nec corpore longius  
 abesset. *Sedecim*<sup>1</sup> ut diximus annos *monasterium*  
*rexit*, primos *octo* per se sine alterius adsumptione  
 abbatis; reliquos *totidem* uiris uenerabilibus et sanctis  
*Eosterwyni*<sup>2</sup>, *Sigfrido* et *Ceolfrido*<sup>3</sup> abbatis se nomine,  
 auctoritate, et officio iuuantibus; primo *IIII*<sup>or</sup> annos,  
 secundo<sup>4</sup> *tres*, tertio unum<sup>5</sup>.

f. 16 b.

ib. §§ 19,  
20.

15. Qui et ipse tertius, id est, *Ceolfridus* industrius  
 per omnia *uir*, acutus *ingenio*, *actu* inpiger, maturus  
 animo, religionis *zelo feruens*, prius, sicut et supra  
 meminimus, iubente pariter et iuuantem Benedicto,  
*monasterium* beati Pauli apostoli VII<sup>tem</sup> annis, fun-  
 dauit, perfecit, rexit; ac deinde *utrique monasterio*,  
 uel sicut rectius dicere possumus, *in duobus locis* posito  
*uni monasterio*, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli,  
*uiginti* et octo annos *sollerti* regimine praefuit; et  
 cuncta quae suus prodecessor aegregia uirtutum opera  
 caepit, ipse non segnius perficere curauit. Siquidem  
 inter cetera *monasterii* necessaria quae longo regendi  
 tempore disponenda<sup>6</sup> conperiit, etiam plura fecit  
 oratoria; altaris et *aecclisiae uasa*, uel uestimenta  
 omnis generis<sup>7</sup> *ampliauit*; *bibliothecam* utriusque mona-  
 sterii, *quam Benedictus* abbas magna caepit instantia,  
 ipse non minori geminauit industria; *ita ut* | *tres*  
*pandectes* nouae translationis, ad unum uetustae trans-  
 lationis<sup>8</sup> quem de Roma adtulerat, ipse super adiun-  
 geret; *quorum* unum senex *Roman* rediens secum  
 inter alia pro munere sumpsit, *duos* utrique mona-

Character  
of Ceolfrid's  
rule.

f. 17 a.

<sup>1</sup> sexdecim C. B. <sup>2</sup> -wini P. B; -wino D; -uuino C; aesterwino  
 Δ. <sup>3</sup> cel- Δ. D. B. F<sup>l</sup>. <sup>4</sup> duo P. <sup>5</sup> ad laudem Domini  
 nostri Iesu Christi, cui est cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus  
 Sancti honor et gloria in secula seculorum. amen Δ, which  
 then continues with the interpolated historia abb. auctore anon.  
<sup>6</sup> -dam C. <sup>7</sup> generis om. C. <sup>8</sup> ad . . . translationis  
 om. B.

sterio reliquit ; dato quoque Cosmographiorum<sup>1</sup> codice mirandi operis, quem Romae Benedictus emerat, terram<sup>2</sup> octo familiarum iuxta fluuium Fresca ab Aldfrido rege in scripturis doctissimo in possessionem monasterii beati Pauli apostoli comparauit ; quem comparandi ordinem ipse, dum adiuueret<sup>3</sup>, Benedictus cum eodem rege Aldfrido taxauerat, sed priusquam complere potuisset obiit. Uerum pro hac terra postmodum, Osredo<sup>4</sup> regnante, Ceolfridus, addito pretio digno, terram uiginti familiarum in loco qui incolarum lingua Ad uillam Sambuce uocatur, quia haec uicinior eidem monasterio uidebatur, accepit. *Missis Romam* monachis tempore *beatae*<sup>5</sup> recordationis *Sergii papae*, *pruilegium* ab eo pro tuitione sui monasterii *instar illius* quod *Agatho*<sup>6</sup> papa *Benedicto* dederat, accepit ; quod Brittannias perlatum, et coram synodo patefactum, praesentium episcoporum simul et magnifici regis Aldfridi<sup>7</sup> subscriptione confirmatum est, quomodo etiam prius illud sui temporis regem et episcopos in synodo publice confirmasse | non latet. f. 17 b. Temporibus illius<sup>8</sup> tradens se monasterio beati Petri apostoli, quod<sup>9</sup> regebat, ueteranus ac religiosus, et in omni tam saeculari quam scripturarum scientia eruditus Christi famulus Uitmær<sup>10</sup>, terram decem familiarum, quam ab Aldfrido rege in possessionem acceperat, in loco uillae quae Daltun<sup>11</sup> nuncupatur, eidem monasterio perpetuae possessionis iure donauit.

He determines to resign and go on pilgrimage to Rome.

16. At ubi Ceolfridus<sup>12</sup> post multam regularis obseruantiae disciplinam quam sibi ipsi<sup>13</sup>, pariter ac suis, pater<sup>14</sup> prouidus ex priorum auctoritate contribuit ;

Hist. Anon. § 21.

<sup>1</sup> -graphiorum D. P. C. F.    <sup>2</sup> terram etiam δ.    <sup>3</sup> dum adhuc uiueret D. P. C. B. F.    <sup>4</sup> ossedo H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>5</sup> beatae om. D. P. C. B. F.    <sup>6</sup> agatho C.    <sup>7</sup> alfridi C.    <sup>8</sup> autem illis δ.    <sup>9</sup> quem H<sub>1</sub>. δ.    <sup>10</sup> uuitmer D. B ; witmer P. C ; witmerus δ ; wytimer F.    <sup>11</sup> daldun D. P. C. B ; daldoñ F.    <sup>12</sup> ceolfridus om. H<sub>1</sub>. δ.    <sup>13</sup> ipsi om. H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>14</sup> ac suus pater benedictus D. P. C. B. F. wholly altering the sense. δ follows H<sub>1</sub>.

post incomparabilem orandi psallendique sollertiam, qua ipse cotidianus exerceri non desiit; post mirabilem et coercendi improbos feruorem, et modestiam consolandi infirmos; post insolitam rectoribus et aescē potusque parcitatem, et habitus uilitatem; *uidit se iam senior* et plenus dierum *non ultra posse* subditis, ob impedimentum suppraemae aetatis, debitam spiritalis exercitii, uel docendo, uel uiuendo, praefigere<sup>1</sup> formam; multa diu secum mente uersans, *utilius* decreuit, dato fratribus praecepto, ut iuxta sui statuta priuilegii iuxtaque regulam sancti abbatis Benedicti, de suis sibi ipsi patrem, qui aptior esset, eligerent, et *ipse* beatorum *apostolorum*, ubi iuuenis cum Benedicto fuerat, Romae loca sancta repeteret<sup>2</sup>; quatinus et ipse ante mortem aliquandiu saeculi *curis absolutus, liberius* sibimet | secreta quiete<sup>3</sup> uacaret; et illi sumpto abbate *iuueniore*, perfectius iuxta aetatem magistri quae uitae regularis essent instituta seruarent.

f. 18 a.

ib. §§ 22-27.

17. *Obnitentibus* licet primo omnibus, et in *lacrimas* singultusque genua cum *obsecratione* crebra flectentibus, factum est<sup>4</sup> quod uoluit. Tantaque erat proficiscendi cupido, ut tertia die ex quo fratribus secretum sui *propositi* aperuit<sup>5</sup>, iter arriperet. Timebat<sup>6</sup> enim, quod euenit, ne priusquam Romam peruenire posset, obiret; simul deuitans, ne *ab amicis* siue uiris principalibus, quibus cunctis erat honorabilis, eius caepta *retardarentur*, et ne *pecunia daretur* illi a quibusdam<sup>7</sup>, quam<sup>8</sup> retribuere pro tempore nequireret; *hanc habens semper consuetudinem, ut siquis ei aliquid muneris offerret*, hoc illi, uel statim, uel post interuallum competens, non minore *gratia* rependeret. *Cantata* ergo primo mane missa in aeclesia beatae

He takes leave of the brethren and departs, June 4, 716.

<sup>1</sup> praeficere D. P. C. B. F.      <sup>2</sup> romae . . . repeteret om. D. P. B. F.; loca . . . repeteret om. C.      <sup>3</sup> in quiete δ.      <sup>4</sup> est om. H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>5</sup> apparuit B.      <sup>6</sup> -bant B. P. D. F.      <sup>7</sup> a quibusdam om. δ.      <sup>8</sup> quam eis δ; quibus D. P. C. B. F.



Dei genetricis semperque uirginis *Mariae*, et in aecclesia apostoli *Petri*, *pridie*<sup>1</sup> *nonas Iunias*, *quinta feria*, et *communicantibus qui aderant*, continuo *prae-*  
*paratur ad eundum*. Conueniunt omnes in aecclesiam *beati Petri*, ipse, thure incenso, et dicta oratione ad altare, pacem dat omnibus, stans in gradibus, *turribulum habens in manu*. Hinc fletibus uniuersorum inter laetantias resonantibus, exeunt; *beati Laurentii martyris oratorium*, quod in dormitorio | *fratrum* erat f. 18 b. obuium, intrant; uale dicens ultimum, de conseruanda inuicem dilectione, et delinquentibus *iuxta euangelii*<sup>2</sup> regulam corripiendis, ammonet; omnibus, siquid forte deliquissent<sup>3</sup>, gratiam suae remissionis et placationis offert; omnes pro se orare, sibi placatos existere, si sint quos durius *iusto* redarguisset, obsecrat. Veniunt ad litus; *rursum osculo pacis* inter lacrimas omnibus<sup>4</sup> dato, genua flectunt; dat orationem, *ascendit nauem cum comitibus*. Ascendunt et *diacones* aecclesiae *cercas ardentis* et *crucem ferentes auream*, *transiit flumen*, *adorat crucem*, *ascendit equum*<sup>5</sup>, et abiit, *relictis in monasteriis suis fratribus numero ferme sexcentorum*<sup>6</sup>.

Election of  
Hwætbert,  
June 7, 716.

18. Illo autem abeunte cum sociis, redeunt ad aecclesiam *fratres*, se ac sua Domino fletibus et oratione commendant; et post non grande interuallum, *completa* horae tertiae psalmodia, rursum conueniunt omnes; *quid* agendum sit consulunt; orando, psallendo, et *iciunando* patrem citius a Deo *quaerendum* decernunt; monachis *beati Pauli*, fratribus uidelicet suis, per eorum quosdam qui aderant, necnon et suorum aliquos, *quid*<sup>7</sup> decreuerint, pandunt. Adsentiant et illi, fit utrorumque animus unus, omnium

Hist.  
Anon. §§  
28, 29.

<sup>1</sup> secunda die B.

<sup>2</sup> -lium D. P. F; so C. omitting regulam.

<sup>3</sup> delinquissent P.

<sup>4</sup> omnes D. P. C. B. F; perhaps Bede wrote: omnibus dato, omnes.

<sup>5</sup> aequum H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> -tis C.

<sup>7</sup> quod

D. P. B. F. δ; obscure in C.

corda sursum, omnium leuantur uoces ad Dominum. Tandem die tertia, ueniente *Dominico*<sup>1</sup> *Pentecosten*, conueniunt<sup>2</sup> omnes | qui erant in monasterio beati Petri in concilium, adsunt et *de monasterio* beati<sup>3</sup> *Pauli* seniorum non pauci. Fit una concordia, eadem<sup>4</sup> utrorumque sententia. *Eligitur* itaque *abbas Hwætberchtus*<sup>5</sup> *qui*<sup>6</sup> *a primis* pueritiae temporibus *eodem* in monasterio non solum regularis obseruantia<sup>7</sup> disciplinae institutus, sed et scribendi, cantandi, legendi ac docendi fuerat non parua exercitatus industria. Romam quoque temporibus beatae memoriae Sergii papae accurrens, et non paruo ibidem temporis spatio demoratus, quaeque<sup>8</sup> sibi necessaria iudicabat, didicit<sup>9</sup>, descripsit, retulit; insuper et duodecim ante haec annos *presbyterii* est functus officio. *Hic* igitur *electus* *abbas* ab omnibus utriusque praefati monasterii fratribus, statim assumptis secum aliquibus fratrum, uenit ad abbatem Ceolfridum cursum nauis qua oceanum transiret expectantem; quem elegerant<sup>10</sup> abbatem nuntiant: Deo gratias, respondit, *electionem* confirmat, et *commendatoriam*<sup>6</sup> ab eo *epistolam apostolico*<sup>11</sup> *papae* Gregorio *deferendam* suscepit; cuius, memoriae causa<sup>12</sup>, putauimus etiam in hoc opere uersus aliquot esse ponendos.

Ceolfrid confirms the election.

19. *Domino in Domino dominorum dilectissimo, terque beatissimo papae Gregorio, Hwætberchtus*<sup>5</sup> *humilis seruus uester, abbas coenobii beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri de*<sup>13</sup> *Saxonia, perpetuam in Domino salutem.*

Letter of Hwæthbert to Pope Gregory II.

*Gratias agere non cesso dispensationi superni examinis, una cum sanctis fratribus qui mecum in his locis ad inueniendam requiem*<sup>14</sup> *animabus suis suauissimum Christi*

<sup>1</sup> dominico die P. C.    <sup>2</sup> conu. iterum δ.    <sup>3</sup> Petri . . . . . beati om. C.    <sup>4</sup> eodem H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>5</sup> hwetbertus D. P. C. B; hweth- F.    <sup>6</sup> From qui to commendato- is omitted in H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>7</sup> -tiae. D. P. C. B.    <sup>8</sup> quem C.    <sup>9</sup> dicit C.    <sup>10</sup> eligerent D. P<sup>1</sup>. B.    <sup>11</sup> -ca C.    <sup>12</sup> causam C. B.    <sup>13</sup> ad MSS. de is taken from the copy of this letter in Hist. Anon.    <sup>14</sup> gratiam B.

iugum portare desiderant, quod te nostris temporibus tam cf. Matth. xi. 29, 30. glorificum electionis uas regimini totius aeclesiae praeficere dignata<sup>1</sup> est, quatinus per hoc, quo ipse impleris, lumen ueritatis et fidei, etiam minores quosque affatim iubare suae pietatis aspergeret. Commendamus autem tuae sanctae benignitati, dilectissime in Christo pater et domine, uenerabiles patris nostri dilectissimi canos, Ceolfredi uidelicet abbatis, ac nutritoris tutorisque nostrae spiritalis in monastica quiete libertatis et pacis. Et primum quidem gratias agimus sanctae et indiuiduae Trinitati, quod ipse, | etsi non sine maximo nostro dolore, gemitu, luctu, ac f. 19 b. prosecutione<sup>2</sup> lacrimarum a nobis abiit; ad suae tamen diu desideratae quietis gaudia sancta peruenit; dum ea, quae inuenem se adisse, uidisse, atque adorasse semper recordans exultabat, etiam senio defessus beatorum apostolorum deuotus limina repetiit. Et post longos amplius quadraginta annorum labores curasque continuas, quibus monasteriis regendis abbatis iure praefuit, incomparabili uirtutis<sup>3</sup> amore, quasi nuper ad conuersationem uitae caelestis accitus, ultima confectus aetate, et prope iam moriturus, rursus incipit peregrinari pro Christo, quo liberius prisca sollicitudinum secularium spineta, camino spiritali feruens compunctionis ignis absumat. Deinde<sup>4</sup> etiam uestrae paternitati supplicamus, ut quod nos facere non meruimus, uos erga illum ultimae pietatis seduli munus expleatis; pro certo scientes quia etsi uos corpus habetis ipsius, et nos tamen et uos Deo deuotum eius spiritum, siue in corpore manentem, seu<sup>5</sup> carnis uinculis absolutum, magnum pro nostris excessibus apud supernam pietatem intercessorem habemus et patronum. Et cetera, quae<sup>6</sup> epistolae sequentia continent.

Acca,  
Bishop of  
Hexham,

20. Reuerso autem domum Hwethberego<sup>7</sup>, aduocatur episcopus Acca; et solita illum in abbatis officium

<sup>1</sup> -tus D. P. C. B. F.    <sup>2</sup> per- C.    <sup>3</sup> -tes H<sub>1</sub>.    <sup>4</sup> denique B.  
<sup>5</sup> siue C.    <sup>6</sup> quae om. D. P. B. F.    <sup>7</sup> hwetberto D. P. C. B. F.;  
withberto δ.

f. 20 a.

benedictione confirmat. Qui inter innumera monasterii iura quae iuuenili | sagax sollertia recuperabat, hoc in primis omnibus delectabile et gratificum<sup>1</sup> fecit; sustulit ossa Eosterwini<sup>2</sup> abbatis, quae in porticu<sup>3</sup> ingressus aecclesiae beati apostoli Petri<sup>4</sup> erant posita, necnon et ossa Siegfridi abbatis ac magistri quondam sui, quae foris sacrarium ad meridiem fuerant condita, et utraque in una theca sed medio pariete diuisa recludens, intus in eadem aecclesia iuxta corpus beati patris Benedicti composuit. Fecit autem haec die natalis Siegfridi, id est, undecimo kalendarum Septembrium, quo etiam die mira Dei prouidentia contigit<sup>5</sup>, ut uenerandus Christi famulus Uitmær<sup>6</sup>, cuius supra meminimus<sup>7</sup>, excederet<sup>8</sup>, et in loco, ubi praedicti abbates<sup>9</sup> prius sepulti fuerant<sup>10</sup>, ipse, qui eorum imitator fuerat, conderetur.

confirms  
Hwætbert  
as abbot.

Trans-  
lation of  
Eosterwine  
and Sigfrid,  
Aug. 22,  
716.

Hist.  
Anon.  
§§ 31-38.

21. Christi uero famulus *Ceolfriðus*, ut supradictum est, ad limina beatorum apostolorum tendens, priusquam illo peruenisset, tactus infirmitate diem clausit ultimum. *Perueniens* namque *Lingonas circa horam diei tertiam, decima ipsius diei hora migravit ad Dominum*, et crastino in ecclesia beatorum *Geminorum martyrum*<sup>11</sup> honorifice sepultus est<sup>12</sup>, non solum Anglis genere qui plusquam octoginta numero in eius fuerant comitatu, sed et illius loci accolis pro retardato tam reuerendi<sup>13</sup> senis desiderio, in lacrimas luctusque solutis. Neque enim facile quisquam lacrimas tenere potuit, uidens<sup>14</sup> comites ipsius partim patre amisso cæptum iter agere; partim mutata intentione, qua

Arrival  
and death  
of Ceolfrið  
at Langres,  
Sept. 25,  
716.

<sup>1</sup> -fiticum H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>2</sup> -wuini H<sub>1</sub>; -uuini C. B.; -wyni F; eoterwini P; æsteruuini δ.      <sup>3</sup> -cum δ.      <sup>4</sup> petri om. δ.  
<sup>5</sup> contigit mira, &c. D. P. C. B. F.      <sup>6</sup> witmer D. B. P; withmer C; wythmer F; withmerus postquam et ipse uita exciderat honorifice sepultus est δ.      <sup>7</sup> cuius sup. mem. om. δ.  
<sup>8</sup> exciderat H<sub>1</sub>. δ.      <sup>9</sup> -tis B.      <sup>10</sup> ferant C.      <sup>11</sup> et in loco . . . . martyrum om. H<sub>1</sub>. δ.      <sup>12</sup> est om. H<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>13</sup> -dis B. F.  
<sup>14</sup> uidet B.

Romam ire desiderant<sup>1</sup>, domum magis, qua hunc sepultum nuntiarent, reuerti; partim ad tumbam defuncti inter eos, quorum nec linguam nouerant, pro inextinguibili patris affectu *residere*.

Hist.  
Anon.  
§§ 31-38.  
f. 20 b.

His piety.

22. *Erat autem, quando obiit, annorum septuaginta IIII<sup>or</sup>, presbyterii | gradu functus annis quadraginta septem, abbatis officium ministrans annis triginta quinque, uel potius annis quadraginta<sup>2</sup> tribus, quia scilicet a primo tempore, quo Benedictus in honore beatissimi apostolorum principis suum coepit condere monasterium, ipse illi comes indiuiduus, cooperatore et doctor regularis et monasticae institutionis aderat. Cui ne prisci morem rigoris, uel etatis, uel infirmitatis, uel itineris unquam minueret<sup>1</sup> occasio; ex die quo de monasterio suo profectus abiit, usque ad diem quo defunctus est, id est, a pridie nonas Iunias usque ad septimum<sup>3</sup> kalendarum Octobrium diem, per dies centum quatuordecim, exceptis canonicis orationum horis, cotidie bis psalterium ex ordine decantare curauit; etiam tunc cum<sup>4</sup> ad hoc per infirmitatem deueniret, ut equitare non ualens feretro caballario ueheretur, cotidie missa cantata salutaris hostiae Deo munus offerret, excepto uno, quo oceanum nauigabat, et tribus ante exitum diebus.*

His burial,  
Sept. 26,  
716.

23. *Obiit autem septimo kalendarum Octobrium die, ib. anno ab incarnatione Domini septingentesimo sexto-decimo, feria sexta, post horam nonam, in pratis memoratae ciuitatis; sepultus in crastinum ad austrum<sup>5</sup> eiusdem ciuitatis miliario primo in monasterio Geminorum, adstante | ac psalmos resonante exercitu non paruo tam Anglorum, qui cum eo aduenerant, quam monasterii eiusdem uel ciuitatis incolarum. Sunt autem Gemini martyres, in quorum monasterio et aecclesia*

f. 21 a.

<sup>1</sup> -rat B.

ut; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> austrum H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> ut (i. e. uel) D. P. F; the scribes mistook xl for

<sup>3</sup> -ma P. F.

<sup>4</sup> cum om. D. P. C. B. F.



conditus est, *Speusippus*, *Eleusippus*, *Meleusippus*<sup>1</sup>, qui, uno partu matris editi, eadem aecclesiae fide renati, simul cum auia sua *Leonilla*<sup>2</sup>, dignam loco illi sui martyrii reliquere memoriam, qui<sup>3</sup> piam etiam nobis indignis et nostro parenti opem suae intercessionis et protectionis impendant<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> eleo-, meleo- H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> -nella H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> qui om. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> The two last syllables of impendant, and possibly the explicit &c., are lost in C. There is no explicit in D. P. B. F. In H<sub>1</sub> the explicit runs: 'explicit uita sanctorum abbatum Benedicti, Ceolfridi, Eosteruini, atque Sigfridi uenerabilium, qui luminaria sanctae aecclesiae praecipua gubernauerunt monasteria sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ut liber praescriptus a beato Beda luculenter edocet.' Then immediately follows the Vita Abbatum, auctore anonymo.

INCIPIT VITA SANCTISSIMI CEOLFRIDI ABBATIS, SUB QUO  
BEATUS BEDA HABITUM PERCEPIT SANCTAE RELIGIO-  
NIS, ET POST CUIUS OBITUM PRO MERITIS CEPIT  
ASSUMERE PALMAM AETERNAE FELICITATIS<sup>1</sup>.

1. PRAECIPIT apostolus Paulus, scribens ad Hebreos. 'Mementote praepositorum uestorum, qui locuti sunt uobis uerbum Dei, quorum intuentes exitum conuersationis imitami-  
mini fidem'; unde liquido patet quia optime agitis, carissimi, iubendo de memoria reuerentissimi patris et praepositi nostri Ceolfridi, qui locutus est nobis uerbum Dei, fieri sermonem. Erat enim reuera talis cuius Deo deuotae conuersationis non solum exitus, sed et introitus et processus, sit iure sequendus, cuius fidei non fictae sit imitanda constantia.

2. Nobilibus quippe ac religiosis editus parentibus et ipse a primis pueritiae annis uirtutum studio deditus, ubi octauum ferme et decimum agebat annum aetatis, deposito habitu saeculari monachus fieri maluit, intrauitque monasterium, quod positum in loco, qui dicitur Ingætlingum<sup>2</sup>, religiosus ac Deo amabilis frater eius Cynefridus<sup>3</sup> rexerat, sed non multum ante Tunberto<sup>4</sup> cognato ipsorum regendum commiserat, qui postea Hagustaldensis aeclesiae antistes ordinatus est; ipse discendarum studio scripturarum Hiberniam secedens, simul et desiderio liberius Domino in lacrimis precibusque seruiendi.

3. Deuote igitur susceptus a praefato cognato suo Ceolfridus deuotius est ipse conuersatus; lectioni, operationi, et

<sup>1</sup> incipitu ita sancti ceolfridi abbatis δ. *A seventeenth cent. hand adds: authore beda uel huneberto deiro.* <sup>2</sup> get- δ. <sup>3</sup> kin-  
fridus δ. <sup>4</sup> tumberhto δ.

Ceolfrid,

becomes a  
monk at  
Gilling.

Hebr.  
xiii. 7.  
f. 21 b.

f. 22 a.

discipline regulari per omnia studens. Nec multo post idem Cynefridus<sup>1</sup>, pestilentia longe lateque grassante, cum aliis quoque Anglorum nobilibus, qui gratia legendi scripturas illo praecesserant, a morte transitoria perpetuam migravit ad uitam, et Tunberctus<sup>2</sup> una cum Ceolfrido et non paucis e fratribus eius monasterii inuitatus a Wilfriðo<sup>3</sup> episcopo ad monasterium Rypense secessit, ubi Ceolfridus iuxta morem regulari subditus conuersationi, tempore procedente, a praefato episcopo ad presbiteratum electus atque ordinatus est, annorum circiter XX<sup>ti</sup> et VII<sup>tem</sup>. Qui mox ordinatus ob studium discendi maxime uitae monasterialis et gradus, quem subierat, instituta, Cantiam<sup>4</sup> petiit.

Removes to Ripon.

Visits Kent and East Anglia.

Returns to Ripon.

f. 22 b.

4. Peruenit et ad Anglos Orientales, ut uideret instituta Botuulfi<sup>5</sup> abbatis, quem singularis uitae et doctrinae uirum, gratiaque Spiritus<sup>6</sup> plenum, fama circumquaque uulgauerat; instructusque abundanter, quantum breui potuit, domum rediit, adeo ut nemo per id temporis uel in aecclesiastica, uel in monasteriali regula, doctior illo posset inueniri; nec tamen uel gradus, uel eruditionis, uel etiam nobilitatis suae intuitu, ut quidam, ab humilitatis statu ualuit reuocari, quin<sup>7</sup> in omnibus regulari se satagebat mancipare custodiae. Siquidem tempore non pauco pistoris officium tenens, inter cribrandum, elibanumque accendendum mundandumque, et panes in eo coquendos, presbiteratus caeremonias sedulus discere simul et exercere non omisit; quo tempore etiam regularis obseruantiae magisterio fratribus praeesse iussus est, quo, pro insita sibi eruditione simul et zeli feruore diuini, et inscios instituere, et contumaces redarguere deberet.

Joins Benedict Biscop the founder of Wearmouth.

5. Ut uero tempus aderat, quo eum caelestis Arbiter eminentius rectorem facere decreuerat animarum fidelium, beatae memoriae pastor et abba noster Benedictus, cognita eruditionis, religionis, et industriae eius gratia, cum monasterium hoc, in quo nos superna pietas congregauit, instituere disposuisset, hunc sibi a memorato eius episcopo adiutorem et cooperatorem monasticae institutionis dari obtinuit; non quia tantae peritiae uir eius magisterio, quo ipse inbueretur, opus habuerit, cum multoties mare<sup>8</sup> transito,

<sup>1</sup> kinfridus δ.      <sup>2</sup> tumberhtus δ.      <sup>3</sup> -do δ.      <sup>4</sup> cantia H.  
<sup>5</sup> botulfi δ.      <sup>6</sup> spiritus sancti δ.      <sup>7</sup> qui H, with an erasure after it.      <sup>8</sup> mari δ.

Gallie, et Italie, sed et Insularum partibus lustratis, antiquorum statuta monasteriorum iam notissima haberet.

6. Denique referre erat solitus, quia regulam, quam docebat, in antiquissimis X<sup>cem</sup> et VII<sup>tem</sup> monasteriis didicerat, et quaeque ubicumque optima uidisset, haec, quasi in sacculo sui pectoris recondita, Britanniamque perlata, nobis sequenda tradiderit. Sed sicut Barnabas apostolus, cum esset uir bonus, plenusque Spiritu Sancto<sup>1</sup> ac fide, docturus Antiochiae primo uenit Tarsum, ubi sciebat esse Saulum, quem inter rudimenta susceptae fidei magna iam dedisse meminerat indicia uirtutis, ut hoc usus adiutore ministerium uerbi, sicut<sup>2</sup> proposuerat, impleret; uel sicut Moyses ad ducatum Israheliticae plebis ab ipso Domino electus et edoctus, ne solus tanti pondus regiminis subire formidaret, Aaron fratris auxilio stipatur, quo sacerdote et propheta adiutus susceptum adimpleret officium; sic nimirum, sic memorabilis<sup>3</sup> abbas Benedictus, cum esset in omnibus monasterii disciplinis instructissimus<sup>4</sup>, in construendo suo monasterio Ceolfri<sup>5</sup> quaesivit auxilium, qui et regularis<sup>6</sup> obseruantiam uitae pari doctrinae studio firmaret, et altaris officium sacerdotii gradu suppleret.

Foundation  
of Wear-  
mouth, 674  
A. D.

7. Ceperunt autem aedificare monasterium iuxta ostium<sup>7</sup> Wiri fluminis, anno dominicae incarnationis sexcentesimo septuagesimo IIII<sup>to</sup>, indictione II<sup>a</sup>, anno autem quarto imperii Egfri<sup>8</sup> regis, accepta ab eo terra, primo familiarum quinquaginta, postea namque uel ipsius uel aliorum regum nobiliumque donatione in maius<sup>9</sup> auctum est. Secundo<sup>10</sup> fundati monasterii anno, Benedictus mare transiens architectos a Torhthelmo<sup>11</sup> abbate, dudum sibi in amicitiiis iuncto, quorum magisterio et opere basilicam de lapide faceret, petiit, acceptosque de Gallia Britanniam perduxit.

Benedict  
obtains  
architects  
from Gaul.

Ceolfrid  
retires to  
Ripon, but  
is induced  
to return.

8. Cepit interea tedere Ceolfridum prioratus, magisque delectare<sup>12</sup> libertas monachicae quietis quam alieni cura regiminis. Nam et inuidias quorundam nobilium, qui regularem eius disciplinam ferre nequibant, insecutionesque patiebatur accerrimas, reuersusque ad monasterium suum

<sup>1</sup> sancto spiritu δ. <sup>2</sup> sicut om. H<sup>1</sup>; quod H<sup>2</sup>. <sup>3</sup> memoris H. <sup>4</sup> -mis H<sup>1</sup>. <sup>5</sup> -di δ. <sup>6</sup> regulans H<sup>1</sup>. <sup>7</sup> ostium om. H. <sup>8</sup> -di δ. <sup>9</sup> magius H; magnis δ. <sup>10</sup> sec. autem δ. <sup>11</sup> tortelmo δ. <sup>12</sup> -ri H. δ.

cf. Act.  
xi. 24, 25.

f. 23 a.

Exod. iv.  
14-16.

Baed.  
§§ 4, 5.

f. 23 b.

solito priscae conuersationis festinauit se subicere famulatui ; sed sequente Benedicto, ac reditum eius postulante, tandem uictus caritatis precibus, reddit, et quae coeperat cum eo monasterii constituendi atque ordinandi iura<sup>1</sup> sedulus exsequitur.

ib. § 6. 9<sup>2</sup>. Facta autem citissime basilica operis eximii, atque in honorem beati Petri apostoli dedicata, reuerentissimus abbas Benedictus Romam ire disposuit, ut librorum copiam sanctorum, reliquiarum<sup>3</sup> beatorum martyrum memoriam dulcem, historiarum canonicarum picturam merito uenerandam, sed et alia, quae consuerat, peregrini orbis dona, patriam referret ; maxime magistros, qui iuxta ritum Romanae institutionis ordinem cantandi et ministrandi in ea, quam nuper fundauerat aecclesia, docerent.

Benedict and Ceolfrid set out for Rome.

ib. 10. Comitatus est<sup>4</sup> Ceolfriðus<sup>5</sup> euntem, cupiens sui gradus officium plenius Romae, quam in Britannia poterat, ediscere ; relictus uero est ad tuitionem monasterii, donec redirent, Easterwyni<sup>6</sup> presbiter et cognatus abbatis Benedicti. Cooperante autem Domino, propositum sequitur | effectus, et ibi multa discunt aecclesiae statuta, et beate memorie Iohannem archicantorem Romanae aecclesiae, abbatemque monasterii beati Martyni, secum Brittanniam ducunt, qui nos abundanter ordinem cantandi per ordinem et uiua uoce simul et litteris edocuit.

ib. § 7. 11. Post octo autem annos quam praefatum monasterium statuere caeperant, placuit Ecgrido regi, pro redemptione animae suae, etiam aliam XL familiarum terram reuerentissimo abbati Benedicto donare, in qua aecclesia et monasterium beato Paulo fieret ; non quidem a prioris monasterii societate seiunctum, sed eidem in omnibus unanima fraternitate conexum. Quod opus sibi iniunctum Ceolfriðus strenuosissime perfecit ; namque acceptis secum XXII fratribus, decem quidem attonsis, XII uero tonsurae adhuc gratiam expectantibus, uenit ad locum, primo ibidem<sup>7</sup> constructis omnibus, quae maxime necessitas monasterii poscebat, domibus, ipsamque<sup>8</sup> regularis custodiae disci-

Foundation of Jarrow.

<sup>1</sup> est iura H.

<sup>2</sup> Up to this point the chapters have been marked in the margin of H ; from c. 9 onwards inclusive, this is not the case.

<sup>3</sup> -rumque ð.

<sup>4</sup> est autem ð.

<sup>5</sup> -dus ð.

<sup>6</sup> ęsterwinus ð.

<sup>7</sup> primis autumnii abscissum H. (Perhaps something has been lost.)

<sup>8</sup> que om. H.



plinam, eundem cantandi legendique ritum omnem canonicum, quem in priori monasterio seruabant, ibi quoque celebrandum suscepit; dum nequaquam omnes, qui cum eo uenerant, psalmos cantare, quanto minus legere in aeclesia, uel antifonas siue responsoria dicere nossent. Sed iuuit eos amor religionis, et studiosi rectoris exemplum | atque in- f. 24 b.  
stantia sollers, qui donec altum monasterialis obseruantiae radicem figeret<sup>1</sup>, sepius horis omnibus canonicis cum fratribus aeclesiam frequentare, refici, et quiescere solebat; quatinus si qua corrigenda, si qua nouitios essent docenda, praesens ipse perficeret.

Building of  
Jarrow  
Church.

12. Tertio autem ex quo monasterium fundauit anno, Baed. § 8.  
cepit aedificare aeclesiam beati Pauli apostoli nomine consecrandam, ubi Æcgfridus ipse locum altaris designauerat; quod in tantum creuit opus in dies, ut, cum pauci essent operarii, secundo ex quo inchoatum est anno, ad dedicationem usque perueniret. Eo autem tempore quo reuerentissimus abbas Benedictus illuc miserat abbatem Ceolfridum, constituit et Æosterwini<sup>2</sup>, quem praefatus sum, presbiterum cognatumque suum, prioris monasterii rectorem, non quia unum idemque monasterium duos habere uel possit, uel debeat abbates, sed quia ipse pro insita sibi sapientia et maturitate consiliorum sepius ad regem solebat euocari, nec uacabat eum semper gubernandis disponendisque monasterii curis implicari<sup>3</sup>, quaesivit sibi socium, quo auxiliante, debitum pondus regiminis leuius securiusque portaret. Insuper et Romam ire festinabat, quatinus ea, quae necesse essent monasteriis, que condiderat, de peregri patriam<sup>4</sup> bona referret.

Eosterwine  
and Ceol-  
frid abbots  
of Wear-  
mouth and  
Jarrow.

Eosterwine  
dies of the  
plague.  
Election of  
Sigfrid.

13. Qui, | dum transmarinis moraretur in locis, ecce, subita f. 25 a.  
pestilentiae procella Britanniam corripiciens lata nece uastauit, in qua plurimi de utroque eius monasterio, et ipse uenerabilis ac Deo dilectus abbas Eosterwini<sup>2</sup> raptus est ad Dominum, III<sup>to</sup> ex quo abbas esse caeperat anno. Pro quo fratres, una cum consilio Ceolfridi abbatis, Sigfridum diaconem eiusdem monasterii, mire sanctitatis uirum, et scripturarum studiis abundanter instructum ac singulariter intentum, constituere abbatem.

<sup>1</sup> fieret H.

<sup>2</sup> æsterwinum; -nus δ.

<sup>3</sup> -re H.

<sup>4</sup> de peregrina patria δ.

14. Porro in monasterio, cui Ceolfrius praeerat, omnes qui legere, uel praedicare, uel antifonas ac responsoria dicere possent, ablati sunt, excepto ipso abbate et uno puerulo, qui ab ipso nutritus et eruditus, nunc usque in eodem monasterio presbyterii gradum tenens, iure actus eius laudabiles cunctis<sup>1</sup> scire uolentibus et scripto commendat, et fatu. Qui uidelicet abbas, praefate gratia plagae multum tristis, praecepit ut, intermisso ritu priori<sup>2</sup>, psalmodiam totam, praeter uespere et matutinis<sup>3</sup>, sine antiphonis transigerent. Quod cum unius ebdomadis spatio inter multas eius lacrimas et querimonias esset actitatum, diutius hoc fieri non ferens, rursus statuit, ut antifonatae psalmodiae, iuxta morem, cursus instauretur, cunctisque adnitentibus, per se et quem praedixi puerum, quae statuerat, non paruo cum labore complebat, donec socios operis diuini sufficientes uel nutriret ipse, uel aliunde colligeret.

Anecdote of the plague at Jarrow.

15. At ubi Benedictus a Roma patriam peregrina merce, ut semper, onustus aduenit, mestus quidem est<sup>4</sup> de clade quae acciderat, sed gauisus satis quia Sigfridus, Deo amabilis uir, pro Eosterwini abbas esset electus; precepitque<sup>5</sup>, ut susceptam monasterii curam strenue gereret, ipso quoque in doctrina et orationibus iuuante. Uerum non multo post uterque incidit in infirmitatem, et crescente per tempus molestia, in lectum ambo sternuntur, ita ut ne ad sedendum quidem exurgere<sup>6</sup> possent.

Benedict returns. Sickness of him and Sigfrid.

16. Unde inito cum fratribus consilio, Benedictus uocauit Ceolfridum, eumque utriusque monasterii abbatem constituit, praecipiens ut unum per omnia esset monasterium, tametsi duobus in locis positum, uno semper abbati<sup>7</sup> gubernatum, eodem priuilegii munimine tutatum; et sicut eiusdem priuilegii, quod ab Agathone papa susceperat, scripta continent, simul et regula sancti patris Benedicti, nunquam abbas<sup>8</sup> eidem monasterio iuxta successionem generis, sed iuxta uitae modum et doctrinae quereretur industriam, secundum quod ipse in praesenti Ceolfridum statuerat, qui magis sibi spiritali quam carnali erat cognatione conexus,

Ceolfrid made abbot of both monasteries, May 13.

<sup>1</sup> cunctos δ. <sup>2</sup> intermisso ritu priori om. δ, substituting ad omnes horas regulares. <sup>3</sup> uesperam et matutinas δ. <sup>4</sup> est om. δ. <sup>5</sup> quae om. δ. <sup>6</sup> exurgere H. <sup>7</sup> abbate δ. <sup>8</sup> abbatem δ.

f. 25 b.

ib. § 10.

ib. § 11.

ib. § 13.

f. 26 a.

cum haberet fratrem carnis quidem sibi consanguinitate proximum, sed inopia cordis a se longissime distantem.

Death of  
Sigfrid,  
Aug. 22;  
and of  
Benedict,  
Jan. 12.

17. Constitutus est autem ibi abbas Ceolfridus tertio anno regis Aldfridi<sup>1</sup>, indictione prima, quarto iduum Maiarum die, qui erat annus octauus ex quo monasterium beati Pauli fundauerat. Et eodem anno uenerabilis abbas et diaconus Sigfridus, longa excoctus egritudine, migravit ad regna caelestia, .XI. kal. Septembris<sup>2</sup>, tertio quam abbas esse caeperat anno. Porro, anni sequentis exordiis, id est, .II.<sup>3</sup> id. Ian. Deo dilectus abba Benedictus, et ipse post longae caminum infirmitatis, in qua Deo semper agere gratias solebat, requiem lucemque uitae celestis adiit, annis in regimine monasteriali sedecim exactis.

Baed.  
§ 14.

18. Octo quippe<sup>4</sup> annos ipse beati Petri apostoli monasterium regebat, et alios totidem etiam beati Pauli monasterio per Ceolfridum curam inpendebat; quorum primis<sup>5</sup> IIII<sup>or</sup> annis monasterium beati Petri, sicut superius expositum est, Æosterwyni<sup>6</sup> adiutore, gubernabat; sequentibus tribus<sup>7</sup> Sigfridum, ultimo Ceolfridum, habebat | regendi consortem. f. 26 b. Sepultus est autem Benedictus in porticu beati Petri, ad orientem altaris, ubi postmodum etiam reuerentissimorum abbatum Easterwini<sup>6</sup> et Sigfridi sunt ossa translata.

Ceolfrid's  
rule and  
character.

19. Quo ad uitam translato de morte, Ceolfridus utriusque monasterii, uel potius unius monasterii duobus in locis siti, curam suscepit, et per annos uiginti septem uigilanti sollertia seruauit<sup>8</sup>. Erat enim uir acer ingenio, strenuus actu, feruens zelo iustitiae, flagrans amore simul et timore diuino, seuerus in corripiendis peccantibus, mitis in refouendis paenitentibus, studiosus in seruandis docendisque regularis uitae statutis, benignus in pauperibus recreandis atque elemosina danda, largus etiam in pecunia uel ea que petebatur donanda, uel ea quae ipsi donabatur<sup>9</sup> remuneranda, orationum et psalmodiae religiosa frequentia curam gerens.

ib. § 15.

Prosperity  
of the mon-  
asteries  
under him.

20. Itaque monasteria, quibus praeerat, et extrinsecis abundanter opibus et non minus locupletauit internis<sup>10</sup>, et

<sup>1</sup> alfridi δ.      <sup>2</sup> semtembris H.      <sup>3</sup> pridie δ.      <sup>4</sup> quin-  
que δ.      <sup>5</sup> primus δ.      <sup>6</sup> æsterwino, -ni δ.      <sup>7</sup> quippe  
tribus δ.      <sup>8</sup> seruabit H.      *Instead of* 'utriusque . . . seruabit'  
δ. *substitutes from Bede's Vita Abb. c. 15:* 'utrique monasterio . . .  
perficere curauit.'      <sup>9</sup> -bantur H.      <sup>10</sup> interius δ.

ut ab improborum inruptione securiora redderet, missis Romam legatariis, epistolam privilegii a beatae memoriae papa Sergio petiit, et accepit, instar illius, quam ab Agathone decessor eius Benedictus acceperat<sup>1</sup>. Nam et uasis, | quae ad aecclesiae uel altaris officium pertinent, copiosissime ditauit; et bibliothecam, quam de Roma uel ipse, uel Benedictus adtulerat, nobiliter ampliauit, ita ut inter alia tres Pandectes faceret describi, quorum duo per totidem sua monasteria posuit in aecclesiis, ut cunctis qui aliquod capitulum de utrolibet Testamento legere uoluissent, in promptu esset inuenire quod cuperent<sup>2</sup>; tertium autem Romam profecturus donum beato Petro apostolorum principi offerre decreuit<sup>3</sup>.

21. Namque ubi longo iam senio defessus uidit se ultra non posse exemplum pristini uigoris suis premonstrare discipulis<sup>4</sup>, inuenit utile consilium ut, relicto iuuenioribus regimine monasteriali, ipse apostolorum limina peregrinaturus adiret; ibique terrenis absolutus curis inter libera orationum studia diem spectaret ultimum, imitatus exemplum fratris sui Cynefridi, qui, sicut supra commemorauimus, studio uitae contemplatiuae monasterii curam reliquit, et patriam propter Dominum spontaneo mutauit exsilio.

He determines to resign, and go on pilgrimage to Rome.

22. Parauit igitur nauem, recensuit legatarios quos Romam destinaret, ordinauit et munera quae beato Petro essent referenda, sufficienter ea, quae tanto | itineri essent necessaria, procurauit. Sed quod ipse cum his esset iturus consulte ad tempus celauit, ne, uidelicet, si palam uulgaretur quod proposuerat, uel prohiberetur et retardaretur ab amicis, uel certe a pluribus ei pecunia largiretur, quos ipse remunerandi nec spatium nec<sup>5</sup> facultatem haberet. Hanc etenim semper habebat consuetudinem animi dapsilis, ut si quid<sup>6</sup> ei muneris ab aliqua<sup>7</sup> sive maiorum seu minorum personarum daretur, nequaquam inremuneratum dimitteret, sed ampliori sepius largitorem suum gratia donaret.

<sup>1</sup> et ut ab . . . acceperat om. δ; because the fact is stated in the passage interpolated from Bede below; note 3. <sup>2</sup> Here δ interpolates 'dato quoque cosmographiorum . . . emerat,' from Bede u. s. <sup>3</sup> Here

δ substitutes for c. 21 the following from Bede u. s. cc. 15, 16: 'terram etiam octo . . . accepit. Deinde missis . . . non latet. Temporibus autem illis tradens . . . seruarent.' <sup>4</sup> -li H. <sup>5</sup> ne H. δ.

<sup>6</sup> quit H. <sup>7</sup> aliquo δ.

f. 27 a.

ib. § 17.

f. 27 b.



He takes  
leave of the  
brethren.

23. Igitur omnibus paratis, et die profectionis instante, Baed. § 17.  
conuocauit in aecclesiam fratres qui erant in monasterio  
beati Petri, et quae disponderet pandit. Flebant omnes  
ruentes in faciem, pedesque illius adprehendunt<sup>1</sup>, fusis  
lacrimis obsecrant, ne tam repentinus abscederet, sed uel  
una die apud eos subsisteret. Adquieuit precantibus,  
mansitque apud eos die illa et nocte, erat autem tertia feria  
ante dominicam diem Pentecosten, et mane, comitantibus  
plurimis, profectus est ad fratres positos in monasterio beati  
Pauli, locutusque cum eis, quia abire iam disposuisset,  
indicauit. Et<sup>2</sup> illis multum plorantibus, ac de subito eius f. 28 a.  
decessu turbatis, leniter ac blande affatus uniuersos, rogauit  
ut<sup>3</sup> regulam, quam docuerat, seruarent, in timore Domini  
permanerent, neque iter, quod proposuerat, suis precibus  
fletibusque inpedirent, et ei, si quid intemperantius iusto  
egisset, ueniam darent, quia et ipse cunctis, qui se in aliquo  
offenderant, iam toto ex corde dimiserit, Dominumque  
omnibus placatum esse et tunc et semper optauerit.

24. Non autem parum diu obnitentibus tandem et ipse ib.  
multum lacrimans obtinuit, quatinus ei cum benedictione et  
gratia decenti uiandi licentiam darent, precabanturque  
obnixè, ut si ad beatorum Apostolorum loca sacra perueniret,  
crebris eos in<sup>4</sup> precibus Domino commendaret; si<sup>5</sup> antea  
transiret, pro eorum semper incolumitate intercedere  
meminisset.

25. Profectus est die eodem<sup>6</sup>, siue desiderio uiandi accensus, ib.  
seu lugentium fratrum tedio compulsus, praecipiens ut cum  
suae gratia benedictionis, iuxta regulam sancti patris  
Benedicti et sui statutæ priuilegii, quemcumque de suis  
digniores putarent, abbatem sibi constituissent<sup>7</sup>. Rediens-  
que ad monasterium beati Petri mox mane facto, cantata  
missa<sup>8</sup> ad sanctum Petrum, et ad sanctam Mariam, et,  
communicantibus qui aderant, confestim paratus uocat  
fratres omnes in aecclesiam | beati Petri, rogat pro se orare, f. 28 b.  
dicit et ipse orationem, accendit thymiana, habensque in  
manu turribulum consistit<sup>9</sup> in gradibus, ubi legere consuerat<sup>10</sup>,  
dat osculum plurimis, nam ne omnibus posset, luctu et suo et

<sup>1</sup> -dentes δ<sup>2</sup> on erasure.  
erased δ.

<sup>2</sup> tunc δ.

<sup>3</sup> ut om. δ.

<sup>4</sup> in

<sup>5</sup> si uero δ.

<sup>6</sup> eodem inde δ.

<sup>7</sup> constituerent δ.

<sup>8</sup> missa om. δ.

<sup>9</sup> constitit δ.

<sup>10</sup> -rant δ.



ipsorum praepeditur. Egreditur cum<sup>1</sup> turribulo ad oratorium beati Laurentii martyris, quod est in<sup>2</sup> dormitorio fratrum, sequuntur et ipsi cantantes antiphonam de propheta: 'Uia iustorum recta facta est, et iter sanctorum praeparatum est,' et 'ambulantes<sup>3</sup> de uirtute in uirtutem,' adiuncto et psalmo sexagesimo sexto, 'Deus misereatur nobis, et benedicat nos, inluminet<sup>4</sup> uultum suum super nos, et misereatur nobis.' Et ibi incenso thure exiens, rursum adloquitur omnes, ut pacem inuicem seruent, ab odiis, detractationibus, et scandalis caueant, peccantes quosque iuxta praeceptum euangelii singuli primum, deinde bini uel terni adloquantur, atque ad uiam ueritatis reuocare satagent, et, si fructus sequatur industriam<sup>5</sup>, gaudeant, sin alias, sic tandem ad publicum eorum errata proferant, concordiam unitatemque germanam cum fratribus, qui essent ad sanctum Paulum, custodiant, unum utrorumque monasterium esse meminerint, ab eodem semper abbate regendum, ne rupto interius foedere fraternitatis pandatur exteris ianua nociuae inruptionis, iuxta exemplum Hebraeae plebis, quae, ut per stultitiam filii Salomonis contra seipsam diuisa est, nunquam externa a clade quieuit<sup>6</sup>.

26. Completa allocutione, rursus adsumpta antiphona cum psalmo memorato egrediuntur ad fluuium, lugubre<sup>7</sup> carmine patrem utpote iam decessurum deducentes, itidemque singulis osculum pacis dat, intercepto sepius cantu prae lacrimis, et dicta in litore oratione, ascendit nauem, residet in prora<sup>8</sup>, sederunt iuxta<sup>9</sup> diacones, unus crucem, quam fecerat, auream. alter caereas<sup>10</sup> tenens ardentes.

27. Currente trans fluuium nauis, aspectans contra merentes suo abscessu fratres, audiensque sonum sublimem mixti cum luctu carminis, nullatenus ualuit ipse a singultu et lacrimis temperare. Hoc autem solum crebra uoce repetiit: 'Christe, miserere illi caetui! Domine omnipotens, protege illam cohortem! Scio autem certissime quia nullos umquam meliores illis et promptiores ad obedientiam noui.

<sup>1</sup> deinde cum δ.      <sup>2</sup> proximum δ.      <sup>3</sup> ibunt sancti δ.

<sup>4</sup> -ne H.      <sup>5</sup> industria, with de inserted before it above the line H.

<sup>6</sup> So δ rightly; nunquam 'ad' externa adquieuit H, with erasures.

<sup>7</sup> -ri δ, on erasure.      <sup>8</sup> So H, with erasure between r and o; in loco

priore δ.      <sup>9</sup> iuxta eum δ.      <sup>10</sup> cereos δ.

Is. xxvi.  
7.  
Ps.

lxxxiii. 8.

Ps. lxvi.  
1.

f. 29 a.

Baed.  
§ 17.

ib.

Christe Deus defende illos !' Sic egressus nauem adorat ad crucem, ascenditque equum, et abiit, abiectis saecularium rerum curis, festinans ab ipsa quoque cognata | sibi Anglo- f. 29 b.  
rum gente peregrinari in terris quo liberior puriorque<sup>1</sup> animo ad contemplanda angelorum consortia redderetur in celis<sup>2</sup>.

Election of  
Hwætbert,  
June 7, 716.

28. Reuersi ad aecclesiam fratres completa oratione con- Baed.  
silium ineunt quid faciant, placuitque ut inter preces et § 18.  
ieiunia quererent a Domino, quem sibi abbatem praeponerent. Sed quia praeceperat abiens pater uenerabilis, ne qui<sup>3</sup> de illis ipsa suae aegressionis die ieiunaret, quin potius omnes maius conuiuium haberent, et ob id etiam quosdam de suis comitibus apud eos usque ad consummatum prandium expectare praeceperat<sup>4</sup>, erat autem<sup>5</sup> quinta feria ante dominicam Pentecosten<sup>6</sup>, uisum est sequenti die ac nocte ieiunandum, et sabbato tantum ad nonam horam reficiendum, quia propter uigilias Dominicae sollempnitatis nequibant ultra protelare ieiunium; sed et psalmos non paucos per congruas canonicae orationis horas augendos, obsecrandamque ab omnibus supernam pietatem<sup>7</sup>, quatinus eo die quo per Sancti Spiritus aduentum aecclesiae suae primordia consecrare dignata est, etiam ipsis, portioni uidelicet aecclesiae, per eiusdem Spiritus gratiam dignum ostenderet rectorem<sup>8</sup>.

29. His ita completis, uenerunt illo de monasterio sancti ib.  
Pauli perplures e fratribus<sup>9</sup> die dominico Pentecosten, | et f. 30 a.  
unanimo consilio elegerunt Hwætberchtum in loco abbatis ordinandum, qui in monasterio eodem a prima aetate conuersatus, et aecclesiastica simul ac monasteriali scientia inbutus, iam tunc presbyterii gradu pollebat. Hic ergo

<sup>1</sup> puriorumque H.      <sup>2</sup> Here  $\delta$  interpolates from Bede u. s. c. 17 :  
'Tanta enim erat proficiscendi . . . nequiret; hanc habens  
semper, ut supra iam diximus, consuetudinem, . . . rependeret.  
Reuersi,' &c.      <sup>3</sup> quis  $\delta$ .      <sup>4</sup> -cepit  $\delta$ .      <sup>5</sup> et quia erat  $\delta$ .  
<sup>6</sup> -tes  $\delta$ .      <sup>7</sup> consuerunt add  $\delta$ .      <sup>8</sup> Here  $\delta$ , omitting 'His ita . . .  
ordinandum,' inserts from Bede u. s. c. 18 : 'Hoc ipsum autem et  
monachis cenobii beati Pauli . . . conueniunt iterum omnes . . .  
sententia; [eligitur itaque uenerabilis Withmerus in officium ab-  
batis] qui in monasterio,' &c. The words in brackets are added on  
the margin in a rather later hand.      <sup>9</sup> effratribus H.

mox abbas electus scripsit epistolam qua<sup>1</sup> apostolico papae patrem prodecessoremque suum commendaret, simul et munera que mitteret parauit, secutusque eius uestigia cum quibusdam e fratribus<sup>2</sup> legit illi epistolam, et dona, que deferret, protulit, inueniens eum in monasterio Aelberti, quod<sup>3</sup> est situm in loco, qui Cornu Uallis appellatur.

30. Qui libenter accipiens electionem fratrum et ipse hanc sua benedictione firmavit, eumque abundanter in pluribus, qualiter regendo monasterio praeesse deberet, instituit. Huius autem epistolae exordium est :

Ceolfrid confirms the election.

ib. § 19. *Domino in Domino dominorum dilectissimo terque beatissimo papae Gregorio, Hwætberchtus<sup>4</sup>, humilis seruus uester, abbas coenobii beatissimi apostolorum [principis]<sup>5</sup> Petri de Saxonia, perpetuam in Domino salutem.* Letter of Hwætbert to Pope Gregory II.

cf. Matth. xi. 29, 30.

cf. 30 b.

*Gratias agere non cesso dispensationi superni examinis, una cum sanctis fratribus, qui mecum in his locis ad inueniendam requiem animabus suis, suauissimum Christi iugum portare desiderant, quod te nostris temporibus tam glorificum electionis | uas regimini totius aecclesiae praeficere dignata est; quatinus per hoc, quo ipse diuinitus implevis, lumen et ueritatis et fidei etiam minores quosque affatim iubare<sup>6</sup> suae pietatis aspergeret<sup>7</sup>. Commendamus autem tue sanctae benignitati, dilectissime in Christo pater et domine, uenerabiles<sup>8</sup> patris nostri dilectissimi canos, Ceolfridi uidelicet, abbatis ac nutritoris tutorisque nostrae spiritalis in monastica quiete libertatis et pacis. Et primum quidem gratias agimus sanctae et indiuidue Trinitati, quod ipse, et si non sine maximo nostro dolore, gemitu, luctu, ac prosecutione lacrimarum a nobis abiit, ad suae tamen diu desideratae quietis gaudia sancta peruenit; dum ea, quae inueniem se adisse, uidisse, atque adorasse semper recordans exultabat, etiam senio defessus beatorum apostolorum deuotus limina repetiit, et post longos amplius quadraginta<sup>9</sup> annorum labores curasque continuas, quibus monasteriis regendis abbatis iure praefuit, incomparabili uirtutis amore, quas*

<sup>1</sup> quo H.      <sup>2</sup> efratribus H, and so at first δ.      <sup>3</sup> que H.

<sup>4</sup> withmerus δ (partly on erasure).      <sup>5</sup> princ. om. H. δ. v. p. 383.

<sup>6</sup> iuuare H.      <sup>7</sup> Here δ inserts on margin : et post pauca.      <sup>8</sup> -lis δ.

<sup>9</sup> lx<sup>ta</sup> H.

*nuper ad conuersionem uitae caelestis accitus, ultima confectus aetate, et prope iam moriturus, rursus incipit peregrinari pro Christo, quo liberius prisca sollicitudinum saecularium spineta camino spiritali feruens compunctionis ignis absumat. Deinde etiam uestrae | paternitati<sup>1</sup> supplicamus, ut quod nos f. 31 a. facere non meruimus, uos erga illum ultimae pietatis seduli munus<sup>2</sup> expleatis; pro certo scientes quia et si uos corpus habetis ipsius, et nos tamen et uos Deo deuotum eius spiritum, siue in corpore manentem, seu corporeis uinculis absolutum, magnum pro nostris excessibus<sup>3</sup> apud supernam pietatem intercessorem habemus et patronum<sup>4</sup>.*

Ceolfrið  
reaches  
Gaul.

31. Profectus est autem Ceolfriðus a suo monasterio pridie nonas Iunias, quinta sabbati, descensurus in mare per ostium Humbri fluminis, quarta nonas Iulias, die sabbati, nauem ascendit, quae priusquam Gallicum litus tangeret, tribus in prouinciis in terram adpulsa est, in quibus singulis ipse a cunctis honorifice susceptus, et ueneratione<sup>5</sup> habitus est. quia gratiam antiquae perfectionis incomparabili uirtutis exemplo consummare decreuerit<sup>6</sup>. Baed. §§ 21-23.

Dies at  
Langres,  
Sept. 25,  
716.

32. Adiit, emensa nauigatione, Galliae terras pridie id. ib. Aug. IIII<sup>ta</sup> sabbati, sed et illis in partibus magnifice ab uniuersis, maxime ab ipso rege Hilperico<sup>7</sup> honoratus est, qui exceptis donis quae obtulit, etiam epistolas illi per omnes regni<sup>8</sup> sui prouincias dedit, ut in pace susciperetur ubique, neque ei quispiam dispendium itineris facere praesumeret. Insuper et Longobardorum regi Liudbrando<sup>9</sup> illum una cum suis omnibus benigne exhibendum commendauit. | Peruenit f. 31 b. autem Lingonas Burgundiorum ciuitatem die septimo kalendarum Octobrium, sexta sabbati, ubi aetate pariter longa et aegritudine lassatus, immo, secundum quod loqui solent scripturae, deficiens in senectute bona, adpositus est ad patres suos. Erat enim septuaginta et IIII<sup>or</sup> annorum, Gen. xxv. 8. presbyterii gradu functus annis quadraginta VII<sup>tem</sup>, abbatis locum per se regens annis XXXV.

33. Reliquit autem in monasteriis cohortem militum Christi numero plus quam sexcentorum; porro terram, iuxta Baed. §§ 21-23.

<sup>1</sup> uestram paternitatem δ. <sup>2</sup> munus seduli δ. <sup>3</sup> excessibus H.

<sup>4</sup> Here δ interpolates from Bede u. s. cc. 19-21: et cetera . . . sepultus est, with omissions there noted. <sup>5</sup> -ni δ.

<sup>6</sup> -rat δ. <sup>7</sup> So δ; helwric<sup>e</sup> H. <sup>8</sup> regem H. <sup>9</sup> lud-δ.



supputationem consuetudinis Anglorum, familiarum ferme centum quinquaginta; qui, ut a suo monasterio egressus<sup>1</sup> est, His piety, usque dum diem clausit extremum, excepta psalmodia canonica, ter cotidie psalterium Dauid<sup>2</sup> ex ordine decantauit, addens ad consuetudinem priscam, qua per annos plurimos bis cotidie canendo psalterium currere<sup>3</sup> solebat; et sacre oblationis hostiam pro se suisque Domino offerre nullo die praetermisit, etiam cum prae nimietate languoris equitare non ualens caballario ferreretur in grabato, excepta illa duntaxat una, qua, quatientibus nauem procellis, tota laborabat in mari, et IIII<sup>or</sup> ante obitum suum diebus.

ib. 34. Erant in comitatu eius .LXXX. circiter uiri diuersi collecti de partibus, qui illum uniuersi quasi patrem sequebantur<sup>4</sup> et colebant suum<sup>5</sup>. Nam et ipse suis praeceperat | ministris, ut si quem<sup>6</sup> de comitantibus se<sup>7</sup> alimentum non habere conperissent, confestim ei uel cibum uel pretium and charity. darent; erat quippe natura misericors, et pauperum cultor eximius. Denique profecturo et proficiscente illo unanims egenorum uagorumque gemitus, quasi patre se et altore destitutum, testabatur. Quod uirtutis genus ipse non solum timore et amore superno commendatum, sed et a parente quasi hereditario iure susceptum, sedulus exercere curabat. Siquidem pater ipsius, cum nobilissimum comitatus ageret officium, in tantum misericordie, quae fit in pauperes, semper operibus gaudebat, ut cum quodam tempore permagnificas suscipiendo regi epulas parasset, sed hunc superueniens Anecdote of his father. inopinata belli necessitas, ne eo uenire posset, retardaret, ille gratias diuine dispensationi referens statim omnes pauperes, peregrinos, languentes circumquaque uocari ad epulas, et que regi terreno ac ministris eius exhibenda proposuerat, summo iam Regi in humilibus illius aeterne gratia retributionis exhiberit; ipse quidem per se maribus omnem inpendens famulatum, porro coniugem suam feminis humillimae ancillatum famulae per seipsam in omnibus exhibere praecipiens.

ib. 35. Peruenit autem Lingonas Ceolfrius circa<sup>8</sup> horam diei tertiam, septimo<sup>9</sup> kal. Octob. ut diximus, incipiente indic- His reception at

<sup>1</sup> -su H.      <sup>2</sup> dauid om. δ.      <sup>3</sup> curre δ.      <sup>4</sup> sequaeb- H.  
<sup>5</sup> suum, erased δ.      <sup>6</sup> quidem H.      <sup>7</sup> se om. δ.      <sup>8</sup> circum  
H. δ.      <sup>9</sup> VIII H.



Langres,  
Sept. 25,  
716.

tione XV; applicansque in pratis eiusdem ciuitatis f. 32 b.  
gratanter a Gangulfo<sup>1</sup> regionum illarum domino susceptus  
est, quippe qui ipsum et in uia prius inueniens illo uenire,  
et benigne suscipi, etiam si ipse non adesset, praecepit;  
multum obsecrans, ne inde nisi sospes abiret, sed ibi potius  
ad loca sanctorum martyrum, si ita Deus uoluisset, uitae  
caelestis expectaret introitum.

His death  
and burial,  
Sept. 25, 26,  
716.

36. Contigit autem ut ipso die, quo uenerat, circa horam Baed. §§  
21-23.  
.X. migraret ad Dominum, cuius corpus mane magno et  
comitum ipsius et accolarum ciuitatis illius agmine portatum  
est per tria ferme milia passuum<sup>2</sup> in monasterium eiusdem  
Gangulfi<sup>1</sup>, quod erat ad meridianam plagam ciuitatis,  
spatio circiter miliarii et dimidii, sepultumque in aeclesia  
sanctorum martyrum geminorum, quorum nomina sunt haec,  
Speusippus, Eleosippus, Meliosippus<sup>3</sup>; qui una geniti matre  
uno partu ibi antiquo tempore martyrio coronati, et in  
eodem loco sepulti sunt, ubi et auia illorum, nomine Leonella,  
sepulta est, et ipsa per confessionem martyrii egressa de  
corpore<sup>4</sup>.

Of his com-  
panions,  
some re-  
turn home,  
some pro-  
ceed to  
Rome.

37. Sepulto igitur patre, quidam ex fratribus, qui eum ib.  
deduxerunt, patriam rediere, narraturi in monasterio ipsius  
ubi et quando transiret e corpore; quidam uero dispositum  
Romam iter peregere, delaturi munera quae miserat. In  
quibus uidelicet muneribus erat Pandectes, ut diximus,  
interpretatione beati Hieronimi presbiteri ex Hebreo et f. 33 a.  
Greco fonte transfusus, habens in capite scriptos huiusmodi  
uersiculos:

Corpus ad eximii merito uenerabile Petri,  
Dedicat aeclesiae quem caput<sup>5</sup> alta fides,  
Ceolfridus, Anglorum extremis<sup>6</sup> de finibus abbas,  
Deuoti affectus pignora mitto mei.  
Meque meosque optans tanti inter gaudia patris  
In caelis memorem semper habere locum.

Others re-  
main at  
Langres.

38. Porro quidam in eadem ciuitate Lingonense, propter ib.  
amorem sepulti ibidem parentis sui, residere maluerunt;  
qui tamen postea destinata Romam ueniendi uota con-

<sup>1</sup> ganulfo, -fi δ.      <sup>2</sup> pasuum H.      <sup>3</sup> speusyppus, eleusyp-  
pus, meleusyppus δ.      <sup>4</sup> qui una . . . corpore om. δ.      <sup>5</sup> ca-  
pud H.      <sup>6</sup> extrimis, with r erased H.

pleuerunt. Tantam autem gratiam apud Gangulfum<sup>1</sup> comites reuerentissimi abbatis inuenerunt, ut et magnificis omnes epulis, sepulto eo, reficeret, et huc et illuc abeuntibus duces itineris, simul et uiaticum praeberet; sed et ibidem residentibus annonam, quandiu manere uellent, constitueret.

39. Quid uero de eo, uel muneribus eius, apostolicus papa senserit, testatur epistola, quam remisit, cuius hoc principium est :

Reply of  
the Pope to  
Hwæt-  
bert's  
letter.

*Gregorius episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, Hwætberhto<sup>2</sup> religioso abbati.*

*Scriptorum tuae amplectende religionis serie relegendo<sup>3</sup> perspecta, congaudere te ueritati, cuius gratia uocantur ea quae non sunt, tamquam ea quae sunt, de nostra promotione monstrans, ac iuris<sup>4</sup> apostolici auctoritati<sup>5</sup> cuius ministerio | fungimurquamquam inmeriti, te subesse promptissime profiteris. Quibus ex causis debere te noueris eum, quem gratularis preesse, continuis<sup>6</sup> conlaborando in precibus instantius orare<sup>7</sup>, ut possit et sibi, et tibi, multisque prodesse; eum proinde, cuius Deo dicatos uenerabiles canos commendare studuisti, de temporalibus, antequam susciperetur a nobis, ad aeterna, Deo uocante, translatus, misso, ad aeternam sui memoriam, munere meo Domino et communi patrono beato Petro, apostolorum domino<sup>8</sup> summo; fidem eius in muneris conlatione probantes, dignum commemorationibus assiduis censuimus, ac probatissimum preceptorem in sanctis ac regularibus institutis dignis auditoribus praeuium ante Deum existere peroramus, ut illum, Aaron et Moysi sanctis diuinae plebis ducibus ad promissionis patriam tendentibus euocatis, sanctoque<sup>9</sup> illi Helie, subito in aetheris raptis, meritis excolendis gratia superna, quae illum adsumpsit, aequiparet<sup>10</sup>, ac superstitem discipulum institutum cum asseclis<sup>11</sup> gubernandis Iesu elegantissimi ducis ac Finees Helisei dignitatum carismatibus indultis<sup>12</sup> perornet. Uale.*

40. Narrabant autem nobis reuersi comites Deo dilecti patris nostri, quia proxima nocte postquam sepulture

Miracles  
after Ceol-  
frid's  
death.

<sup>1</sup> ganulfum δ.    <sup>2</sup> withberto δ.    <sup>3</sup> legendo δ.    <sup>4</sup> uiri δ.  
<sup>5</sup> auctoritati om. H.    <sup>6</sup> continui H.    <sup>7</sup> orare om. H.    <sup>8</sup> -ni  
δ.    <sup>9</sup> secumque δ.    <sup>10</sup> -peret H. δ.    <sup>11</sup> ad saeculis H.  
<sup>12</sup> indulcis H.

traditum est uenerabile corpus ipsius, tribus eiusdem  
 aecclesiae custodibus, iuxta morem, excubias | noctis agen- f. 34 a.  
 tibus, subito flagrantia miri odoris totam aecclesiam re-  
 pleuerit; secuta sit autem et lux, quae et ipsa non paruo  
 tempore permanens, tandem tecta aecclesiae petierit; qui  
 citissime egressi et aspectantes uiderint eandem lucem  
 cursim caelos petere, ita ut fulgore ipsius cuncta in circuitu <sup>1</sup>  
 loca, uelut interdiu, uiderentur inlustrata, ut palam daretur  
 intelligi ministros aeternae lucis et perpetuae suauitatis  
 adfuisse, qui sedem sancti corporis sua uisitatione con-  
 secrauerint. Unde mos increbuit eiusdem loci incolis, ut  
 per singula diurnae uel nocturnae orationis tempora, expleto  
 psalmodie ritu <sup>2</sup> canonico, omnes uiri ad tumbam illius  
 supplicaturi genua curuent <sup>3</sup>. Sed et alia signa et sanitates  
 ibidem factas fama uulgauit, donante illo qui sanctos suos et  
 in praesenti certantes iuuare, et in futuro consueuit uictores  
 coronare <sup>4</sup>. AMEN <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> quae in circuitu erant δ.

<sup>2</sup> rite H.

<sup>3</sup> *The*

*e erased in H.*

<sup>4</sup> Ihesu Christo Domino nostro, qui cum  
 Patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum  
 adds δ.

<sup>5</sup> Explicit uita Sanctorum Abbatum Benedicti,  
 Ceolfredi, Easteruyni, Sigfridi, atque Hwaetbyrhti H. on f. 34<sup>b</sup>  
*in a not much later hand: Benedicamus Domino, Deo gratias, with*  
*musical notation.*

## EPISTOLA BEDE

AD ECGBERTUM EPISCOPUM<sup>1</sup>.

1. DILECTISSIMO ac reuerentissimo<sup>2</sup> antistiti Ecgberto Beda famulus Christi salutem. Memini te hesterno dixisse anno, cum tecum aliquot diebus legendi gratia in monasterio tuo demorarer, quod hoc<sup>3</sup> etiam anno uelles, cum in eundem deuenires locum<sup>4</sup>, me quoque, ob commune legendi studium, ad tuum accipere<sup>5</sup> colloquium. Quod si ita, Deo uolente, posset impleri<sup>6</sup>, non opus esset tibi haec per litteras scripta dirigere; cum possem liberius ore ad os loquens, quaeque uellem, siue necessaria ducerem, secreta tibi allocutione suggerere. Uerum quia hoc ne fieret, superueniens, ut nosti, corporis mei ualitudo prohibuit; agere tamen quod potui, erga dilectionem tuam fraternae deuotionis<sup>7</sup> intuitu curauī, mittendo uidelicet per litteras quod corporaliter ueniendo per colloquutionem nequiuēram. Precorque te per Dominum, ne harum apices litterarum arrogantiae supercilium esse suspiceris, sed obsequium potius humilitatis ac pietatis ueraciter esse cognoscas.

I write because I am too ill to come to you.

2. Exhortor itaque tuam, dilectissime in Christo antistes, sanctitatem, ut gradum sacrosanctum quem tibi Auctor graduum et spiritualium largitor charismatum committere dignatus est, sacrosancta et<sup>8</sup> opera-

Life and teaching must correspond.

<sup>1</sup> from H; no heading in M.    <sup>2</sup> -dissimo M.    <sup>3</sup> hoc om. M.  
<sup>4</sup> eosdem . . . locos M.    <sup>5</sup> accire M.    <sup>6</sup> compleri M.    <sup>7</sup> dilectionis 'uel deuotionis' H.    <sup>8</sup> et om. H.

cf. 2 Ioh.  
 12; 3 Ioh.  
 14.

tione et doctrina confirmare memineris. Neutra enim haec uirtus sine altera rite potest impleri; si aut is, qui bene uiuit, docendi officium negligit, aut recte<sup>1</sup> docens antistes rectam exercere operationem contemnit<sup>2</sup>. Qui autem<sup>3</sup> utrumque ueraciter agit, profecto talis seruus aduentum Domini sui gratulabundus expectat, sperans se citius auditurum: 'Euge serue bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, supra multa te constituam; intra in gaudium Domini tui.' Si quis uero, quod absit, gradu episcopatus accepto, nec seipsum a malis actibus bene uiuendo, nec subditam | sibi plebem castigando<sup>4</sup>, uel admonendo corrigere curat; quid huic, ueniente Domino hora qua non sperat, euenturum sit, euangelica manifeste sententia declarat, qua dicitur ad<sup>5</sup> inutilem seruum: 'Eicite in tenebras exteriores, ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.'

Matth.  
xxv. 21,  
23.

f. 89 b.  
cf. ib.  
xxiv. 50;  
Luc. xii.  
46;  
Matth.  
xxv. 30.

Govern-  
ment of  
the tongue.  
Study of  
Scripture.

3. Ante omnia sane<sup>6</sup> tuae sanctae paternitati suadeo, ut ab otiosis te confabulationibus, obtrectationibus<sup>7</sup>, ceterisque linguae indomitae contagiis pontificali dignitate coerceas; diuinis autem eloquiis ac meditationibus scripturarum linguam simul et mentem occupes, et maxime legendis beati Pauli apostoli epistolis ad Timotheum ac Tytum, sed et uerbis sanctissimi papae Gregorii, quibus de uita simul et uitiis rectorum siue in libro Regulae Pastoralis, seu in omeliis euangelii multum curiose disseruit, ut sit<sup>8</sup> sermo tuus semper sapientiae sale<sup>9</sup> conditus, eminentior uulgari locutione, ac diuino auditui dignior elucescat. Sicut enim indecens est, si uasa altaris sacrosancta uulgaribus unquam usibus ac uilibus profanentur officiis<sup>10</sup>, ita peruersum omnimodis ac miserum est, si is qui ad consecranda in altari dominica sacramenta ordinatus

cf. Col. iv.  
6.

<sup>1</sup> certe M.    <sup>2</sup> cont. oper. M.    <sup>3</sup> at qui M.    <sup>4</sup> -cando H.  
<sup>5</sup> et H.    <sup>6</sup> sane om. M.    <sup>7</sup> obtract- H.    <sup>8</sup> sit om. M.  
<sup>9</sup> sale sap. M.    <sup>10</sup> officiis om. M.



est, nunc quidem eisdem conficiendis sacramentis Domino famulaturus assistat, nunc egressus ecclesiam ipso ore, eisque<sup>1</sup> manibus, quibus paulo ante sacra tractauerat, repente friuola loqui uel agere Dominum<sup>2</sup> offensurus incipiat<sup>3</sup>.

4. Ad custodiendam uero<sup>4</sup> linguae uel operis munditiam, cum lectione diuina, etiam societas eorum qui Christo fideli deuotione famulentur<sup>5</sup>, plurimum iuuat. Ut si quando uel lingua lasciuiare, uel operatio praua mihi<sup>6</sup> subrepere<sup>7</sup> caeperit, mox sociorum fidelium manu ne cadere ualeam sustenter<sup>8</sup>. Quod cum omnibus Dei famulis sibimet ita prospicere utillimum sit, quanto magis illi gradui, qui non suimet tantummodo curam agere, sed etiam erga commissam sibi ecclesiam necesse habet studium salutis impendere? | iuxta illum qui dicit<sup>9</sup>, 'praeter ea quae extrinsecus sunt, instantia mea cotidiana, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum. Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?' Quod non ita loquor, quasi te aliter facere sciam, sed quia de quibusdam episcopis fama uulgatum est, quod ita ipsi<sup>10</sup> Christo seruiant, ut nullos secum alicuius religionis aut continentiae uiros habeant; sed potius illos<sup>11</sup>, qui risui, iocis, fabulis, commensationibus<sup>12</sup> et ebrietatibus, ceterisque uitae remissioris<sup>13</sup> illecebris subigantur<sup>14</sup>, et qui magis cotidie uentrem dapibus, quam mentem sacrificiis caelestibus parent. Quos tua sancta auctoritate, si alicubi reppereris, uelim corrigas, moneasque illos tales suae conuersationis diurnae siue nocturnae testes habere, qui et actione Deo digna, et exhortatione congrua prodesse populis, ac spirituale ipsorum antistitum opus iuuare sufficiant. Lege enim Actus Apostolorum, et

Choice of company.

f. 90 a.

2 Cor. xi.  
28, 29.

<sup>1</sup> eisdemque M.    <sup>2</sup> dominum om. M.    <sup>3</sup> -pit M.    <sup>4</sup> uero om. M.    <sup>5</sup> -lantur M.    <sup>6</sup> michi H, and so fq.    <sup>7</sup> surripere H.    <sup>8</sup> -tor H.    <sup>9</sup> dixit M.    <sup>10</sup> ipsi ita M.    <sup>11</sup> illos om. M.    <sup>12</sup> comesa- H.    <sup>13</sup> -ribus H.    <sup>14</sup> subiugantur H.

uidebis, referente beato Luca, quales secum comites apostoli Paulus et Barnabas habuerint, quid etiam ipsi, ubicunque deuenissent, operis egerint. Statim namque<sup>1</sup> ut ciuitates uel sinagogas ingressi sunt, uerbum Dei praedicare, et per omnia disseminare curabant. Quod etiam te, dilectissimum mihi caput, sagaciter cupiam, ubicunque potes, implere. In hoc namque officium a Domino electus, in hoc<sup>2</sup> consecratus es, ut uerbum euangelizes uirtute multa<sup>3</sup>, praebente tibi auxilium ipso Rege uirtutum Domino nostro Iesu Christo. Quod ita rite perficies si, ubicunque peruenieris, mox collectis ad te eiusdem loci incolis, uerbum illis exhortationis exhibueris, simul et exemplum uiuendi una cum omnibus, qui tecum uenerint, quasi caelestis militiae ductor ostenderis.

Ordination  
of presby-  
ters; in-  
struction  
of the  
people.

5. Et quia<sup>4</sup> latiora sunt spatia locorum, quae ad gubernacula tuae diocesis pertinent, quam ut<sup>5</sup> solus per omnia discurrere, et in singulis uiculis atque agellis uerbum Dei praedicare, etiam anni totius emenso curriculo, sufficiat<sup>6</sup>, necessarium satis est, ut plures tibi sacri operis adiutores<sup>7</sup> a'sciscas, presbyteros uidelicet f. 90 b. ordinando, atque instituendo doctores, qui in singulis uiculis praedicando Dei uerbo, et consecrandis mysteriis caelestibus, ac maxime peragendis sacri baptismatis officiis, ubi oportunitas ingruerit, insistant<sup>8</sup>. In qua uidelicet praedicatione populis exhibenda, hoc praeceteris omni instantia procurandum arbitror, ut fidem catholicam, quae apostolorum symbolo<sup>9</sup> continetur, et dominicam orationem, quam sancti euangelii nos scriptura edocet, omnium, qui ad tuum regimen pertinent, memoriae radicitus infigere cures. Et quidem omnes, qui Latinam linguam lectionis usu didicerunt<sup>10</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> nanque H.

<sup>2</sup> namque . . . in hoc om. H.

<sup>3</sup> magna M.

<sup>4</sup> quia om. M.

<sup>5</sup> tu M.

<sup>6</sup> -ies M.

<sup>7</sup> adi. s. op. M.

<sup>8</sup> assistant M.

<sup>9</sup> cimbolo M, and so always.

<sup>10</sup> -rint M.

etiam haec<sup>1</sup> optime didicisse certissimum est; sed idiotas, hoc est, eos qui propriae tantum linguae notitiam habent, haec ipsa sua lingua discere, ac sedulo decantare facito. Quod non solum de laicis, id est, in populari adhuc uita constitutis, uerum etiam de clericis siue monachis, qui Latinae sunt linguae expertes, fieri oportet. Sic enim fit, ut caetus omnis fidelium, quomodo fidelis<sup>2</sup> esse, qua se firmitate credendi contra immundorum spirituum certamina munire atque armare debeat, discat; fit, ut chorus omnis Deo supplicantium, quid maxime a diuina clementia quaeri oporteat, agnoscat. Propter quod et ipse multis saepe sacerdotibus idiotis haec utraque, et symbolum uide licet, et dominicam orationem in linguam Anglorum<sup>3</sup> translatam optuli. Nam et<sup>4</sup> sanctus antistes Ambrosius hoc de fide loquens admonet, ut uerba symboli matutinis semper horis fideles quique decantent, et hoc se quasi antidoto spirituali contra diaboli uenena<sup>5</sup> quae illis interdiu uel noctu astu<sup>6</sup> maligno obicere posset, praemuniant. Orationem uero dominicam saepius decantari ipsa etiam nos consuetudo sedulae deprecationis ac genuum flexionis<sup>7</sup> docuit.

6. Quod si haec, ut suggerimus, in regendis pas-  
cendisque Christi ouibus tua | pastoralis auctoritas  
perfecerit, dici non potest quantum tibi supernae  
mercedis apud Pastorem pastorum in<sup>8</sup> futuro prae-  
paraueris. Quanto enim rariora huius sacratissimi  
operis in episcopis nostrae gentis exempla repperis,  
tanto altiora singularis meriti praemia<sup>9</sup> recipies; ut-  
pote qui populum Dei per crebram symboli uel orationis  
sacrae decantationem ad intellectum, amorem, spem,  
fidem, et inquisitionem eorundem, quae decantantur,  
caelestium donorum, paterna pietate ac sollicitudine

The pro-  
mises and  
threaten-  
ings of  
Scripture.

<sup>1</sup> haec om. M.      <sup>2</sup> -les H.      <sup>3</sup> anglicorum M.      <sup>4</sup> et  
om. H.      <sup>5</sup> uen. diab. M.      <sup>6</sup> astu om. M.      <sup>7</sup> flect- H<sup>1</sup>.  
<sup>8</sup> in om. M.      <sup>9</sup> praemia om. H.

prouocatus accenderis. Sicut e contrario, si commissum tibi a Domino negotium minus diligenter compleueris, cf. Matth. xxv. 26. 30; Luc. xix. 22. pro retentione talenti cum seruo nequam et pigro partem es recepturus in futuro ; maxime si temporalia ab illis commoda requirere atque accipere praesumpseris, quibus nulla caelestis beneficii dona rependere probaueris. Cum enim Dominus mittens ad euangelizandum discipulos dixisset : ‘Euntes autem praedicate Matth. x. dicentes quia appropinquauit<sup>2</sup> regnum caelorum ;’ paulo<sup>7</sup> post adiunxit<sup>3</sup>, dicens : ‘Gratis accepistis, gratis date ; ib. 8. 9. nolite possidere aurum, neque argentum.’ Si ergo illos gratis euangelium praedicare iussit, neque aurum uel argentum, uel<sup>4</sup> aliquid pecuniae temporalis ab eis, quibus praedicabant, accipere permisit ; quid, rogo, illis qui his contraria gerunt, periculi immineat ?

Neglect of  
episcopal  
visitation.

7. Attende quid grauissimi sceleris illi commiserint, qui et terrena ab auditoribus suis luera diligentissime requirere, et pro eorum salute aeterna nichil omnino praedicando, uel exhortando, uel increpando, laboris impendere contendunt<sup>5</sup>. Sollicite atque intentione curiosa, antistes dilectissime, perpende. Audiuimus enim, et fama est, quia multae uillae ac uiculi nostrae gentis in montibus sint inaccessis ac saltibus dumosis positi, ubi nunquam multis transeuntibus annis sit uisus antistes, qui ibidem aliquid ministerii aut gratiae caelestis exhibuerit ; quorum tamen ne<sup>6</sup> unus<sup>7</sup> quidem a tributis antistiti reddendis esse possit immunis ; nec solum talibus locis desit antistes, qui manus impositione baptizatos | confirmet, uerum etiam<sup>8</sup> omnis doctor, qui f. 91 b. eos uel<sup>9</sup> fidei ueritatem uel discretionem bonae ac malae actionis edoceat, absit. Sicque fit, ut<sup>10</sup> episcoporum quidam non solum gratis non euangelizent, uel manus fidelibus imponant ; uerum etiam, quod

<sup>1</sup> in fut. es rec. M.

<sup>2</sup> -bit. H. M.

<sup>3</sup> subiunxit M.

<sup>4</sup> et M.

<sup>5</sup> intendunt M.

<sup>6</sup> nec H.

<sup>7</sup> unus om. M.

<sup>8</sup> et H.

<sup>9</sup> uel qui eos M.

<sup>10</sup> ut om. M.

gravius est, accepta ab auditoribus suis pecunia, quam Dominus prohibuit, opus uerbi, quod Dominus iussit, exercere contempnant; cum Deo dilectus pontifex<sup>1</sup> Samuel, longe aliter fecisse omni populo teste legatur:

<sup>1</sup> Reg. xii. 2-4. 'Itaque conuersatus,' inquit, 'coram uobis ab adolescentia mea usque ad diem hanc, ecce praesto sum, loquimini de me coram Domino, et coram Christo eius, utrum bouem alicuius tulerim, an asinum, si quempiam calumpniatus sum, si oppressi aliquem, si de manu cuiusquam munus accepi; et contempnam illud hodie, restituaumque uobis. Et dixerunt: Non es calumpniatus nos, neque oppressisti, neque tulisti de manu alicuius quippiam.' Cuius innocentiae ac iustitiae merito inter primos populi<sup>2</sup> Dei duces et sacerdotes annumerari, atque in precibus suis superno auditu atque alloquio dignus existere meruit, dicente psalmographo: 'Moyses et Aaron in sacerdotibus eius, et Samuel inter eos qui inuocant nomen eius, inuocabant Dominum, et ipse exaudiebat eos, in columna nubis loquebatur ad eos<sup>3</sup>.'

Ps. xcvi. 7, 8.

8. Si autem aliquid utilitatis fidelibus conferre manus impositionem<sup>4</sup>, qua Spiritus Sanctus accipitur, credimus et confitemur; constat e contrario, quia haec ipsa utilitas eis quibus manus impositio defuerit, abest. Cuius nimirum priuatio boni ad quos amplius quam ad ipsos respicit antistites, qui illorum se promittunt esse praesules, quibus spiritualis officium praesulatus exhibere aut negligunt, aut nequeunt? Cuius totius facinoris nulla magis quam auaritia<sup>5</sup> causa est. Contra quam disputans apostolus, in quo Christus loquebatur, aiebat: 'Radix omnium malorum cupiditas est<sup>6</sup>.' Et rursum: 'Neque auari,' inquit, 'regnum Dei possidebunt.' Cum enim antistes, dictante amore pecuniae, maiorem populi partem, quam ulla ratione per totum

Avarice of the bishops reproved.

<sup>1</sup> Tim. vi. 10.  
<sup>1</sup> Cor. vi. 10.

<sup>1</sup> pontifex *om.* M.      <sup>2</sup> -los M.      <sup>3</sup> 'sacerdotibus eius' usque 'loquebatur ad eos' H.      <sup>4</sup> conferri . . . impositione M. <sup>5</sup> -tiae H.      <sup>6</sup> est cup. M.



anni spatium peragraré praedicando aut circuire ualuerit, in nomen sui praesulatus assumpserit, satis exitia|bile et sibimet ipsi, et illis quibus<sup>1</sup> falso f. 92 a. praesulis nomine praelatus est, comprobatur concinnare periculum.

Aid of the royal power necessary for the creation of new bishoprics.

9. Haec tuae sanctitati, dilectissime antistes, paucis de calamitate qua nostra gens miserrime laborat insinuans, obsecro sedulus<sup>2</sup>, ut haec quae peruersissime agi conspicias, quantum uales, ad rectam uitae normam reuocare contendas. Habes enim, ut credo, promptissimum tam iusti laboris adiutorem, regem uidelicet Ceoluulfum<sup>3</sup>, qui et pro insita sibi dilectione religionis, quicquid ad regulam pietatis pertinet, firma protinus intentione adiuuare curabit, et maxime illa, quae tu, quum sis propinquus illius amantissimus, bona caeperis, ipse, ut perficiantur, opitulari curabit<sup>4</sup>. Quapropter uelim sollerter illum admoneas, ut in diebus uestris statum nostrae gentis ecclesiasticum in melius, quam haecenus fuerat, instaurare curetis. Quod non alio magis, ut mihi uidetur, potest ordine perfici, quam si plures nostrae genti consecrentur antistites, exemplumque sequamini legislatoris, qui, cum solus iurgia ac pondus Israeliticae plebis sustinere non posset, elegit sibi diuino adiutus consilio, et consecrauit septuaginta seniores, quorum cura atque auxilio<sup>5</sup> impositum sibi onus ferre liberius posset<sup>6</sup>. Quis enim non uideat, quanto sit melius tam enorme pondus ecclesiastici regiminis in plures, qui hoc dispertitum<sup>7</sup> facilius ferant, diuidi, quam unum sub fasce, quem portare non possit, opprimi. Nam et sanctus papa<sup>8</sup> Gregorius, cum de fide nostrae gentis, quae adhuc futura et conseruata<sup>9</sup> erat in Christo, ad beatissimum archiepiscopum Augustinum missis litteris disputaret, duodecim in ea epi-

Num. xi.  
16 sqq.

Baed.  
H. E. i. 20.

<sup>1</sup> sibimet ipsis quibus M.    <sup>2</sup> -lo M.    <sup>3</sup> -wulfum M.    <sup>4</sup> opitulabitur M.    <sup>5</sup> ope atque consilio M.    <sup>6</sup> possit M.    <sup>7</sup> hic dispertitura M.    <sup>8</sup> papa sanctus M.    <sup>9</sup> -uatura H.

scopos, postquam ad fidem uenirent<sup>1</sup>, ordinandos esse decreuit; in quibus Eboracensis antistes, accepto a sede apostolica pallio, metropolitanus esse deberet. Quem profecto numerum episcoporum uelim modo tua sancta paternitas, patrocinate praesidio piissimi ac Deo dilecti regis praefati, sollerter implere contendat, quatinus, abundante numero magistrorum, perfectius ecclesia Christi in his, quae ad cultum sacrae religionis pertinent, instituatur. Et quidem nouimus quia per incuriam regum praecedentium, donationesque stultissimas factum est, ut non facile locus uacans, ubi sedes episcopalis noua fieri debeat, inueniri ualeat.

10. Quapropter commodum duxerim, habito<sup>2</sup> maiori concilio et consensu, pontificali simul et regali<sup>3</sup> edicto prospiciatur locus aliquis monasteriorum, ubi sedes<sup>4</sup> fiat episcopalis<sup>5</sup>. Et ne<sup>6</sup> forte abbas uel monachi huic decreto contraire ac resistere temptauerint, detur illis licentia, ut de suis ipsi eligant eum, qui episcopus ordinetur, et adiacentium locorum, quotquot ad eandem diocesim<sup>7</sup> pertineant, una cum ipso monasterio curam gerat episcopalem; aut, si forte in ipso monasterio<sup>8</sup>, qui episcopus ordinari debeat, inueniri nequeat, in ipsorum tamen iuxta statuta canonum pendeat examine, qui de sua diocesi ordinetur antistes. Quod si hoc ita, ut suggerimus, Domino adiuuante, perfeceris, facillime etiam<sup>9</sup>, ut arbitramur, hoc obtinebis, ut iuxta decreta sedis apostolicae, Eboracensis ecclesia metropolitanum possit habere pontificem. Ac si opus esse uisum fuerit, ut tali monasterio, causa episcopatus suscipiendi, amplius aliquid locorum ac possessionum augeri debeat, sunt loca<sup>10</sup> innumera, ut nouimus omnes, stilo stultissimo<sup>11</sup> in monasteriorum ascripta uocabulum, sed

The new bishoprics may be located in existing monasteries.

<sup>1</sup> uenerunt H.      <sup>2</sup> -tu H.      <sup>3</sup> pontificali . . . regali om. H.  
<sup>4</sup> sedis H.      <sup>5</sup> episc. fiat M.      <sup>6</sup> ne om. M.      <sup>7</sup> diosisim M.  
<sup>8</sup> curam . . . monasterio added on margin H.      <sup>9</sup> etiam om. H.  
<sup>10</sup> loca om. H.      <sup>11</sup> stilo stult. om. M.

nichil prorsus monasticae conuersationis habentia; e quibus uelim aliqua de luxuria ad castitatem, de uanitate ad ueritatem<sup>1</sup>, de intemperantia uentris et gulae ad continentiam et pietatem cordis synodica auctoritate transferantur, atque in adiutorium sedis episcopalis, quae nuper ordinari debeat, assumantur.

Grants to  
fraudulent  
monas-  
teries  
must be  
revoked.

II. Et quia huiusmodi maxima et plurima sunt loca, quae, ut uulgo dici solet, neque Deo neque hominibus utilia sunt, quia uidelicet neque regularis secundum Deum ibidem uita seruatur, neque illa milites siue comites secularium potestatum, qui gentem nostram a barbaris defendant, possident; si quis in eisdem ipsis locis pro necessitate temporum sedem episcopatus constituat<sup>2</sup>, non culpam praeuaricationis incurrere, sed opus uirtutis magis agere probabitur. Quomodo | enim in peccatum reputari potest, si iniusta principum iudicia recto meliorum principum examine corrigantur; ac mendax stilus scribarum iniquorum discreta prudentium sacerdotum sententia deleatur, ac redigatur in nichilum, iuxta exemplum sacrae hystoriae, quae tempora regum Iuda a Dauid et Salomone usque ad ultimum Sedechiam describens, nonnullos quidem in eis religiosos, sed plures reprobos extitisse designat, uicibusque alternantibus nunc impios bonorum, qui ante se fuerant, facta reprobare, nunc e contra<sup>3</sup> iustos impiorum, qui se praecesserant, gesta nociua, prout dignum<sup>4</sup> erat, iuuante se Dei spiritu, per prophetas sanctos ac sacerdotes omni instantia correxisse; iuxta illud beati Isayae praecipientis atque dicentis: 'Dissolue obligationes<sup>5</sup> uiolentarum commutationum. Dimitte contractos in remissionem, et omnem conscriptionem iniquam disrumpe.' Quo exemplo, tuam quoque sanctitatem decet cum religioso rege nostrae gentis irreligiosa et iniqua priorum gesta atque scripta con-

f. 93 a.

cf. Ier.  
viii. 8.

Is. lviii. 6.

<sup>1</sup> temperantiam M.

<sup>2</sup> -tuere H.

<sup>3</sup> e contrario M.

<sup>4</sup> iustum M.

<sup>5</sup> collig- M.

uellere, et ea quae prouinciae nostrae, siue secundum Deum, siue secundum seculum sint utilia, prospicere; ne<sup>1</sup> nostris temporibus uel religione cessante, amor timorque interni deseratur inspectoris, uel rarescente copia militiae secularis, absint qui fines nostros a barbarica incursione tueantur. Quod enim turpe est dicere, tot sub nomine monasteriorum loca hii, qui monachicae<sup>2</sup> uitae prorsus sunt expertes, in suam dicionem acceperunt, sicut ipsi melius nostis, ut omnino desit locus, ubi filii nobilium aut emeritorum militum possessionem accipere possint; ideoque uacantes ac sine coniugio, exacto tempore pubertatis, nullo continentiae proposito perdurent, atque hanc ob rem uel patriam suam, pro qua<sup>3</sup> militare debuerant, trans mare abeuntes relinquant; uel maiore scelere atque<sup>4</sup> impudentia, qui propositum castitatis non habent, luxuriae ac fornicationi deseruiant, neque ab ipsis sacratis Deo | uirginibus abstineant.

f. 93 b.

12. At alii grauiore adhuc flagitio, cum sint ipsi laici, et nullo uitae regularis uel usu exerciti, uel amore praediti, data regibus pecunia, emunt sibi sub praetextu construendorum monasteriorum<sup>5</sup> territoria in quibus suae liberius uacent libidini, et haec insuper in ius sibi haereditarium regalibus edictis<sup>6</sup> faciunt asseribi, ipsas quoque litteras priuilegiorum suorum quasi ueraciter Deo dignas, pontificum, abbatum, et potestatum seculi obtinent subscriptione confirmari. Sicque usurpatis sibi agellulis siue uicis, liberi exinde a diuino simul et humano seruitio, suis tantum inibi desideriis, laici monachis imperantes, deseruiunt; immo non monachos ibi congregant, sed quosunque ob culpam inobaedientiae ueris expulsos<sup>7</sup> monasteriis alibi forte oberrantes inuenerint, aut euocare monasteriis

Character  
of these  
establish-  
ments.

<sup>1</sup> ne *om.* M.

<sup>2</sup> monastice M.

<sup>3</sup> pro qua *om.* M.

<sup>4</sup> uel M.

<sup>5</sup> mon. const. M.

<sup>6</sup> edictis reg. M.

<sup>7</sup> -si M.

ipsi ualuerint ; uel certe quos ipsi de suis satellitibus ad suscipiendam tonsuram promissa sibi obaedientia monachica inuitare quiuerint. Horum distortis cohortibus, suas, quas instruxere, cellas implent, multumque infirmi atque inaudito<sup>1</sup> spectaculo, idem ipsi uiri modo coniugis ac liberorum procreandorum curam<sup>2</sup> gerunt, modo exsurgentes de cubilibus, quid intra septa monasteriorum geri debeat, sedula intentione pertractant. Quin etiam suis coniugibus simili impudentia<sup>3</sup> construendis, ut ipsi aiunt, monasteriis loca conquirunt, quae pari stultitia, cum sint laicae, famularum se Christi permittunt esse rectrices<sup>4</sup>. Quibus apte conuenit illud uulgi prouerbium, quia uespae fauos quidem facere cum<sup>5</sup> possint, non tamen in his mella, sed potius uenena thesaurizent.

Origin of  
the system.

13. Sic per annos circiter triginta, hoc est<sup>6</sup>, ex quo Aldfrid rex humanis rebus ablatus est, prouincia nostra uesano illo errore dementata est, ut nullus pene exinde praefectorum extiterit qui non huiusmodi sibi monasterium in diebus suae praefecturae comparauerit, suamque | simul coniugem pari reatu nociui mercatus f. 94 a. astrinxerit ; ac praeualente pessima consuetudine ministri quoque regis ac famuli<sup>7</sup> idem facere sategerint ; atque ita ordine peruerso innumeri sint inuenti, qui se abbates pariter et praefectos siue<sup>8</sup> ministros aut famulos regis appellent, qui etsi aliquid uitae monasterialis ediscere<sup>9</sup> laici non experiendo sed audiendo potuerint, a persona tamen illa ac professione, quae hanc docere debeat, sunt<sup>10</sup> funditus exsortes<sup>11</sup>. Et quidem tales repente, ut nosti, tonsuram pro suo libitu accipiunt, suo examine de laicis non monachi, sed abbates efficiuntur. Sed quia praefatae uirtutis nec notitiam

<sup>1</sup> -tu H.    <sup>2</sup> curam procr. M.    <sup>3</sup> imprud- H.    <sup>4</sup> rectores M.  
<sup>5</sup> cum om. M.    <sup>6</sup> for triginta hoc est M has xxxi ; possibly the scribe had before him : xxx.i. = xxx id est.    <sup>7</sup> familia M.    <sup>8</sup> simul et M.    <sup>9</sup> et discere M.    <sup>10</sup> sint M.    <sup>11</sup> exortes H. M.



Matth.  
xv. 14 ;  
cf. Luc.  
vi. 39.

probantur habere nec studium, quid his aliud quam euangelica conuenit maledictio illa, qua dicitur : ‘Caecus si caeco ducatum praestet, ambo in foueam cadunt?’ Quae nimirum caecitas posset aliquando terminari, ac regulari disciplina cohiberi, et de finibus sanctae ecclesiae cunctis pontificali<sup>1</sup> ac synodica auctoritate procul expelli, si non ipsi pontifices magis huiusmodi<sup>2</sup> sceleribus opem ferre atque astipulari probarentur; qui non solummodo huiusmodi decreta iniusta<sup>3</sup> iustis infringere decretis non curant, uerum suis potius subscriptionibus<sup>4</sup>, ut praefati sumus, confirmare satagunt; eadem ipsi filargyria dictante, ad confirmandum male scripta, qua<sup>5</sup> emptores ad comparandum huiusmodi monasteria<sup>6</sup> coacti.

Multa quidem adhuc tibi possem de his et huiusmodi praeuaricationibus<sup>7</sup> quibus nostra prouincia miserrime uexatur, his intimare litteris, si non te ipsum nossem haec eadem certissime cognouisse. Nam neque haec ita scripsi, quasi te<sup>8</sup> ea, quae antea<sup>9</sup> nescires, essem docturus, sed ut te amica exhortatione commonerem, ea quae optime noueras errata, diligenti, prout uales, instantia corrigere.

f. 94 b.  
cf. Ioh. x.  
12-15;  
xxi. 17.

14. Et iam iamque<sup>10</sup> te multum deprecor atque obtestor in Domino, ut commissum tibi gregem sedulus ab irruentium luporum improbitate tuearis; teque non mercenarium, sed pastorem constitutum esse memineris, qui amorem summi Pastoris sollerti ouium ipsius pastione demonstres, proque eisdem ouibus, si ita res poposcerit, cum beato apostolorum principe animam ponere paratus sis. Precor sollicitè prae-caueas, ne, cum idem princeps apostolorum ceterique fidelium gregum duces in die iudicii maximum suae pastoralis curae fructum Christo obtulerint, tuarum

Episcopal  
visitation  
of Monas-  
teries ne-  
cessary.

<sup>1</sup> pontif. cunctis M.      <sup>2</sup> huiusm. opera M.      <sup>3</sup> iniusta  
om. M.      <sup>4</sup> praescrip- M.      <sup>5</sup> quia M.      <sup>6</sup> -rium M.      <sup>7</sup> -toribus  
H.      <sup>8</sup> certissime te M.      <sup>9</sup> antea om. M.      <sup>10</sup> namque M.

aliqua pars ouium inter hedos ad sinistram Iudicis cf. Matth. xxv. 33, 41.  
 secerni, atque in aeternum cum maledictione mereatur  
 ire supplicium; quin potius ipse tunc eorum numero  
 merearis ascribi, de quibus ait Ysaïas: 'Minimus erit Is. lx. 22.  
 inter<sup>1</sup> mille, et paruulus inter<sup>1</sup> gentem fortissimam.'  
 Tui namque est officii diligentissime perspicere, quid  
 in singulis monasteriis tuae parochiae recti, quid  
 peruersi geratur; ne uel abbas regularum inscius aut  
 contemptor, uel abbatisa minus digna famulorum  
 famularumue Christi praeponatur examini, nec rursum  
 prouisioni<sup>2</sup> spiritualium magistrorum contemptrix et  
 indisciplinata contumacium auditorum turba resultet;  
 maxime quia<sup>3</sup>, sicut uulgo fertur, dicere estis soliti<sup>4</sup>,  
 quia non ad regum curam, non ad<sup>5</sup> aliquorum seculi  
 principum causam, sed ad uestram tantummodo antis-  
 titum inquisitionem atque examen, quid in singulis  
 monasteriis agatur, pertineat, nisi forte in monasteriis<sup>6</sup>  
 quilibet in ipsos principes peccasse comprobetur. Tui,  
 inquam, est officii procurare, ne in locis Deo consecratis  
 diabolus sibi regnum usurpet, ne<sup>7</sup> pro pace discordia,  
 pro pietate iurgia, pro sobrietate ebrietas, pro caritate  
 et castitate fornicationes sibi et homicidia sedem uindi-  
 cent; ne<sup>8</sup> apud te inueniantur aliqui, de quibus merito  
 quaeratur ac dicatur: 'Uidi impios sepultos, qui, cum Eccl. viii. 10.  
 adiuuerent, in loco sancto erant, et laudabantur in  
 ciuitate, quasi<sup>9</sup> iustorum operum.' f. 95 a.

Instruction  
 of the  
 Laity.

15. Eorum quoque, qui in populari adhuc uita conti-  
 nentur, sollicitam te necesse est curam gerere, ut, sicut  
 in primordio huius epistolae praemonuimus, sufficientes  
 eis doctores uitae salutaris adhibere memineris, et hoc  
 eos inter alia discere facias, quibus operibus maxime  
 Deo placere, a quibus se debeant, qui Deo placere  
 desiderant, abstinere peccatis, qua cordis sinceritate in

<sup>1</sup> in H.      <sup>2</sup> prae- M.      <sup>3</sup> quia om. M.      <sup>4</sup> solliciti M.  
<sup>5</sup> ad om. H.      <sup>6</sup> agatur . . . monasteriis om. H.      <sup>7</sup> neque  
 M.      <sup>8</sup> nec M.      <sup>9</sup> bonorum M.

Deum credere, qua diuinam clementiam supplicantes debeant deuotione precari, quam frequenti diligentia signaculo se dominicae crucis suaque omnia aduersum continuas immundorum spirituum insidias necesse habeant munire, quam salutaris sit omni Christianorum generi<sup>1</sup> cotidiana dominici corporis ac sanguinis perceptio, iuxta quod ecclesiam<sup>2</sup> Christi per Italiam, Galliam, Africam, Greciam, ac totum orientem solle- ter agere nosti. Quod uidelicet genus religionis, ac Deo deuotae sanctificationis tam longe a cunctis paene<sup>3</sup> nostrae prouinciae laicis per incuriam docentium quasi prope peregrinum abest, ut hii qui inter illos<sup>4</sup> religio- siores esse uidentur, non nisi in natali Domini, et epiphania, et pascha sacrosanctis mysteriis communicare praesumant, cum sint innumeri innocentes et castis- simae conuersationis pueri ac puellae, iuuenes et uir- gines, senes et anus, qui absque ullo scrupulo contro- uersiae, omni die dominico, siue etiam in natalitiis sanctorum apostolorum, siue martyrum, quomodo ipse in sancta Romana et apostolica ecclesia fieri uidisti, mysteriis caelestibus communicare ualeant. Ipsi etiam coniugati, si quis sibi mensuram continentiae ostendat, et uirtutem castitatis insinuet, idem et licenter possint, et libenter facere uelint.

Neglect of  
the Eucha-  
rist.

16. Haec tibi, sanctissime antistes, et tuae dilectionis intuitu, et generalis gratia utilitatis breuiter adnotare studui, multum desiderans, multumque exhortans, ut gentem nostram a uetustis abstrahere cures erroribus, et ad certio- rem et direc- tiorem uitae callem reducere satagas. Et si sunt aliqui cuiuslibet gradus siue ordinis uiri, qui bona tua caepta retinere atque im- pedire conentur<sup>5</sup>, tu tamen propositum sanctae uirtu- tis, supernae memor retributionis, ad firmum usque finem perducere contendas. Scio namque nonnullos

Renewed  
exhorta-  
tions  
against  
avarice.

<sup>1</sup> -re H.      <sup>2</sup> -sia H.      <sup>3</sup> pene cunctis M.      <sup>4</sup> illos om.  
M.      <sup>5</sup> -netur M.

huic nostrae exhortationi multum contradicturos<sup>1</sup>, et maxime eos, qui seipsos<sup>2</sup> illis facinoribus, a quibus te prohibemus, esse sentiunt irretitos; sed meminisse te decet apostolicae responsionis, quia 'obaedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus.' Mandatum quippe est Dei: 'Uendite quae possidetis, et date elemosinam;' Luc. xii. et: 'Nisi quis renunciauerit omnibus quae possidet, 33. Luc. xiv. non potest meus esse discipulus.' Traditio autem 33. moderna est quorundam<sup>3</sup>, qui se Dei famulos esse profitentur, non solum<sup>4</sup> possessa non uendere, uerum etiam<sup>5</sup> comparare non habita. Qua ergo fronte audet quisquam ad seruitium Domini accessurus, uel eas, quas<sup>6</sup> in seculari uita habuerat, retentare, uel sub praetextu uitae sanctionis illas, quas non habuerat, congregare diuitias; cum etiam<sup>5</sup> apostolica sit notissima censura, quae Annaniam et Saphiram hoc facere molientes, non cf. Act. v. 1-11. ullo paenitentiae uel satisfactionis remedio corrigere<sup>7</sup>, sed<sup>8</sup> ipsa statim mortis ultricis accelerauit damnatione punire<sup>9</sup>? Et quidem illi non aliena colligere, sed sua incongrue retinere maluerunt. Unde manifeste patet, quam longe abstiterit animus apostolorum a suscipiendis<sup>10</sup> pecuniarum acquisitionibus, qui sub illa proprie regula Domino seruebant: 'Beati pauperes, quia uestrum est regnum caelorum<sup>11</sup>;' et e contra, partis sinistrae proposito nichilominus instituebantur exemplo: 'Ue uobis diuitibus, quia habetis consolationem uestram.' An forte errasse ac mendacium scripsisse putamus apostolum, cum nos admonens dicebat: 'Fratres. nolite errare;' statimque subtexuit: 'Neque 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. auari, neque ebriosi, neque rapaces regnum Dei possidebunt;' et iterum: 'Hoc autem scitote, quod omnis Eph. v. 5 fornicator, aut immundus, aut<sup>12</sup> auarus, | aut rapax, f. 96 a.

<sup>1</sup> contrad. multum M.      <sup>2</sup> seipsos om. M.      <sup>3</sup> quor. est M.  
<sup>4</sup> non solum om. H.      <sup>5</sup> et H.      <sup>6</sup> ea quae M.      <sup>7</sup> -rigere  
om. M. at end of line.      <sup>8</sup> sed ex M.      <sup>9</sup> -ri M.      <sup>10</sup> sub-  
scrib. M.      <sup>11</sup> dei M.      <sup>12</sup> aut om. M.

quod est idolorum seruitus, non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei.' Cum ergo apostolus auaritiam et rapacitatem idolatriam manifeste cognominet, quomodo putandum est errasse eos<sup>1</sup>, qui uel a<sup>2</sup> subscriptione auari mercatus, rege licet imperante, manum subtraxerint, uel ad radendas<sup>3</sup> inutiles scripturas ac subscriptiones earum, manum apposuerint?

17. Et quidem<sup>4</sup> miranda est temeritas stultorum, uel potius deflenda miseria caecorum, qui cum sine ullo respectu superni timoris, passim ea cotidie<sup>5</sup>, quae apostoli ac prophetae afflatu Sancti Spiritus scripserunt, rescindere ac nichili pendere probantur; illud e contra, quod ipsi<sup>6</sup> uel similes ipsorum<sup>7</sup> instinctu auaritia<sup>8</sup> uel luxuriae scripserunt, quasi sanctum ac diuinitus cautum eradere atque emendare formidant, in morem, ni fallor, ethnicorum, qui, contempto ueri<sup>9</sup> Dei cultu, ea quae ipsi sibi de corde suo finxerunt ac fecerunt, numina uenerantur, timent, colunt, adorant, et obsecrant, dominica illa insectatione<sup>9</sup> dignissimi, qua Phariseos, cum suas deuteroseos<sup>10</sup> legi Dei praeponerent, redarguit, dicens: 'Quare et uos transgredimini mandatum Dei propter traditionem uestram?' Qui si<sup>11</sup> etiam cartas<sup>12</sup> protulerint in defensionem concupiscentiarum suarum adscriptas, ac nobilium personarum subscriptione confirmatas; tu nunquam, precor, dominicae sanctionis obliuiscaris, qua<sup>1</sup> dicitur: 'Omnis plantatio, quam non plantauit Pater meus caelestis, eradicabitur.' Et certe a te discere uellem, dilectissime<sup>14</sup> antistes, Domino protestante ac dicente, quia 'lata porta et spatiosa uia est, quae ducit ad perditionem, et multi sunt, qui intrant per eam; quam angusta porta et arcta uia est<sup>15</sup>, quae ducit ad uitam, et pauci sunt,<sup>16</sup> qui inueniunt eam'; quid

The same continued.

Matth.  
xv. 3.

ib. 13.

ib. vii. 13,  
14.

<sup>1</sup> eos err. M.    <sup>2</sup> a om. H.    <sup>3</sup> erad- M.    <sup>4</sup> quidem om. M.  
<sup>5</sup> cotidie om. M.    <sup>6</sup> ipsis M.    <sup>7</sup> eorum M.    <sup>8</sup> ueri om. M.  
<sup>9</sup> infectione H. M.    <sup>10</sup> -sas H; -sis M.    <sup>11</sup> quasi H. M.  
<sup>12</sup> H at first wrote caritas.    <sup>13</sup> in qua M.    <sup>14</sup> sanctissime M.  
<sup>15</sup> est om. H.    <sup>16</sup> sint H; om. M.



de eorum uita uel salute aeterna confidas, qui toto uitae suae tempore per latam portam et spatiosam incedere uiam<sup>1</sup> noscuntur, et ne in minimis quidem rebus uoluptati sui uel corporis uel animi, | causa f. 96 b. supernae retributionis obsistere uel repugnare curabant; nisi forte per elemosinas, quas inter concupiscentias cotidianas ac delicias pauperibus dare uidebantur, criminibus absolui posse<sup>2</sup> credendi sunt, cum manus ipsa et conscientia, quae munus offerat Deo, munda a peccatis esse debeat et<sup>3</sup> absoluta; aut certe per mysteria sacrosanctae oblationis, quibus ipsi, dum uiuerent, indigni extiterant, per alios iam mortui redimi posse sperandi sunt. An forte permodica illis<sup>4</sup> culpa uidetur esse<sup>5</sup> concupiscentiae? de qua et<sup>6</sup> paulo latius disputem. Haec Balaam<sup>7</sup>, uirum prophetiae spiritu plenissimum, a sorte sanctorum fecit extorrem; Achan, filium Charmi<sup>8</sup>, communione anathematis poluit, ac perdidit<sup>9</sup>; Saul regni infulis nudauit; Giezi<sup>10</sup> prophetiae meritis priuauit, ac perpetua leprae peste cum suo semipe fedauit<sup>11</sup>; Iudam Scariothen de apostolatus gloria deposuit; Annaniam et Saphiram, de quibus praediximus, monachorum collegio indignos etiam<sup>12</sup> corporis morte multauit; et, ut ad superiora ueniamus, haec angelos a caelo deiecit; et protoplastos a Paradiso perpetuae uoluptatis expulit. Et si nosse uis, hic est ille triceps inferorum canis, cui fabulae Cerberi nomen indiderunt<sup>13</sup>, a cuius rabidis dentibus nos prohibens Iohannes apostolus ait: 'Carissimi, nolite diligere mundum, neque ea quae in mundo sunt. Si quis diligit mundum, non est caritas Patris in eo. Quoniam omne quod in mundo est, concupiscentia carnis est, et

<sup>1</sup> uiam inc. M.      <sup>2</sup> potuisse M.      <sup>3</sup> et om. H<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> illis perm. M.      <sup>5</sup> esse om. H.      <sup>6</sup> et om. M.      <sup>7</sup> balaam om. H.

<sup>8</sup> M omits filium charmi, but H reads acharmī which seems to point to this as the original reading, cf. Ios. vii. 18.      <sup>9</sup> perd. ac pol. M.

<sup>10</sup> iezi H; gyezi M.      <sup>11</sup> fed. c. s. sem. M.      <sup>12</sup> etiam om. H.

<sup>13</sup> imponunt M.

1 Ioh. ii.  
15, 16.

concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia uitae<sup>1</sup>, quae non est ex Patre, sed ex mundo est.' Haec contra uirus auaritiae breuiter sunt dicta. Ceterum si de ebrietate, commessatione, luxuria, et ceteris huiusmodi contagionibus pari ratione tractare<sup>2</sup> uoluerimus, epistolae modus in immensum extenderetur.

cf. Ioh. xxi. 17. f. 97 a. Gratia te summi Pastoris ad pastionem ouium suarum salutiferam perpetuo conseruet incolumem, dilectissime in Christo antistes<sup>3</sup>. Scripta Nonas Nouembris, indictione tertia<sup>4</sup>. Valediction.

<sup>1</sup> carnis M.      <sup>2</sup> retractare M.      <sup>3</sup> Amen *adds* M.      <sup>4</sup> *This date is not in M.*

## ADDITIONAL CRITICAL NOTES.

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The object of these additional Critical Notes is mainly to illustrate the peculiarities and mutual relationships of some of the later MSS.<sup>1</sup>

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p. 5. Note 4. I have found no other MS. which has this peculiar reading of C.

p. 6. bottom line, 'gratiam,' here O<sub>7</sub> begins.

p. 7. Note 2. glestigéi O<sub>7</sub>.

p. 8. Note. 2. This note should be supplemented by the fuller and more exact statement in note <sup>1</sup>, p. 360. After 'studuimus' O<sub>13</sub> adds: 'tempore pro Domino sanctum ē fuderunt. Explicit Prefacio.'

p. 12. l. 25. 'Hibernia,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.

p. 14. l. 3. 'legiones tres uel xii' D\*; 'legiones sex uel duodecim' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>11</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>. Ar<sup>2</sup>. 'vi uel xii' W.

— Notes 1, 10. The confusion between 'hiberna' and 'hibernia' pervades a large number of MSS.

— l. 23. 'Interea,' ¶ O<sub>18</sub>.

p. 15. l. 22. 'Ab eodem,' ¶ O<sub>18</sub>.

p. 16. l. 24. 'non muro, &c.,' 'murus Pictorum' O<sub>20</sub><sup>2</sup>, on margin.

p. 17. l. 27. 'Interea,' ¶ O<sub>18</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>. On margin of H<sub>1</sub>: 'Passio Sci. Albani martiris,' with the alternative reading 'igitur' for 'interea,' and three lections marked in margin ending p. 19, l. 19 'cognosce.'

p. 18. l. 3. 'Denique,' ¶ D\*.

— l. 8. 'in ea tempestate' O<sub>18</sub>. For 'siquidem . . . est,' O<sub>4</sub> reads: 'Regnante in tempore illo Maximiniano Herculio in Brittania, passus est sub eo eiusdem insulae incola.' The object of all these changes is to make the passage more suitable for public reading; and this explanation should be borne in mind in all similar cases.

<sup>1</sup> By the paragraph mark ¶ is meant that a new chapter begins at that point in the MS. in question. By D\* is meant the Durham group of MSS.; and by W\* the Winchester group.

- p. 18. l. 13. Eight lections marked in R<sub>1</sub>.  
 — l. 21. 'Cumque,' ¶ A<sub>2</sub>.  
 p. 21. l. 4. 'obsequia' D\*.  
 — l. 27. 'ubi postea,' ¶ W\*.  
 p. 22. l. 5. No break in R<sub>2</sub>.  
 p. 24. l. 15. 'gramine uel grandine' O<sub>17</sub>; 'grandine uel gramine' O<sub>11</sub>.  
 — l. 20. 'maioris' for 'minoris' O<sub>9</sub>.  
 p. 25. l. 5. 'Fracta est,' ¶ D\*. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>; in W 'Fracta' has a red initial, but that is all.  
 — l. 14. 'possidebant Picti et Scoti' O<sub>20</sub><sup>1</sup>.  
 — l. 15. No break in W\*.  
 — l. 29. 'Uerum priores,' ¶ S.  
 p. 28. ll. 23, 27. 'Boetius, Boetio' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>7</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar.  
 p. 29. l. 6. 'Quin et,' ¶ AS.  
 — l. 12. No break in W. O<sub>2</sub>. There is in O<sub>19</sub>.  
 p. 31. l. 7. 'classis prolixior' i. xl. nauium' O<sub>6</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>17</sub><sup>2</sup>. S<sup>2</sup>.  
 So O<sub>11</sub> in text.  
 p. 33. l. 4. No break in D\*.  
 — l. 7. 'At' om. D\*.  
 — l. 13. 'Utebantur,' ¶ D\*.  
 — l. 22. 'Sed haec,' ¶ A<sub>5</sub>.  
 p. 34. l. 14. 'denique' for 'diemque' D\*.  
 p. 35. l. 4. 'Interea,' ¶ O<sub>18</sub>. R<sub>2</sub>.  
 — l. 22. 'pares' for 'partes' O<sub>7</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar., and probably O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>.  
 p. 36. l. 3. No break in W. O<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>; there is in O<sub>19</sub>.  
 — Note 4. The reading of Const. is in many MSS. 'auctori Deo . . . gratias referentes' D\*<sup>2</sup>; 'gratias agentes' W<sup>3</sup>\*.  
 p. 38. Note 3. 'contempto' is the reading of many MSS.  
 — Note 4. 'castrorum' O<sub>5</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>. O<sub>15</sub>.  
 p. 39. Note 5. 'uisibilibus' A<sub>1</sub>. R<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>. O<sub>8</sub>.  
 — l. 27. 'restituit. Remansit autem in insula gens utraque, hostes et ciues, Angli et Britones, quorum Angli pro regno, Britones pro uita certabant' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>5-7</sub>. O<sub>11-12</sub>. O<sub>14-15</sub>. O<sub>17</sub>. [Ca<sub>1</sub>.] H<sub>3</sub>. Ar. S<sup>3</sup>.  
 p. 42. l. 10. 'Hic incipit ad legendum in refectorio de Sco. Augustino Anglorum Apostolo' O<sub>6</sub>. 'Ab hoc loco debet legi in festiuitate Sci. Augustini Anglorum apostoli, usque ad capitulum quartum secundi libri, quod sic incipit: Successit Augustino, &c.' A<sub>2</sub>. Vita Sci. Augustini episcopi Anglorum O<sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup>. In O<sub>1</sub>. H<sub>3</sub> eight lections are marked on the margins of cc. 23. 25. 26.  
 p. 43. l. 5. 'Gregorius,' ¶ H<sub>1</sub>. R<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>18</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>. Very often in O<sub>18</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>. R<sub>2</sub>. and occasionally in H<sub>1</sub> a new chapter is apparently made at the beginning of a document.  
 p. 44. l. 30. 'Erat eo,' ¶ AS.

- p. 45. l. 11. 'in regnum meum' for 'huc' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>5-7</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar.  
 — l. 18. 'Dedit,' ¶ A<sub>5</sub>.  
 — l. 22. 'ciuitati Dorobernensi' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>5-7</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>.  
 p. 47. l. 22. 'plures et non pauci' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>5-7</sub>. O<sub>14</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>.  
 p. 48. l. 1. No break in D\*.  
 p. 49. l. 18. 'Cur cum una' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>5-7</sub>. O<sub>15</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar.  
 p. 52. l. 10. 'de Galliis episcopi ordinantur, alii episcopi ueniunt' O<sub>3</sub>. A<sub>2</sub>.  
 p. 56. l. 2. 'quoddam' for 'quidem' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. H<sub>3</sub>. O<sub>7</sub>.  
 p. 58. l. 4. 'portat arbor' O<sub>6-7</sub>. O<sub>14</sub>. O<sub>18</sub>. A<sub>2</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>.  
 — l. 28. 'amor optandi' A<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>; 'optande' O<sub>5</sub>. O<sub>9</sub>. O<sub>16</sub>. H<sub>2</sub>; 'hortandis' O<sub>18</sub>; 'oriende' O<sub>4</sub>. O<sub>10</sub>; 'creandi' A<sub>2</sub>; 'creande' O<sub>3</sub>. O<sub>8</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>; 'procreande' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>6-7</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar.  
 p. 59. ll. 28, 29. 'quod tamen . . . eodem.' On the margin O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> has 'aliter: Quod tunc specialiter illum populum spiritualiter autem intelligens sub eodem.' So exactly H<sub>3</sub>. O<sub>12</sub>. In O<sub>8</sub> both readings occur in the text, the latter coming first; but it is cancelled by having the word 'uacat' written against it.  
 p. 60. ll. 22-24. 'qua in re . . . cum se.' On the margin O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> has 'uel: qua in re una sibi ostenditur ipsa mens rea non tunc uel suo iudicio libera cum se.' So O<sub>12</sub>. O<sub>14</sub>. O<sub>17</sub>.  
 p. 61. Note 4. O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> has: 'aliter: si mens est in suggestione peccati.'  
 p. 62. Note 4. In later MSS. these symbols have given rise to endless confusion.  
 p. 63. ll. 3-7. No break in W. O<sub>2</sub>. In O<sub>19</sub> the words 'hucusque . . . Augustini' are made a rubric at the end of c. 27, and c. 28 begins: 'epistulam uero.' A<sub>1</sub> begins c. 28 with 'Reuerentissimo.'  
 — l. 17. 'Reuerentissimo,' ¶ 29. A<sub>1</sub>.  
 p. 66. l. 5. 'Augustarum' for 'Iuliarum' O<sub>4</sub>. O<sub>10</sub>.  
 p. 67. l. 17. No break in W. O<sub>2</sub>; there is in O<sub>18</sub>.  
 p. 71. l. 7. 'hoc pretermisso ubi signum crucis inueneris in quarto folio lege.' Rubric in O<sub>3</sub>. This is a direction to omit i. 34, and ii. 1, and to continue with ii. 2; the object being to form a continuous life of Augustine; see the additional notes to pp. 42, 82, 86.  
 p. 73. l. 2. This is headed in O<sub>19</sub>: 'Lectiones quedam de uita uel obitu beati Gregorii pape, edite a uenerabili Beda presbitero.'  
 — l. 21. 'Erat,' from here eight lections are marked in A<sub>1</sub>.  
 p. 74. l. 16. 'Denique,' ¶ W\*. O<sub>14</sub>.  
 p. 75. l. 23. 'apocrisarius' 'i. responsalis' O<sub>6</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>17</sub>; in text O<sub>11</sub>; 'siue responsarialis' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>; responsalis O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> on margin.  
 p. 76. l. 28. 'Primam,' ¶ W\*. O<sub>14</sub>.



- p. 79. l. 1. 'Rexit,' ¶ W. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>14</sub>. (not O<sub>19</sub>).  
 — Note 4. After 'margin' add: 'so A<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>3-4</sub>. O<sub>11</sub>. O<sub>11</sub>. O<sub>18-19</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar.' After 'here' add: 'so S. [Cas<sub>2</sub>].'  
 p. 80. l. 10. 'frontis perspicue' for 'frontispicii' H<sub>3</sub>; 'frontis conspiciui' Ar; 'frontis speciei' O<sub>1</sub>, 'speciei' by O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> on erasure.  
 p. 81. l. 4. 'Haec,' ¶ W. O<sub>2</sub>. In O<sub>19</sub> there is a large initial to 'Haec,' but a still larger one to 'Interea.'  
 p. 82. l. 11. Here in O<sub>3</sub> is the cross referred to in the additional note to p. 71.  
 — l. 13. 'maxime' written over 'proximae' by O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. In O<sub>7</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar. both are in the text. Ar. has subpunctuated 'maxime.'  
 — l. 19. 'Quod,' ¶ W. O<sub>2</sub>. not O<sub>19</sub>.  
 p. 85. Note 1. 'ablata' O<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>. O<sub>8</sub>. 'allata' D\*. O<sub>19</sub>.  
 p. 86. l. 1. 'Defunctus,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.  
 — l. 15. 'Hic,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.  
 — l. 22. 'Explicit uita Augustini' O<sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup>. 'Usque huc legitur in refectorio de S. Augustino Anglorum apostolo' O<sub>6</sub><sup>2</sup>. See additional notes to pp. 42, 71, 82.  
 p. 88. l. 13. 'His,' ¶ O<sub>18</sub>.  
 — l. 18. 'anno,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.  
 p. 90. l. 4. 'Defunctus,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.  
 p. 91. l. 24. 'sacrosancta lauacri' O<sub>11</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>; '-ti lauacri' W<sup>2</sup>. O<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup>.  
 p. 92. l. 3. 'Sed,' O<sub>19</sub> begins c. 6 here.  
 — l. 11. No break in W\*. R<sub>2</sub>.  
 p. 93. bottom line. 'post quem,' D\* begin c. 7 here.  
 p. 94. Note 2. 'episcopum' D\*. O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>18</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>.  
 p. 95. l. 9. No break in R<sub>2</sub>.  
 p. 97. l. 7. 'Legenda S. Paulini patris nostri' H<sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup> margin.  
 p. 98. l. 17. 'Ordinatus,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>. Rubric on margin of A<sub>2</sub>: 'De ordinatione Paulini,' with three lections marked from here to the end of the chapter.  
 — l. 33. 'Anno,' ¶ O<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> (?).  
 p. 100. l. 1. 'Quo,' ¶ O<sub>19</sub>.  
 — l. 17. No break in W\*. R<sub>2</sub>.  
 p. 104. l. 6. No break in O<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>. R<sub>2</sub>.  
 — Note 8, and p. 106. Note 3. 'conuersione' is the reading of many MSS.  
 p. 106. l. 28. No break in O<sub>2</sub>. R<sub>2</sub>.  
 p. 107. l. 17. 'Cum,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>20</sub> (?).  
 p. 110. l. 14. 'nuntiis Redualdus rex' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. So in text, O<sub>7</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar. 'redauualdus' O<sub>17</sub>. O<sub>11</sub>.  
 — l. 24. 'Cum,' ¶ O<sub>20</sub> (?).  
 p. 111. l. 8. No break in R<sub>2</sub>.

- p. 111. l. 17. 'Habito,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.
- p. 112. l. 5. 'Talis,' 'nota pulcram comparationem de breuitate uite' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> on margin.
- p. 113. Note 2. 'dorobernensionem' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>7</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar.
- p. 117. l. 27. 'Nota de statura Sci. Paulini' A<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> on margin.
- p. 118. l. 22. No break in W. O<sub>2</sub>. (There is in O<sub>19</sub>.)
- p. 120. l. 10. 'inter igitur' O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>; 'igitur' on margin, W.
- p. 122. l. 3. 'Data,' from here to the end of the chapter is omitted in O<sub>7</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar<sup>1</sup>.
- p. 124. l. 12. No break in W. O<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>; there is in O<sub>19</sub>.
- p. 127. l. 2. 'Incipiunt actus beati Oswaldi Regis' O<sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup>. 'Hic incipit passio Sci. Oswaldi regis' [et] martiris' O<sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup>. 'De Sco. Oswaldo rege et martyre' O<sub>7</sub><sup>2</sup>. Cf. additional note to p. 154, l. 2.
- p. 127. l. 6. 'Deirorum,' 'deybyr hec prouincia etiam nunc dicitur' O<sub>7</sub><sup>2</sup>, in a fifteenth century hand.
- l. 20. 'Qui,' ¶ O<sub>2</sub>.
- p. 128. l. 7. 'stragica' O<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>. O<sub>3</sub>. D<sup>1</sup>.
- Note 6. After 'text of C,' add: 'and many other MSS.'
- p. 130. Note 5. After 'p. 131,' add: 'several MSS. begin c. 2 at this point; others make it begin at 'Quidam' in the following line.
- p. 134. Note 3. 'de Armahe' A<sub>3</sub>; while Bu<sup>2</sup>, writes 'Ar-mach' on margin.
- p. 135. Note 4. add: D\*.
- p. 136. Note 5. 'Fertur' O<sub>2</sub> (with illuminated capital). W. O<sub>19</sub>; 'fecerunt' O<sub>18</sub>, O<sub>20</sub><sup>1</sup>.
- p. 138. l. 10. 'Denique,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.
- p. 139. l. 9. In A<sub>2</sub> the beginning of the chapter runs thus: 'In illo tempore, hoc est anno dominice incarnationis dcxxxiv, qui est xxx<sup>mus</sup> nonus annus ex quo beatus Augustinus beati pape Gregorii discipulus Britanniam perueniens uerbum Dei genti Anglorum predicauit, eo ipso anno gens, &c.'
- p. 140. l. 7. 'Defuncto,' ¶ A<sub>1</sub>.
- p. 143. l. 6. 'Inminente,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.
- p. 144. l. 28. 'utque,' O<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> makes a new capitulum begin here; so O<sub>6</sub>, inserting 'fuerint' after 'facta'; O<sub>17</sub>. O<sub>11</sub> read 'facta fuerint,' H<sub>3</sub> Ar. read 'facta sint,' but do not divide the capitulum.
- p. 144. l. 30. Eight lections are marked in the margin of A<sub>1</sub>. In O<sub>4</sub> four lections are marked on the margin of this chapter, and four more on the margin of cc. 12, 13, down to 'credidimus,' p. 152, l. 22.
- p. 145. l. 29. 'Non,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>3</sub>.
- p. 148. l. 2. 'Factum,' R<sub>2</sub> begins c. 11 here.

p. 148. l. 6. Eight lections are marked in the margin of  $O_2$ , ending 'apparuerunt' (sic), p. 150, l. 21.

p. 149. l. 3. 'Denique,' ¶  $R_2$ .

p. 150. l. 26. No break in  $W$ .  $O_2$ ; there is in  $O_{19}$ .

p. 152. l. 8. 'Nec.' The chapter begins here in M.B.N.  $H_1$ .  $O_5$ .  $O_{14}$ .  $O_{18}$ .  $O_{20}$ .  $A_1$ .  $AS$ .

— Note 5. add:  $R_2$ .  $O_{17}$ .  $O_{19}$ .  $A_2$ .  $Ar$ .  $S$ .

p. 154. l. 2. 'Expliciunt actus Sci. Oswaldi.'  $O_3^2$ , cf. additional note to p. 127, l. 2.

— l. 7. 'Translato.' Here on the margin is the note by  $O_3^2$ : 'Est in sequenti libro scriptum qualiter natalicius dies Sci. Osualdi diuinitus est ostensus, et celebrari praeceptum est, signo tali praescripto ✠, suo quidem loco pro temporum accidentiis ibi descriptus, sed hic ubi finis ac miracula eius contexta sunt recensendus'; i.e. iv. 14 is to be added here to complete the account of Oswald's miracles. See additional note to p. 233.

— l. 10. After 'tenuit'  $O_1^2$  adds on margin: 'regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo qui cum Patre, &c. Amen. Explicit passio Sci. Oswaldi regis et martiris.'

p. 154. l. 25. 'Habuit,' ¶  $O_2$  (?).

p. 155. l. 29. 'Erat,' ¶  $R_2$ .

p. 157. l. 24. 'Presbyter,'  $R_2$  begins the chapter here.

p. 158. l. 30. 'Nam,'  $R_2$  begins the chapter here.

p. 159. l. 23. No break in  $R_2$ .

p. 160. l. 18. 'Contigit,' ¶  $R_2$ .

p. 162. l. 21. 'scolam.' Here in  $O_7$  in a seventeenth cent. hand: 'Grantebrig schola a Sigberto Rege.'

p. 163. l. 24. Eight lections are marked here in  $O_{11}$ , ending at 'ultimum,' p. 168, l. 14.

p. 168. Note 14. add:  $O_{18}$ .

p. 170. Note 7. add: 'and several MSS.'

p. 171. l. 16.  $R_2$  makes the new chapter begin 'factum est eo tempore.'

p. 181. l. 1. No break in  $R_2$ .

p. 181. Note 2. add: 'so  $R_2$ .  $Ar$ .  $O_{20}$  (?).'

p. 182. l. 19. 'obseruantia one'  $O_{11}$  (which must have been copied from some MS. which had 'obseruantia' with 'one' (i.e. obseruatione) written above as a correction. (This is not  $O_{17}$ .)

p. 183. l. 7. 'Uenerat,' ¶  $O_3$  (?).

p. 186. ll. 6, 7. 'ad uesperam . . . mensis' *om.*  $O_1^1$ ;  $O_1^2$  inserts 'usque . . . mensis' on margin, dropping one 'ad uesperam,' and this is the reading of the text of  $O_7$ .  $H_3$ .  $Ar$ .

p. 189. l. 4. 'rege eleuatis in celum manibus'  $O_1^2$ .  $O_{14}^2$ .  $O_6$ -7.  $O_{11}$ .  $O_{17}$ .  $H_3$ .  $Ar$ .

- p. 189. Note 2. add: 'and many other MSS.'
- p. 194. l. 7. 'septimana' for 'die' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>6-7</sub>. O<sub>14</sub>. O<sub>17</sub>. O<sub>11</sub>; 'uel septimana' O<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> on margin.
- l. 19. 'De Seo. Wilfrido primo Riponensi' O<sub>20</sub><sup>2</sup>.
- p. 196. l. 21. 'Domino,' ¶ H<sub>1</sub>. R<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>. A<sub>4</sub>.
- p. 199. l. 7. No break in R<sub>2</sub>.
- p. 202. Note 2. Add: 'in W the first letter has been tampered with; O<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>19</sub>. (derivatives of W) have: "Oiridano;" "Viridiano" O<sub>12</sub>.'
- p. 204. Note 5. After 'text of B,' add: 'so A<sub>2</sub>. [Ca<sub>4</sub>]. A<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>.'
- p. 205. l. 4. 'expugnauerunt' for 'petierunt' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>6-7</sub>. O<sub>11</sub>. O<sub>17</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar.; 'uel exp.' O<sub>14</sub><sup>2</sup>.
- p. 208. l. 16. 'Qui,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.
- p. 212. l. 10. 'Denique,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>18</sub>.
- p. 213. l. 28. 'addicta' O<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>6-7</sub>. O<sub>11</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar.; 'addicta' O<sub>14</sub>; 'uel addicta' O<sub>17</sub>.
- p. 214. l. 15. 'anno aetatis,' O<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> seems to have begun the new chapter here.
- l. 30. 'In nomine,' ¶ O<sub>7</sub>. R<sub>2</sub>. A<sub>4</sub>. Ar. [Ca<sub>4</sub>].
- p. 217. l. 18. 'Diuina,' ¶ O<sub>18</sub>.
- p. 218. l. 1. No break in R<sub>2</sub>.
- ll. 8-10. In W the words 'Sexuulfum . . . Gyruiorum' are inserted after 'finiuit,' l. 13. In O<sub>1</sub> these same words are written on an erasure.
- p. 219. l. 10. 'Bertinensi' for 'Bericinensi' O<sub>10</sub>.
- l. 16. 'Cum,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub> (as well as at 'In hoc').
- l. 29. 'Cum enim.' Three lections marked in O<sub>2</sub>, from here to the end of c. 9.
- p. 221. l. 7. 'Item,' ¶ O<sub>19</sub>.
- l. 27. No break in R<sub>2</sub>.
- l. 30. Eight lections marked in R<sub>1</sub>.
- p. 222. l. 8. 'prouisione' *om.* D\*, of which P<sup>2</sup> inserts 'castigatione.'
- l. 11. 'Haec,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.
- l. 30. 'In eodem,' ¶ O<sub>20</sub>. R<sub>2</sub>.
- p. 223. l. 10. 'Cum,' ¶ AS.
- p. 224. l. 5. No break in R<sub>2</sub>.
- l. 23. 'Erat,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.
- p. 225. l. 13. No break in O<sub>9</sub>.
- l. 26. 'anno tricesimo' for 'annos triginta' D\*.
- p. 227. l. 19. No break in R<sub>2</sub>.
- p. 228. l. 7. 'Anno,' ¶ H<sub>1-2</sub>. A<sub>1</sub>. R<sub>2</sub>. Ar.
- l. 27. 'Anno,' ¶ O<sub>3-4</sub>. O<sub>9-10</sub>. O<sub>18</sub>. H<sub>2</sub>. R<sub>1-2</sub>. A<sub>2</sub>. Ar. S. AS.
- O<sub>2</sub>(?). D. has a small capital partially rubricated.

p. 230. Note 1. After 'nequiuerit' R<sub>2</sub> adds further: 'et cum natalicius beati Oswaldi primo sit celebratus.'

p. 231. l. 1. 'Erat,' ¶ [Ca.<sub>3</sub>].

p. 232. l. 30. Eight lections are marked in the margin of this chapter in O<sub>2</sub>.

p. 233. l. 6. Here in O<sub>3</sub> is the cross referred to in the additional note to p. 154. l. 7; and on the top margin: 'Incipit qualiter natalicius eiusdem Sci. Oswaldi dies diuinitus celebrari mandatus [est];' while the words 'Eodem . . . prouincia' have been altered by O<sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup> into: 'eo tempore quo prouincia Australium Saxonum,' in order to fit the passage for reading.

— l. 4 from bottom. After Bu<sub>2</sub>, add: D. A<sub>5</sub>.

p. 234. l. 14. 'Praeclari,' ¶ (apparently) O<sub>4</sub>, O<sub>10</sub>, O<sub>18</sub>, R<sub>1</sub>, [He.]

p. 236. l. 6. 'Explicit dies natalicius Sci. Oswaldi diuinitus celebrari mandatus' O<sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup>.

— l. 26. No break in H<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>9</sub>.

p. 239. l. 5. 'In nomine,' ¶ O<sub>7</sub>, R<sub>2</sub>, Ar. [Ca.<sub>4</sub>].

p. 240. l. 27. No break in O<sub>9</sub>.

p. 243. l. 2. 'cuius' D\* (not A<sub>3</sub>) make the capitulum of the next chapter begin here.

— l. 4. Three lections marked here in O<sub>1</sub>, ending at 'monitis' p. 244, line 5.

p. 247. l. 1. No break in R<sub>2</sub>, S.

— l. 6. 'et ideo . . . Christi' *om.* O<sub>20</sub>, Ar<sup>1</sup>. Smith, Hussey, Stevenson, Moberly. The omission is merely due to homoio-teleuton.

— l. 10. 'Alma,' ¶ A<sub>1</sub>.

p. 249. l. 20. No break in A<sub>4</sub>.

— l. 28. 'eius' *'s.* Egfridi regis, gloss D<sup>2</sup>; it is in the text of O<sub>16</sub>.

p. 252. Note 1. After 'N.' add: 'W<sup>1</sup>, D<sup>1</sup>; 'quia liquidam' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>, O<sub>6-7</sub>, O<sub>17</sub>, O<sub>11</sub>, Ar; 'qua aliquando' A<sub>4</sub>.'

— l. 16. 'Hic incipit uita Sce. Hilde uirginis et abbatisse' O<sub>5</sub><sup>2</sup>.

p. 253. l. 20. 'Heiu.' In D. a fifteenth cent. hand writes above 'Bega,' and adds in margin: 'erat Sta. Bega anglie Seynt Bee, qui locus iam est cella monasterii Stae. Marie Ebor.'

p. 255. l. 6. 'Osric,' 'fundator monasterii Glouernis sub Ethelredo Rege' R<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>.

p. 256. l. 25. 'vii<sup>o</sup> ergo,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.

p. 258. Note 3. add: 'O<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> joins it on to the capitulum of the preceding chapter.'

p. 259. Note 1. I have found no other MS. which repeats this error of C.



p. 262. Note 2. add: 'hine seolfne segnende' AS., *i.e.* 'signando or signans se.'

— l. 21. No break in H<sub>1</sub>.

p. 268. l. 22. Eight lections marked in H<sub>3</sub>, from here to 'commendabat,' p. 273, l. 30.

p. 269. l. 10. Eight lections begin here in O<sub>4</sub>, and end at 'tenebat,' p. 273, l. 5. For this purpose 'Vir Domini Cutbertus' is substituted on the margin for 'qui.'

p. 272. Note 1. add: 'R<sub>2</sub> makes a new chapter, but no fresh capitulum.'

p. 274. l. 1. No break in A<sub>1</sub>. A<sub>4</sub>.

— l. 4. Nine lections marked in O<sub>1</sub>, from here to the end of the next chapter.

p. 275. l. 22. 'Obiit,' ¶ O<sub>20</sub> (?).

p. 277. Note 7. add: D\*.

p. 280. l. 21. 'iussus fuerat' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>. O<sub>6-7</sub>. O<sub>11-12</sub>. O<sub>17</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar; 'iusserat' W\*.

p. 282. ll. 3, 4. 'undique uersum, 'i. ex omni parte' O<sub>17</sub>; 'undique ex omni parte uersum' O<sub>11</sub>.

— l. 30. From here to the end of c. 4, eight lections marked in D. In S. there is an alternative beginning with the same object: 'Principio regni Alfridi regis Iohannes, &c.,' and the rubric 'De Sco. Iohanne archiepiscopo.'

p. 283. l. 14. 'Cumque,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.

p. 284. l. 10. From 'dicenda' to the end of c. 5, is omitted here in S, and added at the end of the book.

p. 285. l. 10. 'Guetadun, 'uel Wetandun' O<sub>14</sub>.

p. 292. l. 10. In O<sub>10</sub> the rubric of the chapter in the text, (not in the Capitula) has: 'Ut Cadwaladrus rex Britonum et Occidentalium, &c.'

p. 293. l. 31. 'Hic,' ¶ O<sub>7</sub>.

p. 294. l. 2. 'anno . . . quarto' om. A<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>3</sub>; 'anno eius cons.' O<sub>4</sub>. O<sub>10</sub>. O<sub>18</sub>; 'anno cons. eius' O<sub>6</sub>. O<sub>17</sub>. O<sub>11</sub>; 'an. et consulatus sui' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>; 'an. et cons.' O<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>; 'ante et Constantio' O<sub>7</sub>. H<sub>3</sub>. Ar. (wrongly expanding the contractions of O<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>); 'anno et consulatus eius' O<sub>2</sub>.

p. 295. l. 18. 'Successit,' ¶ O<sub>7</sub>. O<sub>10</sub> (?) O<sub>20</sub> (?).

p. 296. Note 2. add: 'It runs thus: Anno dominice incarnationis propemodum DCXCII uenerabilis quidam Christi sacerdos de natione Anglorum, uocabulo Egberhetus, qui in Hibernia insula pro adipiscenda in celis patria peregrinam ducebat uitam, proposuit animo plurimis prodesse; id est inito &c.'

p. 297. l. 4. 'Cum,' ¶ R<sub>2</sub>.

- p. 298. l. 2. 'alicui' for 'cui'  $O_1^2$ .  $O_{6-7}$ .  $O_{11}$ .  $O_{17}$ .  $H_3$ .  $A_2$ ;  
'euiquam'  $O_{20}$ .
- p. 299. l. 15. 'Horum,' ¶ AS.
- p. 300. l. 28. 'Nam,' ¶  $R_2$ .
- p. 301. l. 17. No break in  $R_2$ .
- p. 303, bottom line. 'Erat,' ¶  $R_2$ .
- p. 304. l. 28. 'Lucidus,' ¶  $R_2$ . Lections are marked here  
in the margin of  $O_6$ .
- p. 305. l. 32. 'At,' ¶ W.  $O_2$ ; not  $O_{19}$ .
- p. 306. Note 3. add: MHB and Giles however have  
'micantis.'
- p. 307. l. 8. 'cumque,' ¶  $R_2$ .
- p. 309. l. 16. 'Haec,' ¶ W.  $O_2$ ; not  $O_{19}$ .
- l. 21. 'Denique,' ¶  $R_2$ .
- p. 312. l. 3. 'iuxta' for 'circa'  $O_1^2$ .  $O_{6-7}$ .  $H_3$ . Ar; 'uel iuxta'  
 $O_{14}$ .
- l. 27. 'inrepunt mea uiscera et'  $O_1^2$  (on margin)  $O_{14}^2$   
(above the line) in text,  $O_{6-7}$ .  $O_{17}$ .  $O_{11}$ . Ar.
- p. 314. l. 9. 'quod solent dicere, &c. ;' 'dictum crudelis-  
simum'  $O_{18}^2$ .
- p. 317. l. 7. No break in  $H_1$ .
- l. 12. 'Bethleem,'  $R_2$  begins the chapter here.
- p. 318. l. 22. No break in  $H_1$ .
- p. 322. l. 26. 'cum esset Wilfridus'  $O_1^2$ , for the purpose of  
lections, of which there are eight.
- p. 325. l. 1. 'Brunhild' for 'Baldhild'  $O_3$ .  $A_2$ ; 'Brunchild'  
 $O_{18}$ ; 'Brunichildis'  $O_2^2$ . S; 'uel Brunichildis'  $O_{14}$  margin;  
'namque Brunichildis Baltildis regina'  $O_6$ .
- p. 328. l. 18. 'ad' *om.* D\*.
- p. 329. l. 9. 'Adstitit,' New rubric in S: 'qualis uisio  
apparuit beato Wilfrido.'
- p. 330. l. 23. 'cauit,' above this in  $O_1^1$  and  $O_5$  is written  
'defendit uel docuit.'
- p. 332. l. 12. 'didicit.' Here ends  $O_{15}$  imperfectly.
- p. 333. l. 14. 'Domino,' ¶  $H_1$ .  $R_2$ .
- p. 335. l. 31. After 'initium'  $O_1$  inserts 'extendit uel ex-  
pendit uel prolongat,' no doubt originally a gloss on 'prorogat.'  
So  $O_3$ ; while in  $R_1$  there is an erasure of nearly a line at this  
point; 'extendit et prorogat'  $O_8$ ; 'prorogat'  $O_{19}$ ; 'porrigat'  
many MSS.
- p. 341, bottom line. 'Uerum,' ¶  $O_{18}$ . S.
- p. 342. l. 30. 'regni.' Here ends  $O_7$  imperfectly.
- p. 343. l. 21. 'frontis specie'  $O_1^2$ .  $O_6$ .  $O_{11}$ .  $O_{17}$ . Ar<sup>2</sup>.
- p. 345. l. 22. 'Haec,' ¶  $O_{20}$ . Ar.
- p. 346. Note 2. add: 'rihtwisnesse' AS.

- p. 349. l. 4. 'Anno,' ¶ A<sub>1</sub>. A<sub>4</sub>. R<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>.  
 — l. 28. 'Anno,' ¶ A<sub>1</sub>. A<sub>4</sub>. R<sub>2</sub>. O<sub>20</sub>. AS.
- p. 352. l. 1. Here O<sub>20</sub><sup>2</sup> has the note 'Anno gratie DCCXXXII Beda migrauit ad Dominum die Ascensionis;' but the 'II' is on an erasure, and the original reading was 'V.'
- l. 21. 'Anno CCLXXXVI Scus. Albanus passus est' O<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>.  
 — l. 26. 'Scottos. i. Hybernienses' O<sub>20</sub><sup>2</sup>.
- p. 353. l. 9. 'Scottia i. Hybernia' O<sub>20</sub><sup>2</sup>.
- p. 356. line 3 from bottom. After 'They' add : (i. e. H<sub>2</sub> and Ar).  
 — Note 16. After W add : D.
- p. 357. l. 26. 'In,' ¶ O<sub>6</sub>.
- p. 358. ll. 6-17. 'In Isaiam . . . canticorum' om. O<sub>12</sub> (homoioteleuton).

# INDEX NOMINUM ET LOCORUM.

NOTE.—By a small Roman numeral followed by an Arabic numeral is indicated the Book and Chapter of the 'Historia Ecclesiastica.'

The letter C. refers to the *Continuatio Baedae*, which is cited by *Annals*.

The abbreviations *Hab.* and *Haa.* indicate respectively the *Historia Abbatum auctore Baeda*, and the *Historia Abbatum auctore Anonymo*; while by *Ee.* is meant the *Epistola ad Egbertum*. The last three are cited by sections. Whenever a Chapter or Section exceeds a page in length, a reference to the page or pages is given in addition.

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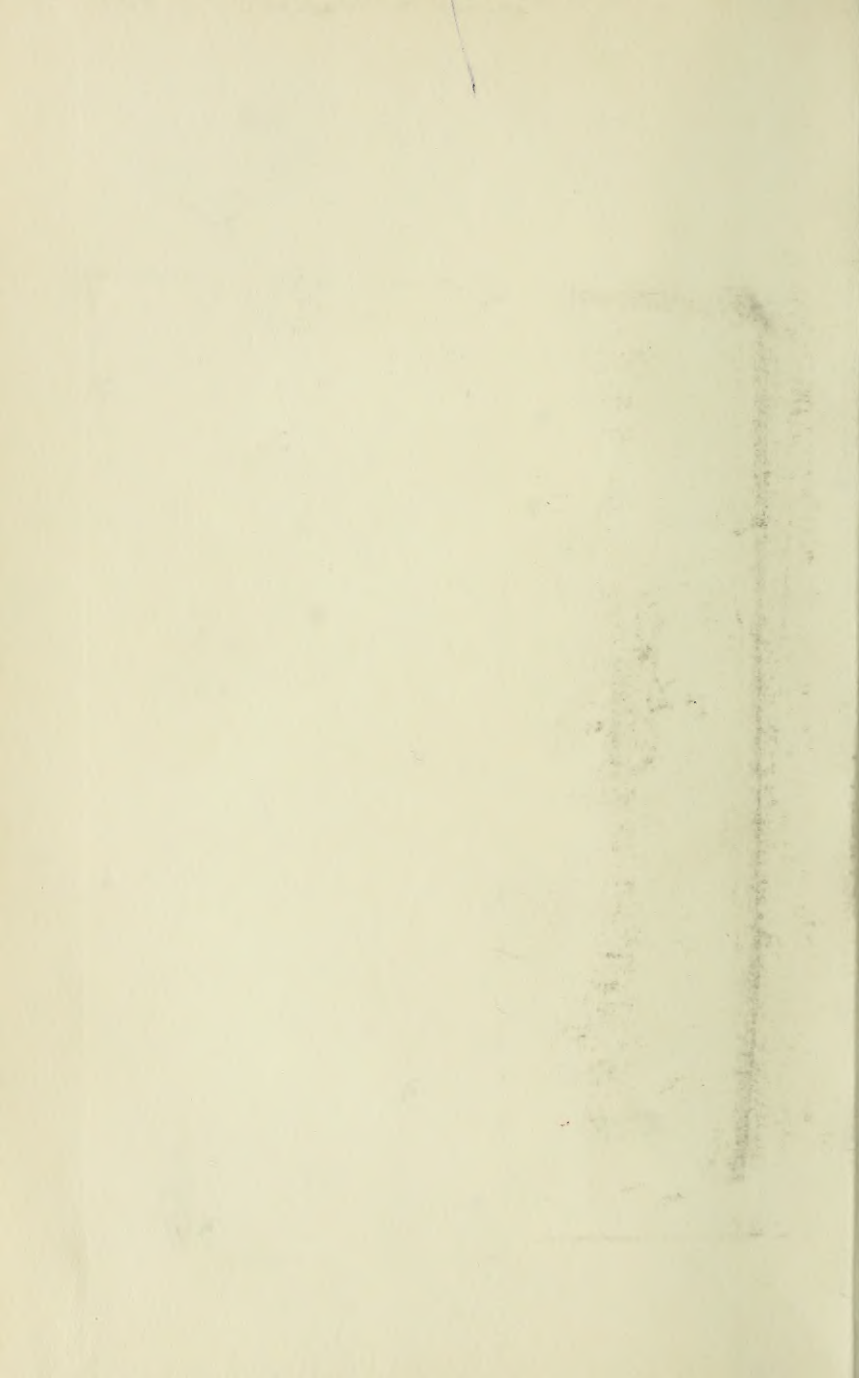
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